

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM¹

VOL. I

INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

NEW EDITION

BY

E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.

EPIGRAPHIST TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RETIRED

WITH 55 PLATES

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P R E F A C E

THE printing of this volume was stopped in 1914 by the outbreak of war. In 1920 the Government sanctioned a resumption of printing, and the re-composition of those sheets which had been already struck off, but had become antiquated in the meantime owing to fresh researches. I have tried to sift critically, and to quote, when necessary, whatever has been written by scholars on the subject in the course of nearly a century. The transcripts of the texts are based on mechanical copies furnished by the Archæological Survey Department under orders of Sir John MARSHALL. The most perfect among these were contributed by my former assistant, now Government Epigraphist for India, Rao Bahadur H. KRISHNA SASTRI. The plates issued with this volume are collotype reproductions of negatives which were prepared under my personal supervision by Mr. Carl PLETTNER. With the exception of the two Shāhbāzgarhī edicts VII and XII, the impressions of the two Kharōshthī versions of the fourteen rock-edicts proved unsuitable for reproduction, partly owing to the extreme roughness of the rocks on which these records are engraved, and partly because Sir Aurel STEIN's careful estampages of them had become torn and damaged by frequent use. It is a pleasant duty to thank those scholars who have rendered me valuable assistance. Before the war I could avail myself of the ever ready advice of my late friend Dr. J. F. FLEET. To the late Professor Arthur VENIS I am indebted for detailed criticisms of my rendering of the Girnār and Kālsī versions. Professor A. A. MACDONELL kindly looked at the proof-sheets of portions of the texts and translations. The proofs of the introduction were minutely examined by two old friends, Mr. Robert SEWELL and Professor Th. ZACHARIAE.

E. HULTZSCH.

HALLE,
October, 1922.

POSTSCRIPT

THE issuing of this volume was still delayed by the printing of the collotype plates when I received from Mr. H. HARGREAVES, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Frontier Province, Peshawar, a fresh set of inked estampages of the two north-western versions of the rock-edicts. These estampages have been made with great care and skill, and enable me at the last moment to furnish illustrations of the whole of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā edicts. The overlapping sections were clipped and pinned together in my presence by Mr. PLETTNER. In this way the creases and slips disfiguring other facsimiles which I had received in a pasted condition were avoided. Although, owing to the rough surface of the rocks, the new estampages are not quite perfect in every detail, they are the first ever made which admit of reproduction by photography, and they will thus allow students to check the transcripts of those valuable ancient records, and to acquire a first-hand knowledge of the whimsical and often ambiguous Kharōshthī characters. Scholars will feel much indebted to Mr. HARGREAVES, who has now supplied this want, and to Sir John MARSHALL, at whose instance the new impressions were prepared by him.

HALLE,
January, 1924.

E. H.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AJP = American Journal of Philology.
ASSI = Archæological Survey of Southern India.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of Western India.
BRWW = Buddhist Records of the Western World (Beal).
CR = Comptes Rendus. Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres.
EI = Epigraphia Indica.
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GN = Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Grammatik = Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen (Pischel).
IA = Indian Antiquary.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ind. Alt. = Indische Alterthumskunde (Lassen).
Ind. Pal. = Indian Paleography (Bühler).
JA = Journal Asiatique.
Jaartelling = Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten (Kern).
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
JPASB = Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ = Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.
Lotus = Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi (Burnouf).
Memoirs, ASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Skt. = Sanskrit.
SPAW = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I. DESCRIPTION OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

THE above term is meant to comprise (1) the existing versions of the well-known 'fourteen edicts', and (2) the two 'separate edicts' which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for edicts XI to XIII. It does not include the minor rock-inscriptions, which will be treated in the fourth part.

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK (Text, p. 1).

This famous set of Aśoka's fourteen edicts is found about a mile to the east of Junāgarh, the capital of the Junāgarh State in the Kāthiāwār Peninsula, 'and at the entry of the dell or gorge which leads into the valley that girdles the mighty and sacred Gīrnār' mountain.¹ The inscription 'covers considerably over a hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising 12 feet above the surface of the ground, and about 75 feet in circumference at the base.'² The boulder bears, beside Aśoka's edicts, two other valuable documents: An inscription of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman records the restoration of the lake Sudarśana, which had been 'originally constructed by the *Vaiśya* Pushyagupta, the provincial governor (*rāshṭrīya*) of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and subsequently adorned with conduits by the Yavana king Tushāspa for Aśoka the Maurya.'³ Among local names it mentions Girinagara, i. e. the town of Junāgarh or its ancient representative, and Ūrjayat, i. e. the mountain now called Gīrnār.⁴ The third inscription on the boulder is dated in the reign of the Gupta king Skandagupta and records further repairs of the lake Sudarśana made in A. D. 456-7 by Chakrapālita, the son of Parnadatta who was governor of Surāshṭra.⁵

The Aśoka inscription occupies the north-east face of the boulder. The fourteen edicts are arranged in two columns and divided from one another by straight lines. As may be seen on the third of the plates issued with Wilson's article in JRAS, 12. 153 ff., the left column consists of edicts I to V and the right one of edicts VI to XII; and

¹ ASWI, 2. 94. The position of the inscribed stone is marked on Lieutenant Postans' sketch of Gīrnār in JASB, vol. 7, plate 54.

² ASWI, 2. 97. A photograph of the boulder is given on the plate facing page 94 of the same volume.

³ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 99.

⁴ EI, 8. 42. The later (Prākṛit) form of Ūrjayat is Ujjayanta. Cf. Hēmachandra's *Anēkārtihasaṅgraha*, III, 279, and his *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 97; ASWI, 2. 154 ff., and 8. 328 ff.; Tawney's translation of Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Index. Another name of the Gīrnār mountain is Raivata or Raivataka. See e. g. Hēmachandra's two Kōśas, loc. cit.; Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha*, IV, 1; GN, 1921. 41.

⁵ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 57 f.

edicts XIII and XIV are placed below V and XII. When Major James Tod visited Gīrnār in December 1822, the inscription seems to have been intact.¹ Subsequently portions of edicts V and XIII were blasted with gunpowder by the workmen of a pious merchant who constructed a causeway from Junāgarh to Gīrnār.² At the recommendation of the late Dr. Burgess a shed has been specially built to protect the boulder from the sun and rain.

The first decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet and, with it, of the Gīrnār inscription, is due to the learning and ingenuity of James Prinsep.³ His transcript and translation were based on tracings on cloth which had been taken in 1835 by Captain Lang for the Rev. Dr. J. Wilson of Bombay.⁴ Fresh copies were made by Lieutenant Postans and Captain Lang in 1838,⁵ and by Captain (afterwards General) Le Grand Jacob and Professor Westergaard in 1842.⁶ These materials were utilized by Mr. E. Norris for drawing up an improved plate of the Gīrnār inscription, from which Professor H. H. Wilson's transcript and translation in JRAS, vol. 12 (1850), were made. No better materials were available to three other scholars who examined the Gīrnār version, viz. Professor Chr. Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*), E. Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*; Paris, 1852), and Professor H. Kern (*Over de Jaartelling der Zuidelijke Buddhisten en de Gedenkstukken van Aśoka den Buddhist*; Amsterdam, 1873).

The first perfectly mechanical estampages of the Gīrnār edicts were prepared in 1875 by Dr. J. Burgess. These were reproduced by collotype in 1876 in ASWI, 2. 98 ff., and also in IA, 5. 257 ff., with an English translation of Kern's Dutch versions of part of the edicts.

A complete edition of the Gīrnār edicts is included in Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I. An abridged English translation of his work appeared in IA, vols. 9 and 10. In JA (8), 12. 311 ff., Senart added the results of his inspection of the Gīrnār rock *in situ*. Bühler published a number of corrections and the text of edict XIII in his *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Aśoka-Inschriften* (ZDMG, vols. 37-48), and the full text of the Gīrnār version in EI, 2. 447 ff. The plates which accompany this article are much clearer than those issued in 1876, but seem to have been touched up by hand. *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* printed at Bhavnagar (without year) contains the text, Sanskrit and English translations, and facsimiles, of the Gīrnār edicts.

Two fragments of the lost portion of edict XIII were recovered recently and are now preserved in the Junāgarh Museum.⁷ Both of them were discussed by Senart (JRAS, 1900. 335 ff.), and the second of them also by Bühler (VOJ, 8. 318 ff.). Both pieces are shown in the plate which accompanies my transcript of edict XIII.

As regards the Brāhmī alphabet of the Gīrnār inscription I can refer the reader to Bühler's *Indian Paleography*, edited by Fleet (IA, vol. 33, Appendix), § 16. The chief peculiarity of the Gīrnār alphabet is the addition of the horizontal bar, marking the length of initial *ā*, at the top of *a*, while it is elsewhere attached to the middle of the letter. The formation of groups of consonants, and the peculiar way in which the letter *r* is expressed in combination with other consonants, will be discussed in the chapter on the Gīrnār dialect (below, p. lviii. f.).

¹ ASWI, 2. 95.

³ JASB, 7 (1838). 219 ff.

⁵ Id., p. 871 ff.

⁷ They may be identical with two fragments picked up by Lieutenant Postans in 1838; see JASB, 7. 874.

² Cf. JASB, 7. 874.

⁴ Id., pp. 157, 228, 334, 336.

⁶ JBBRAS, 1. 257 f., and 2. 410.

II. THE KĀLSĪ ROCK (Text, p. 27).

This set of the fourteen edicts is engraved near Kālsī, a town in the Chakrātā tahsil of the Dehra Dūn district of the United Provinces. About one and a half miles to the north of Kālsī 'is a huge boulder of quartz on the western bank of the Jumna, just above the junction of the Tons river, and about fifteen miles to the west of Mussooree.'

'The block is 10 feet long and 10 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at bottom. The south-eastern face has been smoothed, but rather unevenly, as it follows the undulations of the original surface. The main inscription is engraved on this smoothed surface, which measures 5 feet in height, with a breadth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet at top, which increases towards the bottom to 7 feet 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The deeper hollows and cracks have been left uninscribed, and the lines of letters are undulating and uneven. Towards the bottom, beginning with the tenth edict, the letters increase in size until they become about thrice as large as those of the upper part. Owing either to this enlargement of the letters, or, perhaps, to the latter part of the inscription being of later date, the prepared surface was too small for the whole record, which was therefore completed on the left-hand side of the rock. On the right-hand side an elephant is traced 'in outline.'

'When first found by Mr. Forrest early in 1860, the letters of the inscription were hardly visible, the whole surface being encrusted with the dark moss of ages; but on removing this black film, the surface becomes nearly as white as marble.'

Senart's edition of the Kālsī text in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, was based on Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription. Bühler published both the text and a translation from a rubbing supplied by Cunningham (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40), and a revised version of the text of edict XIII from an impression prepared by Burgess (id., 43. 162 ff.). A collotype of the first half of Cunningham's rubbing was issued with ZDMG, vol. 39. In EI, 2. 447 ff., Bühler re-edited the Kālsī text, which was accompanied by reproductions of inked estampages by Burgess.

The Kālsī alphabet exhibits the following chief peculiarities. The letter *kh* has a loop at the bottom; see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, plate 2, No. 10, columns II and III. A similar loop is found occasionally in the centre of *j* (id., No. 15, column III) and of *s* (id., No. 39, column VII). The end of an edict is marked by a symbol resembling a crescent. From edict X the characters get larger, and the two letters *ś* and *śh* are frequently used. The former of these occurs already twice in edict IV, l. 13,² and the second twice in the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, ll. 1 and 4, once on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 10, and once at Maski, l. 2. In a few lines of the first part of the Kālsī inscription (29. 33-36, 39) the punctuation mark *ḥ*, which occurs once in each of ll. 13, 25, 31, is employed many times. The same mark is found in the Sahasrām and Maski rock-inscriptions.

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHĪ ROCK (Text, p. 50).

While the alphabet of the two preceding sets of the fourteen edicts is the Brāhmī, this one is written in those north-western cursive characters running from the right to the left which used to be called Indo-Bactrian or Ariano-Pāli, but to which Bühler restored the indigenous name Kharōṣṭhī. The honour of the decipherment of this alphabet is divided between Prinsep, Lassen, Norris, and Cunningham.³ A number

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 12 f.

² Also once in each of the Bairāt, Maski, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, and twice at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

³ JASB, 23. 714; *Ind. Pal.*, § 6.

of Kharōshthī letters had been already identified from bilingual coins of the Indo-Grecian and Indo-Scythian kings, before the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was discovered.

Shāhbāzgarhī is a village on the Makām river, nine miles from Mardān, the headquarters of the Yūsufzai subdivision of the Peshāvar district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is about half a mile distant from this village and two miles from the village of Kapurdagarhī.¹ It is engraved on a large shapeless mass of trap rock, lying about 80 feet up the slope of the hill, with its western face looking downwards towards the village of Shāhbāzgarhī.² The edicts I to XI are on the east face (edict VII being entered on the left at the top of the rock), and the edicts XIII and XIV are on the west face. Edict XII is engraved on a separate boulder, which is now enclosed within a wall.

M. (afterwards General) Court, of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's service, first notified the existence of a Kharōshthī inscription near Shāhbāzgarhī in 1836 and gave a few letters copied by himself. In 1838 Captain Burnes, being at Peshāvar, sent an agent to Shāhbāzgarhī, who returned with an imperfect paper impression. In the same year Mr. C. Masson obtained through a young man a partial impression on calico. He then proceeded to the spot himself and prepared fresh copies.³ His zeal deserves much praise, as at that time a journey through such an unpacified tract involved considerable personal risk. Masson's materials were brought to Europe and examined by Norris, who first read in them the word *Devanāpiyaśa*. With the help of this discovery, Dowson ascertained that the portion of which a facsimile is given in JRAS, 8 (1846). 303, is a duplicate of edict VII of the Gīrnār inscription. Norris further found that the front of the rock contained the edicts I to XI, and traced on the back of it portions of edict XIII. He also published the text of edict VII (id., p. 306 f.). In 1850 Wilson contributed a tentative transcript of both faces of the Shāhbāzgarhī rock, accompanied by plates drawn by Norris from Masson's copies (id., 12. 153 ff.). An independent eye-copy of the Shāhbāzgarhī inscription was prepared by Cunningham (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 10).

Senart's transcript in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, had still to be based on the same imperfect materials. Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji furnished transcripts of the Shāhbāzgarhī and other versions of edict I (IA, 10. 107) and of edict VIII (JBBRAS, 15. 284). After the return from a trip to India, Senart published the results of his examination of edicts I to XI *in situ* (JA (8), 11. 521 ff.). The missing edict XII was discovered on a separate boulder by Captain Deane and edited both by Senart (id., p. 511 ff.) and by Bühler (EI, 1. 16 ff.). The latter published the whole Shāhbāzgarhī version in ZDMG, 43. 128 ff., and a fresh transcript and a translation of it in EI, 2. 447 ff., from estampages by Burgess. The only portions of which mechanical copies have been made public so far are edict VII (ZDMG, vol. 43) and edict XII (EI, 1. 16).

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK (Text, p. 71).

Like the Shāhbāzgarhī version this set of the fourteen edicts is written in the Kharōshthī alphabet. Mānsehrā is the head-quarters of a tahsīl in the Hazāra district of the North-West Frontier Province. The inscription is found to the north of the village and is engraved on three boulders. Of these, the first bears edicts I to VIII, the second edicts IX to XI on its north face and edict XII on its south face, and

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 8.

² Id., p. 9. For a sketch-map of the locality see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. V, plate 3.

³ JRAS, 8. 293 ff.

the third edicts XIII and XIV. The two first inscribed stones were discovered by Cunningham,¹ and the third in 1889 by a native subordinate of the Panjāb Archaeological Survey.²

Senart was the first to transcribe edict XII (JA (8), 11 (1888). 511 ff.) and, from insufficient materials, portions of edicts I to XI (id., 12. 319 ff.). Bühler edited the whole Mānsehrā version first in ZDMG (43. 273 ff., and 44. 702 ff.), and a second time in EI (2. 447 ff.), from estampages by Burgess. JA (8), vol. 12 contains three plates reproduced from Cunningham's casts of edicts I to XII. These are so indistinct that they must be pronounced useless.

V. THE DHAULI ROCK (Text, p. 84).

Dhauli is a village in the Khurdā subdivision of the Purī district, Orissa, about seven miles south of Bhuvanēśvar. The inscribed rock near the village was discovered in 1837 by Lieutenant Kittoe, who calls it 'Aswastama'.³ It 'is situated on a rocky eminence forming one of a cluster of hills, three in number, on the south bank of the Dyah river.'

'The hills before alluded to rise abruptly from the plains and occupy a space of about five furlongs by three; they have a singular appearance from their isolated position, no other hills being nearer than eight or ten miles. They are apparently volcanic, and composed of upheaved breccia with quartzose rock intermixed.'

'The *Aswastama* is situated on the northern face of the southernmost rock near its summit; the rock has been hewn and polished for a space of fifteen feet long by ten in height, and the inscription deeply cut thereon.'

'Immediately above the inscription is a terrace sixteen feet by fourteen, on the right side of which (as you face the inscription) is the fore half of an elephant, four feet high, of superior workmanship; the whole is hewn out of the solid rock.'⁴

While Prinsep was examining a lithograph of Kittoe's copies, he found that the greater part of the Dhauli inscription was identical with the Gīrnār edicts (JASB, 7. 157). He further ascertained that the Dhauli rock omits edicts XI to XIII of the Gīrnār version, but compensates for them by two separate edicts (id., p. 219).⁵ These two he edited with a tentative translation (id., p. 438 ff.), adding Kittoe's lithograph of the whole Dhauli inscription (id., plate 10). As may be seen on this plate, the inscription is arranged in three columns. The middle column contains edicts I to VI, and the right column edicts VII to X and XIV,⁶ and below them, within a border of straight lines, the second separate edict, while the first separate edict occupies the whole of the left column.

Cunningham⁶ showed that it would be more correct to exchange the two designations 'first and second separate edict': the separate edict engraved in continuation of edict XIV ought to be called No. I, and the one engraved separately on the left No. II. This order is confirmed by the Jaugaḍa rock (No. VII, below) where Prinsep's No. II is actually placed above No. I. But as all editors (besides Kern) have followed

¹ JA (8), 11. 508.

² ZDMG, 44. 702.

³ Can this name be due to a misreading of the word *gajātame* (see Text, p. 50), which is engraved below the figure of an elephant on the north face of the Kālsī rock, and which might have been originally engraved on the Dhauli rock too? See, however, Text, p. 92, n. 1.

⁴ JASB, 7 (1838). 435-7. For a sketch of the elephant see id., plate 25, and for a photograph of it, the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

⁵ The commencement of each fresh edict is marked by a short horizontal dash.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 16, 20.

Prinsep's arrangement, a change of numbers would now lead to much confusion, and it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the separate edict No. I was engraved *after* No. II.

The two separate edicts were re-edited and translated by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 671 ff.) and, from Cunningham's copies, by Kern (JRAS, 1880. 379 ff.). Senart's edition of them¹ was based on estampages by Burgess. The same applies to Bühler's editions of the Dhauili version. He published the whole of it twice: once in German (ZDMG, 39. 489 ff., and 41. 1 ff.) and once in English (ASSI, 1. 114 ff.). His second edition is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 64-66).

VI. THE JAUGADA ROCK (Text, p. 101).

A duplicate of the Dhauili edicts is engraved at Jaugada, a ruined fort in the Berhampur taluka of the Ganjam district, Madras, about eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam town, on the northern bank of the Rishikulya river.

The inscribed rock 'is situated in what appears to have once been an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall.'

'The rock is part of a large mass of rock or rocks, rising to various heights, and covering a large space of ground, I should say many thousand square yards.'²

'The Jaugada inscriptions are written on three different tablets on the vertical face of the rock.'

'The first tablet contained the first five edicts, but about one-half has been utterly lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The second tablet comprised the next five edicts, namely, 6 to 10, to which was added the 14th or closing edict of the other versions. About one-third of this tablet has been lost by the peeling away of the rock.'

'The third tablet contained the two separate or additional edicts which are found at Dhauili.'

'These two additional edicts are enclosed in a frame which separates them from the collected series of Aśoka's edicts.'

'The separation of these two edicts is more distinctly marked by the accompaniment of the *svastika* symbol at each of the upper corners of the upper inscription, and of the letter *m* at the upper corners of the lower inscription.'³

'Copies of the inscriptions were taken in 1850 by the present Sir Walter Elliot, who was perfectly aware that they contained only another version of Aśoka's edicts, which had already been found at Shāhbāzgarhī, Gīrnār, and Dhauili.'⁴

Thanks to orders of the Government of Madras, the rock is now protected by an iron roof and railing.

The two separate edicts of Jaugada were edited with those of Dhauili by Professor Kern. The first purely mechanical estampages of the rock were prepared by Burgess. On these Senart's edition of the two separate edicts was based.⁵ Bühler published edicts I to X and XIV from a photograph by Mr. Minchin (ZDMG, vols. 37 and 40) and the two separate edicts from Burgess's estampages (id., 41. 1 ff.). His

¹ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 105 ff., and IA, 19. 82 ff.

² Mr. W. F. Grahame in IA, 1 (1872). 219.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 19 f. In JPASB, 17. 232 f., Harit Krishna Deb very ingeniously explains the *svastika* symbol as a monogram consisting of two Brāhmī *o*'s, and the *m* as the final letter of the sacred syllable *om*.

⁴ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 18. For further attempts to copy the Jaugada inscriptions I may refer to the same page, and to R. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. I, p. 4.

⁵ For references see above, under Dhauili.

second edition of the whole Jaugaḍa version (ASSI, I. 114 ff.) is accompanied by photo-lithographs (plates 67-69).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT (Text, p. 118).

Sōpārā is an ancient town in the Bassein tāluka of the Thāna district, Bombay. There Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered in 1882 a broken block of basalt bearing about one-third of the eighth rock-edict of Aśoka. The existing fragment suggests that a complete set of his edicts must have been engraved near Sōpārā.

'The stone was found near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town close to the old landing-place.'¹

The Pandit published a tracing and transcript of the fragment, along with the text of five other versions of edict VIII. The original stone is now preserved in the Museum of the Bombay Asiatic Society.

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

This term is meant to comprise the Aśoka inscriptions on the Delhi-Tōprā pillar and on the five other pillars which bear six of the seven edicts inscribed on it. The minor pillar-inscriptions will be treated separately in the third part. The 'Queen's edict' and the 'Kauśāmbī edict', however, are included in the second part, because they are inscribed on the Allahabad-Kōsam column which bears also six of the chief pillar-edicts.

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR (Text, p. 119).

This famous monument 'is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough.'² It used to be known by the names of 'Bhīma-sēna's pillar', 'Golden pillar', 'Fīrōz Shāh's pillar', and 'Delhi-Siwālik pillar'. Shams-i Sirāj, a historian of Fīrōz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88), informs us that it stood originally 'in the village of Tobra, in the district of Sālaura and Khizrābād, in the hills';³ that Sultan Fīrōz had it carried to Delhi; and that he erected it again on the top of his palace at Fīrōzābād. From Tobra near Khizrābād, which was ninety *kōs* from Delhi, the column was carried on a truck with forty-two wheels to the bank of the Jamnā, whence it was floated down the river to Fīrōzābād (Delhi) on a number of large boats.

Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 14. 78 f.) identified the village of Tobra, where the pillar stood originally, with the present Tōprā, on the direct line between Ambālā and Sirsāvā, eighteen miles to the south of Sādhōrā, and twenty-two miles to the south-west of Khizrābād. The pillar is standing to the present day on the roof of the three-storied citadel (*kōṭlā*) of Fīrōz Shāh outside the 'Delhi Gate' to the south-east of modern Delhi.⁴ An elevation of the building, with the pillar on the top of it, was published in 1788 in the first volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 379, and a sketch of it in 1803 in vol. 7, p. 175, plate 4.

¹ JBBRAS, 15. 282.

² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 35.

³ Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 350.

⁴ See a note by Lieutenant Kittoe, JASB, 6. 796 f., and the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar bears seven edicts of Aśoka, of which the last and longest is unique, while other specimens of the first six edicts have been discovered elsewhere. The first six edicts and the eleven first lines of the seventh edict are arranged in four columns on the north, west, south, and east faces of the pillar; the eleven remaining lines of the seventh edict run all round the pillar.

Besides the Aśoka edicts and several minor records of pilgrims and travellers,¹ the pillar bears three short inscriptions of the Chāhamāna Viśaladōva of Śākambarī, son of Ānalladēva (EI, 9. 67, n. 5), dated A.D. 1164, which have been edited last by Kielhorn from Fleet's impressions (IA, 19. 215 ff.).

The Delhi-Tōprā pillar-inscription is the first record of Aśoka that was read and translated in 1837 by Prinsep (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Facsimiles of this inscription had been in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 'since its very foundation, without any successful attempt having been made to decipher them' (id., p. 566).

'On searching the Society's portfolio' Prinsep 'found the five original manuscript plates of Captain Hoare, whence the engravings published in the *Researches*² seem to have been copied.'

'I found also two much larger drawings of the first and last inscription of the series, apparently of the actual dimensions.—These I suppose to have been the originals presented to Sir William Jones by Colonel Polier, and therefore of themselves venerable for their antiquity!' (id., p. 567).³

The ingenious manner in which Prinsep succeeded in deciphering the ancient Brāhmī alphabet deserves to be recorded here in his own words:

'In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and, as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.'

'While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles for Plate XXVII,⁴ I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, द्दन्. Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred [to me] that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is shown to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous *dhvajās* or flag-staffs, images, and small *chaityas* are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the frequent occurrence of the letter ण, already set down incontestably as *s*, before the final word:—now this I had learnt from the Saurāṣṭra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the *ssa* of the Pāli, or *śya* of the Sanskrit. "Of so and so the gift", must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel *ā* and Anusvāra led to the speedy recognition of the word *dānaṁ* (gift), teaching me the very two letters, *d* and *n*, most different from known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 167, and 5. 143 f.

² See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 6-10.

³ Cf. *Asiatic Researches*, I. 379.

⁴ 'Inscriptions from Sanchee, taken in facsimile on paper by Capt. E. Smith, Engineers.'

alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column' (id., p. 460 f.).

The first four edicts were examined by Burnouf in his *Lotus*, and the fourth and sixth by Kern in his *Jaartelling*. Senart's edition and translation of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 1 ff.) were based on Cunningham's eye-copies. In 1884 Fleet issued excellent photo-lithographs, to which Bühler added transcripts in the Nāgarī character (IA, 13. 306 ff.), and which were utilized in Sir George Grierson's English translation of Senart's French article (IA, vols. 17 and 18). Finally Bühler edited and translated the seven pillar-edicts twice, in German (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46) and in English (EI, 2. 245 ff.).

II. THE DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR (Text, p. 137).

This pillar now stands on the so-called 'Ridge' to the north-west of modern Delhi.¹ Like the Delhi-Tōprā pillar, it was carried to Delhi by Fīrōz Shāh. Shams-i-Sirāj tells us that it stood before in the vicinity of Mīraṭh, now a town and the head-quarters of a district of the United Provinces, and that Fīrōz Shāh re-erected it at Delhi on a hill in the Kushk-i-Shikār or 'Hunting-Palace',² which is known to have been situated on the Ridge.³

The pillar bears, besides some modern scribblings,⁴ a more or less damaged version of the first five edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar. A lithograph of its inscription was published by Prinsep in JASB, vol. 6 (1837), plate 42, from impressions forwarded by Major P. L. Pew, who added the following particulars:

'This very ancient Hindu pillar was dug out of some ruins near a well, and was probably destroyed by the blowing up of a powder magazine which I understand once existed near the spot. It consists of five pieces.'

'The pillar is sandstone, and to its perishable nature is to be attributed the imperfect state of the inscriptions' (id., p. 795).

Padre Tieffenthaler, who visited Delhi towards the middle of the eighteenth century, already saw the same five pieces lying on the top of the Ridge, and also ascribed the destruction of the pillar to gunpowder.⁵

'There the five pieces remained undisturbed for upwards of a century, when the inscribed portion was' sawn off⁶ and 'sent down to Calcutta to the Museum of the Asiatic Society. Within the last few years this piece has been returned to Delhi, and the pillar has again been set up in its old position.'⁷

IA, vol. 19 contains a facsimile of the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar-edicts by Fleet with transcripts by Bühler (p. 122 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

A fragment bearing portions of the two last lines of the sixth edict was offered to the British Museum in 1913. Its dimensions render it very probable that it belonged originally to the Delhi-Mīraṭh pillar.

¹ The position of the pillar is marked on plate 25 (facing p. 132) of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. I. See also the map facing p. 185 of Baedeker's *Indien*.

² Elliot-Dowson's *History of India*, 3. 353.

³ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 168.

⁴ Id., 5. 144.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 167.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

III and IV. THE LAURIYĀ-ARARĀJ AND LAURIYĀ-NANDANGARH PILLARS (Text, pp. 141 and 145).

The inscriptions on these two pillars were already known to Prinsep when he edited the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edicts in 1837 (JASB, 6. 566 ff.). Both pillars bear the first six edicts, the first four on the east face and the last two on the west face. Mr. B. H. Hodgson had called them the Radhia and Mathiah pillars.¹ Cunningham ascertained that the villages of Radhia and Mathiah are $2\frac{1}{2}$ and three miles distant from them, and proposed to call them the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Navandgarh pillars.² His reasons were the following: Each of the two pillars stands near a village named Lauriyā, the former of which is in the Champāran district, North Bihār, twenty miles NW. of Kēsariyā, while the second is fifteen miles NNW. of Betiyā in the same district. Both names are derived from the pillars themselves, which were mistaken by the people for *liṅgas* (Hīndī *lauṛā*). To distinguish the two different villages of Lauriyā, Cunningham combined with the former Ararāj, the name of a neighbouring temple of Śiva, and with the second Navandgarh, the name of a ruined fort in its vicinity. V. A. Smith (JRAS, 1902. 153, note) added that 'Navandgarh' is a mistake for 'Nandangarh'.

The Lauriyā-Ararāj pillar 'is a single block of polished sandstone, $36\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height above the ground.'³ According to V. A. Smith it was originally surmounted by a figure of Garuḍa.⁴

The Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillar 'is formed of a single block of polished sandstone, 32 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.'

'The capital, which is 6 feet 10 inches in height, is bell-shaped, with a circular abacus supporting the statue of a lion facing the north. The abacus is ornamented with a row of Brahmanī geese pecking their food.'⁵

Besides the Aśōka edicts, the pillar bears a record of the emperor Aurangzib and a few modern scribblings. It is now worshipped as a symbol of Śiva, and its erection is ascribed to the Pāṇḍava Bhīma.⁶

Bühler edited the inscriptions of the Lauriyā-Ararāj and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.). His second article was accompanied by photo-lithographs of Mr. Garrick's impressions.

V. THE RĀMPURVĀ PILLAR (Text, p. 151).

Another copy of the first six edicts is engraved on a lion-pillar of polished sandstone, which was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle at Rāmpurvā in the Champāran district, $32\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Betiyā.⁷ The relative positions of Lauriyā-Ararāj, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, and Rāmpurvā are shown on V. A. Smith's sketch map in JRAS, 1902. 162, and on plate I of Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 16.

¹ See JASB, 3 (1834). 481 ff., where a drawing of the Mathiah pillar and a lithograph of its inscription are given (plates 27 and 29). The first lithograph of the Radhia pillar appeared in vol. 4 (1835), p. 124, plate 7.

² *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39 ff.

³ Id., p. 40.

⁴ *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 147, and ZDMG, 65. 227.

⁵ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 72 f. For pictures of the pillar see id., plates 22 and 25; vol. 16, plate 27; the frontispiece of V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed.; and plate 2 of his *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*.

⁶ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 41.

⁷ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 22. 51.

'The pillar has fallen down, and is now lying partly in water.¹ The upper part of the lion is gone, but the lower part of the animal, with the bell capital and circular abacus with the well-known geese and conventional flowers, is still in very fair condition. The capital was fixed to the shaft by a massive copper bolt.'²

Mr. Garrick prepared impressions of that side of the pillar which could then be reached. Bühler's transcripts of them (ZDMG, vols. 45 and 46; EI, 2. 245 ff., with photo-lithograph) show that it contained portions of the first four edicts.

To Sir John Marshall we are indebted for complete impressions of the six edicts and for the discovery of the missing lion-capital.³ The length of the shaft was found to be 44 feet 9½ inches, of which 8 feet 9 inches are left rough-dressed, having originally been buried in the ground. As on the two Lauriyā pillars, the inscription is divided into two columns on opposite faces of the pillar.

The pillar has now been removed some 200 yards from its former position and lies horizontally on a small mound. To protect the inscription from the weather, a small brick shed has been erected over the centre of the pillar.⁴

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR (Text, p. 155).

This pillar now stands inside the fort at Allahabad. It 'is a single shaft of polished sandstone 35 feet in length.'⁵ 'Its total length, including the base, is forty-two feet seven inches.'⁶

Habent sua fata columnae! The history of the Allahabad pillar is as chequered and curious as that of the two Delhi pillars. On examination it is found to contain on it four strata of literary records:

- (1) The original inscriptions of Aśoka, viz.:
 - (a) the first six edicts of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar;
 - (b) the so-called 'Queen's edict' (to the right of 2);
 - (c) the so-called 'Kauśāmbī edict' (above b).
- (2) An inscription of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta (below 1).
- (3) An interlineation in Nāgarī characters.
- (4) An inscription of the emperor Jahāngīr.

A sketch of the pillar by Captain James Hoare and a rough copy of portions of its inscriptions appeared in 1801 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plates 13 and 14. In 1834 Lieutenant T. S. Burt published, at Prinsep's request, drawings of the pillar (JASB, vol. 3, plate 3), which was then lying on the ground, having been taken down by Colonel Kyd in 1804.⁷ 'The common legend of the natives', he says, 'states the pillar to be the *gadā* or staff of Bhīmasēna' (p. 105). Prinsep added a lithograph of Burt's copies of the Aśoka inscriptions and a classified table of letters (plates 4 and 5). Although yet unable to read the alphabet, he very shrewdly guessed the actual value of post-consonantal *ā*, *e*, and Anusvāra.

¹ See Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, vol. 22, plate 7.

² Id., vol. 16, preface, p. viii. See also plate 28. ³ JRAS, 1908. 1086, and plate I, fig. 1.

⁴ See *Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, for 1912-1913, p. 36.

⁵ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37.

⁶ Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 105.

⁷ See Lieutenant Kittoe's note in JASB, 4. 127.

Six months later he recognised the consonants *y*, *v*, *s* (p. 485), and three years after he deciphered the six Aśoka edicts, together with those of the Delhi-Tōprā pillar.¹

'The capital of the column was no doubt of the usual bell-shape of Aśoka's other pillars, but of this there is now no trace. The circular abacus, however, still remains, with its graceful scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle, resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. This was once surmounted by the statue of a lion;² but the lion must have disappeared many centuries ago, as when the pillar was re-erected by Jahāngīr in A.D. 1605, it was crowned by a globe, surmounted by a cone, as described and sketched by Padre Tieffenthaler in the middle of the next century.'³

In 1838 the pillar was set up again by Captain Edward Smith and provided with a newly designed lion which, according to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, I. 300), looks 'not unlike a stuffed poodle stuck on the top of an inverted flower pot.'

As regards the set of six edicts (1, a), 'the present confused appearance of it is due chiefly to the later inscriptions [3] that have been engraved between the original lines of writing. The most serious damage that has been done to it is due to seven entire lines and the greater part of the eighth, line 16, having been entirely destroyed to make room for a circular inscription of Jahāngīr [4].'⁴ IA, vol. 13 contains a facsimile of the six edicts by Fleet and a Nāgarī transcript by Bühler (p. 306 ff.), who reprinted the text twice, in ZDMG (vols. 45 and 46) and in EI (2. 245 ff.).

The Queen's edict (1, b) was already transcribed and translated by Prinsep,⁵ while the Kauśāmbī edict (1, c) was first noticed by Cunningham.⁶ Both were edited by Senart⁷ and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 19. 122 ff.). The Kauśāmbī edict was re-edited by A.-M. Boyer.⁸

The Kauśāmbī edict is addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit). Cunningham concluded from this that the Allahabad pillar must have been originally erected by Aśoka at Kauśāmbī,⁹ which is the modern Kōsam on the left bank of the Jamnā, about twenty-eight miles west by south from Allahabad.¹⁰ He further suggested that the removal of the pillar from Kōsam to Allahabad was perhaps due to Firōz Shāh, who is known to have transported the Tōprā and Mīrāth pillars to Delhi. But, while Delhi was the capital of Firōz Shāh, Allahabad was founded, or rather refounded, two centuries after him by Akbar.¹¹ This ruler may have removed from Kōsam the Allahabad pillar, on which inscriptions of his favourite Bīrbal¹² and of his son Jahāngīr are engraved. In this case the pillar would have been still standing at Kōsam when the inscription of Samudragupta (2) was incised on it. This record was last edited by Fleet in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 1; it refers to 'this lofty pillar' (*ayam uchchhrītaḥ stambhaḥ*, I. 30).

¹ JASB, 6 (1837). 566 ff. See also id., p. 965 f.

² Cf. JASB, 4. 127.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 37. For Captain Hoare's sketch of the pillar see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 7, plate 13.

⁴ Fleet in IA, 13. 305.

⁵ JASB, 6. 568 f. and 966 f., with a lithograph on plate 56, fig. 1. See also id., vol. 3, plate 4, bottom.

⁶ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38.

⁷ *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 99 ff., and IA, 18. 308 f.

⁸ JA (10), 10. 120 ff. and 141.

⁹ *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 2; also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 391 ff., and EI, 11. 91 and 141.

¹¹ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 298. For coins struck by Akbar at Allahabad see the *British Museum Catalogue of Moghul Coins*, pp. 48 and 53, Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, vol. II, Introduction, p. xlix, and the Catalogues by Wright (1908) and Brown (1920).

¹² Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 39.

The Nāgarī interlineation (3) of the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar 'is merely a series of unconnected scribblings of various dates, cut in most likely by the attendants on the pillar as a pretext for exacting a few rupees from visitors.'¹

Jahāngīr's inscription (4) records the names of his ancestors and is dated in A.H. 1014 or A.D. 1605.²

THIRD PART: MINOR PILLAR-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE SAMCHI PILLAR (Text, p. 160).

Sāmchī³ is an ancient site in the Bhōpāl State, Central India, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Bhilsā and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the Sanchi railway station. The Aśōka pillar 'is only a fragment of a large polished shaft; but near it there still lies a beautiful broken capital crowned by four lions, which, no doubt, once surmounted it.'⁴ It is now lying in the jungle; but apparently it stood originally near the south gate of the great Sāmchī Stūpa.⁵

The beginning of the inscription on the pillar is lost, and the first preserved line is badly damaged. A facsimile was published by Burgess in EI, 2. 369. The record was edited and translated by Bühler (id., p. 366 f.) and by Boyer (IA (10), 10. 123 ff. and 141), and re-examined by myself (JRAS, 1911. 167 ff., and 1912. 1055 f.).

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR (Text, p. 161).

Sārṇāth, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north of Benares, is believed to be the site of one of the most memorable events in the career of the Buddha: it adjoins the Migadāya (i. e. 'deer-park') at Isipatana in which he preached his first sermon.⁶ Here Mr. F. O. Oertel discovered a broken pillar of polished sandstone which bears an edict of Aśōka.⁷ He found also the former capital of the column, which 'is surmounted by four magnificent lions standing back to back, and in their middle was a large stone wheel, the sacred *dharmachakra* symbol', of which only fragments remain. 'The lions stand on a drum with four animal figures carved on it, viz. a lion, an elephant, a bull, and a horse, placed between four wheels. The upper part of the capital is supported by an elegantly shaped Persepolitan bell-shaped member.'

In the opinion of a competent judge 'it would be difficult to find in any country an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art, which successfully combines realistic modelling with ideal dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy.'⁸

The Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, saw on the site of the Migadāya a stone pillar which stood in front of a Stūpa built by Aśōkarāja, and which was about 70 feet high.⁹

¹ Prinsep in JASB, 6. 967. Cf. Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 38 f.

² See Lieutenant Burt in JASB, 3. 108, and Prinsep's foot-note.

³ Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar informed me that this, and not Sāñchī, is the actual pronunciation of the name.

⁴ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 42.

⁵ See EI, 2. 366, n. 2, and JRAS, 1902. 30.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 1. 107; SBE, 11. 146, and 13. 90; *Buddhist Birth Stories*, I. 111 f.

⁷ *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904-5, p. 68 ff.

⁸ V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60. For photographs of the capital see id., plate 13, and Oertel's article, plate 20.

⁹ Beal's BRWW, 2. 46.

As Oertel (*op. cit.*, p. 69) has calculated the actual height of the Sārnāth pillar at about 37 feet above ground, Hiuen Tsiang seems to have overestimated its height, unless he refers to a different pillar.

Unfortunately the three top lines of the inscription are broken away, and the fourth line is badly damaged. But Oertel succeeded in recovering three inscribed fragments which, as Professor Vogel has proved, contain the two first *aksharas* of each of lines 1-3, and the end of lines 3 and 4 (EI, 8. 166 f.). The remainder of the inscription was found *in situ* underground, and is in a state of nearly perfect preservation.

The stump of the pillar bears also two short records of a later date: an inscription of king Aśvaghōsha which is engraved in continuation of the last line of the Aśōka edict, and a Buddhist inscription in early Gupta characters above the Aśvaghōsha epigraph. These three records were first published, with collotypes, by Vogel in EI, 8. 166 ff., and the Aśōka edict was re-edited by Boyer (JA (10), 10. 119 ff.), Senart (CR, 1907. 25 ff.), and Venis (JPASB, 3. 1 ff.). See also my remarks in JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR (Text, p. 164).

In December 1896 Dr. Führer found a pillar bearing an inscription of Aśōka about thirteen miles south-east of the Nigālī Sāgar pillar (below, No. IV) in the Nepalese Tarāī. The pillar stands near the shrine of Rummindōi, about a mile to the north of the village of Paṇariyā, which is about two miles north of Bhagvānpur, the head-quarters of the Nepalese tahsīl of that name, and about five miles to the north-east of Dulhā in the British district of Bastī.¹

The new Aśōka pillar is a mere stump, but still *in situ* and surrounded by a brick railing. 'It is of hard sandstone of the usual yellowish colour, and rises to a height of 21 feet or so.'² The inscription on it was edited, with facsimile, by Bühler in 1898,³ and records that Aśōka visited the spot and erected the pillar 'because the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here', and that the king exempted the village of Lumbini from taxes.

Both Lumbini and the modern name Rummindēi must be identical with the Lumbinī grove, the traditional site of the Buddha's birth.⁴ This identification is confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang, who mentions a pillar set up by Aśōkarāja in the Lumbinī garden, and near the pillar the 'river of oil',⁵ which is now called Tilār-nadī, i.e. apparently 'the tēli's or oilman's river'.⁶ He further states that the pillar bore on the top the figure of a horse, and that it had been struck by lightning and broken off in the middle. This agrees with Mukherji's description of the Rummindēi pillar (p. 34). He tells us that 'its upper portion is gone, and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft';

¹ See V. A. Smith in IA, 34. 1, and cf. plates 18 and 19 of Babu P. C. Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai* (Calcutta, 1901).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 34. For a drawing of the pillar see *id.*, plate 20, fig. 3, and for photographs of it, the plate facing p. 27 of Führer's *Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place* (Allahabad, 1897) and the plate facing p. 148 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*.

³ EI, 5. 1 ff. For subsequent articles on the Rummindēi inscription see IA, 43. 17.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Ītaka*, vol. I, pp. 52 and 54. For other forms of the word *Lumbinī* see IA, 43. 18.

⁵ Beal's BRWW, 2. 24 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 6.

but it seems to be alluded to in the inscription itself. Finally, the temple of Rummindēi contains an ancient sculpture which represents the nativity of the Buddha (op. cit., plate 24, a). This is an additional piece of evidence in favour of the identity of the locality with the *Lumbini-vana*.

IV. THE NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR (Text, p. 165).

In March 1895 another Aśoka pillar of polished sandstone was discovered by Führer in the Nepalese Tarāi on the western bank of a large tank called Nigālī Sāgar, about a mile south of Niglīvā. This village lies about thirteen miles north-west of Rummindēi and belongs to the Nepalese tahsīl of Taulivā (about seven miles north-west of Piprāvā in the British district of Bastī).¹

The pillar is now called *Nigālī* or 'the smoking-pipe' of Bhīmasēna.² It is not *in situ*, and only two broken portions of it are preserved. The upper piece is about 14 feet 9½ inches long and bears a few mediæval drawings and scribblings. The lower portion is about 10 feet long and bears an inscription of Aśoka in four lines; some letters at the beginning of the two last lines are broken away.³

The inscription was first edited by Bühler in VOJ, 9. 175 ff., and again, with facsimile, in EI, 5. 1 ff. It records that Aśoka 'enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōnākamana to the double (of its original size)', and that later on he visited the spot in person and erected the pillar.

Hiuen Tsiang seems to mention the Nigālī Sāgar pillar.⁴ He states that it stood in front of a *Stūpa* containing relics of Kanakamuni Buddha, that it was surmounted by a lion, was about 20 feet high (which is less than the length of the two preserved pieces combined), bore an inscription, and had been erected by Aśokarāja. The *Stūpa* referred to by Hiuen Tsiang cannot be traced near the spot where the two portions of the pillar have been found.⁵

FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 166).

Rūpnāth is an out-of-the-way place of pilgrimage in the Central Provinces, fourteen miles west of Sleemanabad railway station⁶ on the line from Jabalpur to Katni.

The Rūpnāth rock is a single flinty block of dark-red sandstone lying at the foot of the Kaimur range of hills, just below the fertile plateau of Bahuriband.⁷ Here a small stream breaks over the crest of the Kaimur range, and, after three low falls, forms a deep secluded pool at the foot of the scarp. Each of these pools is considered holy, the uppermost being named after Rāma, the next after Lakshmaṇa, and the lowest

¹ For the relative positions of Niglīvā and Rummindēi see plate 1 of Mukherji's *Antiquities in the Tarai*.

² Id., p. 30, and Führer's *Monograph*, p. 23.

³ For photographs of the pillar see plates 3, 4, 5 of Führer's *Monograph*, and for a drawing of it, Mukherji's *Antiquities*, plate 16, fig. 1.

⁴ Beal's BRWW, 2. 19.

⁵ See V. A. Smith's preface to Mukherji's *Antiquities*, p. 3 f.

⁶ See V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 133, n. 1.

⁷ A small town thirty-two miles to the north of Jabalpur; see Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 9. 39.

after Sītā. The spot, however, is best known by the name of Rūpnāth, from a *linga* of Śiva which is placed in a narrow cleft of the rocks on the right.¹

'The detached boulder, upon which the edict of Aśoka is inscribed, lies just above the west margin of the lower pool under a great tree, the inscription being upon its flat top and near one edge. The rock is one of many that have fallen at some time or another from the cliffs above, and it is possible that it has fallen since the inscription was cut upon it.'²

'The edict of Aśoka is inscribed on the upper surface of the rock, which has been worn quite smooth by people sitting upon it for hundreds of years at the annual fairs. It is now of a very dark dirty-red colour, and the inscription might easily escape observation. The lines follow the undulations of the rock, and are neither straight nor parallel with each other. The inscription is $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 1 foot broad, and consists of six lines, of which the last has only five letters.'³

The Rūpnāth edict was copied in 1871-2 by Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 7. 59) and published with a facsimile in 1877 by Bühler (IA, 6. 149 ff.), who re-edited it twice afterwards.⁴ Senart's treatment of it is included in his *Inscriptions de Piyadasi* (2. 165 ff.) and in Sir George Grierson's translation (IA, 20. 154 ff.). Fresh impressions of the inscription were prepared by the late Dr. Bloch.⁵

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 169).

Sahasrām is a town and the head-quarters of a subdivision in the Shāhābād district, South Bihār. 'About two miles to the east of the town rises one of the last spurs of the Kaimur range of hills called Chandan-Pir, after a Muhammadan saint, who took up his abode on the top of the hill.'⁶

The edict of Aśoka 'is found in an artificial cave a short distance below, which is generally known as the *Chirāghdān* or 'lamp' of the saint. The roof of the cave is formed by a large projecting mass of rock that has most effectually preserved the greater part of the inscription, which is in excellent order, except in three or four places where the rock has peeled off. The entrance, which is only 4 feet high, is to the west between two built walls. By making an opening in one of these walls, my assistant, Mr. Beglar, obtained a good photograph of the inscription.'⁷

The Sahasrām edict was published three times by Bühler and twice by Senart along with the Rūpnāth one (No. I, above). In editing it the third time (IA, 22. 299), Bühler noted that Beglar's photograph still shows a number of letters which have since disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock, and which are already missing in Fleet's facsimile (*loc. cit.*). To the kindness of Sir John Marshall I owe a copy of this valuable photograph, which I have utilized for my transcript of the text.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 171).

A much damaged version of the Rūpnāth-Sahasrām edict was discovered in 1871-2 by Mr. Carlisle about a mile to the north-east of Bairāt, the head-quarters

¹ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 21.

² Mr. Cousens in *Progress Report*, ASWI, 1903-4, p. 35.

³ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 22.

⁴ IA, 7. 141 ff., and, with Fleet's facsimile, *id.*, 22. 299 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report*, AS, *Eastern Circle*, 1907-8, p. 19.

⁶ Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 11. 132 f.

⁷ Cunningham's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 20 f.

of a tahsīl in the Jaipur State, Rājputānā, about forty-two miles north-by-north-east of Jaipur City.

'This edict is engraved on a block lying separately, but immediately below the hill locally known as *Bhīm-kī-ḍuṅgrī* It is inscribed on the eastern face and near the lower end of the rock.'¹

The inscribed block 'is 17 feet in height by 24 feet in length from east to west, and 15 feet in thickness from north to south.'²

The inscription was edited by Bühler and Senart along with the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām ones (Nos. I and II, above). No facsimile of it has yet been published except Cunningham's eye-copy in his *Inscriptions of Asoka*, plate 14, No. x.

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 172).

The block which bears this very interesting and valuable record is now preserved in Calcutta by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was discovered in 1840 by Captain Burt 'upon a hill lying adjacent to' Bairāt, the town near which some years later Carlleyle found the preceding inscription (No. III). Burt reported that he found the inscription 'on a hard, grey granite block, irregularly shaped, and measuring about two feet in two of its dimensions, and a foot and a half in the third' (JASB, 9. 616). His copy of the inscription was lithographed by Captain Kittoe, and transcribed and translated by the same 'with the aid of the learned Pandit Kamala Kanta' (id., p. 617 and plate).

Burt's copy formed the basis of the editions of Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 710 ff.), Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 32 ff.), and Wilson (JRAS, 16. 357 ff., with lithograph). Senart edited the record in his *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, 2. 197 ff., and published a revised edition of it, from an estampage by Burgèss, in IA, 20. 165 ff. A photograph of Burgess' estampage appeared in JA (8), 9. 498.

As Burt had stated that Bairāt was six *kōs* distant from 'Bhabra' (JASB, 9. 616), the inscription has been styled generally 'the Bhabra edict'. But this name implies a double mistake: the town from which it is derived is not called 'Bhabra', but Bhābrū, and the latter is twelve miles distant from Bairāt, the finding-place of the block.³ According to Cunningham (*Arch. Reports*, 2. 247), 'the hill on which the inscription was found forms a conspicuous object about one mile to the south-west of the town [of Bairāt]. It is about 200 feet high, and is still known by the name of *Bījak-Pahār* or "inscription hill"'. It is covered with ruins which Cunningham (id., p. 248) took to be the remains of two Buddhist monasteries.

'The inscription stone originally lay, I am told, near the shrine of Hanūmān below the rock known as *tōṭ* or "cannon", on the first or lower platform on the summit of the hill.'⁴

In order to distinguish this inscription from the preceding one (No. III), I propose to call it 'the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription'.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Text, p. 174).

Another, damaged, version of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt edicts was discovered on January 27, 1915, by Mr. C. Beadon, a gold-mining engineer, in the

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45 f. Cf. Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 23. 29.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, 6. 98.

³ See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Progress Report, AS, Western Circle*, 1909-10, p. 45.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

neighbourhood of Maski, a village in the Lingsugur táluka of the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions, about forty-six miles west-south-west from Raichur. I am indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri for the subjoined note on Maski :

'By enquiries made at the place, I gather that the spelling of the village named Maski is different with different communities. The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it Maśgi or Maśigi; the Brahmin classes call it Maski, and the Muham-madans Masgi. A Chālukya inscription of the time of Jagadēkamalla (Śaka 949) calls the place *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*, i.e. "the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi". Another inscription of the same king in the village refers to that quarter as the *Brahmapurī* of *Mosaṅgi*. A later record of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa of the thirteenth century calls the place again *Rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṅgi*. In two other inscriptions of the place belonging to the reigns of Achyutarāya and Sadāśivarāya, its name is mentioned as *Mosage*, the chief town of *Mosage-nūdu*.'

To these remarks we may add that *Mosaṅgi*, the ancient form of the name of Maski, suggests its identity with the battle-field of *Muśaṅgi*, where, according to Tamil records, the Chālukya king Jayasimha II was defeated by Rājendra-Chōla I.¹

A careful transcript and translation of the Maski inscription (with plates) was published by H. Krishna Sastri,² who describes the site as follows :

'The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder, which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape, stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 feet 9 inches by 5 feet' (p. 2).

In the year 1916, the third of the great war, Fleet drew attention to the new inscription in JRAS, 1916. 572 ff.; Senart examined it in detail in JA (11), 7. 425 ff.; and I, having received a copy of Krishna Sastri's article from my friend Konow, re-published the text in ZDMG, 70. 539 ff.

The chief interest of the Maski inscription consists in the fact that the king is here called not only *Dēvānā priya*, but in addition to it *Aśōka*,—a name which was hitherto known only from Buddhist literature and from the *Purāṇas*.

VI, VII, VIII. ROCK-INSRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE (Text, p. 175).

These three records, which resemble the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski edicts, but add to them a second edict, were discovered and edited with lithographs by Mr. B. L. Rice in 1892.³ They were discussed by Senart, who added a transcript and translation of the Brahmagiri version (JA (8), 19. 472 ff.), and by Bühler, who corrected a few details (VOJ, 7. 29 ff.). In 1894 Bühler re-edited the three inscriptions with photo-lithographs prepared from inked estampages (EI, 3. 134 ff.). Transcripts and facsimiles are given also in Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. II, from which I borrow the following careful description of the localities (Introduction, p. 2 f.):⁴

'The Aśōka inscriptions discovered by me were three in number, situated on hills on the right and left banks of the Janagi-hallā or Chinna Haggari river, where it crosses

¹ See *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, 1. 95 f.; EI, 9. 230; Fleet in JRAS, 1916. 574.

² *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. I; *The New Asokan Edict of Maski*, 1915.

³ *Edicts of Aśōka in Mysore*, nine pages of foolscap, dated Bangalore, February 1892.

⁴ See also Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1909. 997 f.

the Molikālmuru tāluq [of the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State] from west to east. They are all in the neighbourhood of Siddāpura,¹ between 14° 47' and 51' north latitude and about 76° 51' east longitude. The best preserved is the Brahmagiri inscription, engraved on the top of a great boulder of gneiss, at the north-west base of the hill of that name, at a point called the *Ganjigunte-mīle*. The boulder was well known throughout the neighbourhood as the *Akshara-guṇḍu* or "letter-rock", and was supposed to be endued with medicinal virtues. Accordingly, in various ailments of human beings and in diseases of cattle, the stone was washed and the water used for the purpose given to the patient to drink. It was the favourite seat for goatherds in the heat of the day when the flocks were collected into the shade of the surrounding rocks, and for ryots watching the crops in the neighbouring fields. The inscription is cut on the undressed horizontal surface of the rock, which slopes down somewhat at the end of the lines. It consists of thirteen not very regular lines, covering a space of 15' 6" by 11' 6". Half a dozen letters at the beginning of the 6th and 7th lines have been defaced by lodgment of water in a depression in the stone.'

'The second inscription is less than a mile to the west of the first, and close to Siddāpura, on a ledge, facing south, some way up a rocky group of hills called *Yenamana Timmayyana guṇḍu* or "the buffalo-herd Timmayya's rocks". It consists of twenty-two lines, covering a space of 13' 6" by 8', and is engraved in lines of varying length on the sloping and peeling horizontal surface of the rock. A great boulder overhangs the inscription on the north, under the eaves of which the lines end, leaving a very small space between the inscribed floor and the rock above. Considerable portions have been defaced, as the shady ledge on which the inscription is cut formed a favourite shelter for goats and cattle.'

'The third inscription is on the western summit of the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill, which is some three miles or more north by west of Brahmagiri. The inscription is cut on a very irregular slanting horizontal surface of rock, facing north-east, which has been quarried at some period. Overhanging the inscription on the south is an immense boulder, which still shows the marks of the mason's punches used in splitting off a considerable portion of its northern face. The floor on which the inscription is cut is immediately in front of the stairs leading up to the Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara temple. Consequently all pilgrims to the shrine used to walk right over the inscription, and have no doubt done so for centuries. Moreover, owing to the convenient shadow of the overhanging boulder, the site of the inscription was the favourite resort of the bangle-sellers at the annual festival. Hence the rock is called the *Baḷḷgāra-guṇḍu* or "bangle-sellers' rock", and various holes have been punched in different parts of the rock on which the inscription is cut to receive the posts of the booths or tents erected by them at the annual fair. For the foregoing reasons it is not surprising that the inscription is very greatly defaced, so much so indeed that it is difficult to tell exactly where it begins or where it ends. So far as can be made out, it consists of at least twenty-eight lines, covering a space of 17' 6" by 6' 6". There is a guiding line engraved in the margin to the left, apparently to show the direction of the lines, but those above this mark do not seem to have been parallel with those below it.'

From a foot-note² we are glad to learn that 'erections have now been put up over this and the other Aśoka inscriptions by the Mysore Government for their protection, and the headman of the village has the keys as custodian'.

¹ According to Krishna Sastri, the actual pronunciation of this name is Śiddāpura.

² *Ep. Carn.*, vol. 11, Introduction, p. 2, n. 2.

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

The first of these is the fact that the
 population of the country is increasing
 rapidly, and the demand for land is
 increasing accordingly. The second
 is the fact that the land is being
 used for purposes other than
 agriculture, and the demand for
 land is increasing accordingly.

[illegible][illegible]

According to the second and third Varāha inscriptions the name of the Barābar Hill is called *Khadakāḥka*. Both the first and second inscriptions of king *Devānampīya* and the third *Śiṅga*, and inscriptions of *Indrabauha* specify as donees the monks of the *Kṛpaka* sect. In these cases an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *Aṣṭadhi*. This was probably done in the time of the Maukhari Anantavarman, who assigned one of the Barābar caves to *Kṛṣṇa*, and two of the Nāgārjunī ones to *Śiva* and *Parvati*.

The three Pāṇini inscriptions of king *Devanampriya* were first lithographed and described by Captain Elliot. They were examined by Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 779 ff.) and edited by Leumann and, with Fleet's facsimiles, by Bühler (IA, 20, 361 ff.).

CHAPTER II. THE AUTHOR OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The king at whose orders the rock and pillar-edicts published in the first and second parts of this volume were engraved, gives his name or title in various Prākṛit forms of which the Sanskrit would be *Devanāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśi rājā*.⁹ This full

³ Captain Kitter in JASH, 10 (1912), 404.

² Cunningham's *Arch. Reports*, I. 40.

¹ Ibid., p. 14. For the modern names of the single Barabar caves and for plans of them see ibid., plates III and IV. Cf. also Hargreaves's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Hargreaves and Soper, v. 1904; *The Temples of India*, p. 37 ff.; V. A. Smith's *Monuments of the Buddhist and Hindu*, p. 40.

For the bibliography of these inscriptions see *Eddara's List of Brahmi Inscriptions* (EI, vol. iv, Appendix), Nos. 111-16.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *b* contents were determined by the method of Lichtenthaler and Whistler (1973).

* A-20, 10, 10, 10, and plate 2, figures 1, 2.

^a λ_{max} (nm) of Ag^+ and LA_n are 108 nm.

^a See *Id.*, Nos. 48-50.

* In a few cases (Khalid rock edict I, A; Shahbazgarhi rock edict II, A; Delhi-Tōprā
pillars edict VII, C and XI) the word *śāst* is omitted, and once (Shahbazgarhi, I, A) the word
is replaced by *śāst* (B&S, nos. 48).

form of his title is shortened into *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* in section C of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa rock-edict X, in all texts of the rock-edicts XII and XIII after the opening section, in which the full style is preserved, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, RR. In the two separate rock-edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, in the Queen's pillar-edict, and in the Kauśāmbī pillar-edict, *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* alone is found.

Among the records published in the third and fourth parts of this volume, the Rummindēi and Nigālī Sāgar pillars exhibit the full form *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā*. The Maskī rock-inscription opens with the genitive case of *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*. On the Sārnāth pillar and in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions we have only *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ*. On the Sāmchī pillar this word is lost; but the contents of the Sāmchī and Sārnāth pillars are so nearly related to those of the Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar, that they can be safely referred to the same royal author. The same applies to the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c., which remind us of the rock- and pillar-edicts in many significant details.¹

There remain the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription and the three Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions. In the former the king styles himself *Priyadarśī rājā*, and in the three others *rājā Priyadarśī*. In the Calcutta-Bairāt record the king shows a strong interest in Buddhism. It would be, therefore, hypercritical not to assign this document to the same sovereign who paid visits to Sāmbōdhi (rock-edict VIII, C), to Lummini (Rummindēi pillar), and to the *Stāpa* of Kōṇākamana (Nigālī Sāgar pillar). We cannot, however, decide with certainty whether the three Barābar Hill inscriptions belong to the same king or to another member of his dynasty. In favour of the former alternative it may perhaps be urged that two of the caves on the Barābar Hill were dedicated to the Ājivikas when the donor had been 'anointed twelve years'. For, this happens to be the regnal year in which the author of the rock- and pillar-edicts commenced to issue 'rescripts on morality'; see the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The etymological meaning of the term *Dēvānāmpriya* is 'dear to the gods'. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, and V, 3, 14, this word was used as an honorific like *bhavan*, *dīrghāyuh*, and *āyushmān*.² Pāṇini himself does not mention *Dēvānāmpriya*, but states that the termination of the genitive case is preserved at the end of the first member of compounds if the meaning is abusive (पद्म आक्रोशे, VI, 3, 21). The *Kāśikā* commentary adduces the two examples चोरसकुलं, 'the family of a thief', and वृषलसकुलं, 'the family of a low-caste man'.³ Kātyāyana affixes to Pāṇini's *Sūtra* five *Vārttikas*, the third of which states that the compound *Dēvānāmpriya* ought to be added. Neither the *Mahābhāṣya* nor the *Kāśikā* have the word मूर्ख, 'with the meaning of "fool"', which the *Siddhāntakaumudī* adds to the *Vārttika*. This secondary meaning of *Dēvānāmpriya* was already known to Patañjali's commentator Kaiyaṭa,⁴ while Kātyāyana and Patañjali ignore it, although Patañjali on Pāṇini, II, 4, 56, seems to have used *Dēvānāmpriya* in an ironical sense. In Bāṇa's

¹ Cf. the foot-notes on the translation of the Rūpnāth edict, *passim*, and Bühler, IA, 7. 144 f.

² Cf. Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 13. 337, n. 1.

³ Cf. वृषलःपुत्रः in the *Kāśikā* on the next *Sūtra*. It is worth noting that in the drama *Mudrārākṣha* Chāṇakya uses the term वृषल with reference to Chandragupta.

⁴ Cf. *Bāṇamanōramā* on Pāṇini, VI, 3, 21. Kaiyaṭa's commentary is not accessible to me.

Harshacharita it is found twice as an honorific.¹ In the same way *Devānuppiya* is employed frequently in Jaina literature.²

In the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Devānampiya* is prefixed to the name of Aśoka's contemporary, Tissa of Ceylon, and is often used alone to denote him,³ and in the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions it follows the name of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.⁴ In a few of the inscriptions published in this volume it is employed as a synonym of *rājan*, 'a king': In the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā texts of the rock-edict VIII, A, the king's predecessors are called *Devānampiyā* and *Devanainpriya*, while the Gīrnār and Dhauli versions have *rājāno* and *lājāne*; and the word *Devānampīye* in the second separate edict at Dhauli (twice in section G and thrice in I) corresponds to *lājā* in the Jaugaḍa text of the same edict (sections H and J).

As stated above (p. xxviii), another epithet of the king to whom the inscriptions published in this volume are due was *Priyadarśin*, 'he who glances amiably'. Both *Piyadassi* and *Piyadassana*, 'of amiable appearance', occur repeatedly in the *Dīpavaṃsa*⁵ as equivalents of Aśoka, the name of the great Maurya king.⁶ In the drama *Mudrārākṣha*,⁷ *Piadaṃsa* is prefixed to Chandasiri, i.e. Chandragupta, the name of Aśoka's grandfather.

Before discussing Prinsep's identification of the king *Devānānpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions with the Maurya king Aśoka, it will be advisable to quote from the texts a few details which are of leading importance in this connexion. The opening section of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription informs us that *Priyadarśin* was a *Māgadha* king, i. e. a ruler of Magadha. From the rock-edict V, M, we learn that his capital was *Pāṭaliputra*; for, the words 'both in *Pāṭaliputra* and in the outlying [towns]' at Gīrnār correspond to 'here and in all the outlying towns' at Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsehrā, and Dhauli. In the second and thirteenth rock-edicts the king refers to a number of contemporary Yōna, i.e. Greek, kings: the rock-edict II, A, mentions 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyaka* at Gīrnār, *Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and the kings who are the neighbours of this *Antiyoka*'; and the rock-edict XIII, Q, 'the Yōna king *Antiyoka* (*Antiyoga* at Kālsī and Mānsehrā), and beyond him four kings, viz. *Turamāya* (*Tulamaya* at Kālsī), *Antekina* (*Antikini* at Shāhbāzgarhī), *Makā* (*Magā* at Gīrnār), and *Alikasudara* (*Alikyashudala* at Kālsī)'.

The great decipherer of the old Brāhmī alphabet, James Prinsep, at first ascribed the edicts to *Devānampiya Tissa* of Ceylon.⁸ This is of course impossible because we know now that the author of the edicts calls himself a king of Magadha, and that he resided at *Pāṭaliputra*. The discovery of the Nāgārjunī Hill cave-inscriptions of Dashedatha *Devānampiya*, whom Prinsep at once identified with Daśaratha, the grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka (id., p. 676 ff.), and the fact that Turnour had found *Piyadassi* or *Piyadassana* used as a surname of Aśoka in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, induced Prinsep to abandon his original view, and to identify king *Devānānpriya Priyadarśin* with Aśoka himself (id., p. 790 ff.). *A limine*, another member of the Maurya dynasty

¹ See Kielhorn in JRAS, 1908. 505.

² See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 111. Hoernle and Pischel derived the word from Skt. *dēva + anupriya*. Hēmachandra (*Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, III, 17) assigns to *Devānānpriya* the meaning of 'fool'.

³ See Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 485. ⁴ IA, 20. 364 f.

⁵ See the Index to Oldenberg's edition. ⁶ Similarly, in the fourth act of the drama *Priyadarśikā*, its heroine is called both *Priyadarśikā* and *Priyadarśanā*.

⁷ Hillebrandt's edition, p. 159, lines 1 and 5; cf. his article on the *Kautilyaśāstra* (Breslau, 1908), p. 30.

⁸ JASB, 6 (1837). 472 f., 566 f.

might be meant as well; for, as stated above (p. xxx), the eighth rock-edict shows that the king's predecessors also bore the title *Dēvānāmpriya*, and the *Mudrārākṣha* applies the epithet *Priyadarśana* to Chandragupta. Every such doubt is now set at rest by the discovery of the Maski edict, in which the king calls himself *Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka*.

In February, 1838, Prinsep published the text and a translation of the second rock-edict. He found in the Girnār version of it (l. 3) the words *Antiyako Yona-rājā*, and in the Dhauli version (l. 1) *Antiyoke nāma Yona-lājā*, and identified the Yōna king Antiyaka or Antiyoka with Antiochus III of Syria.¹ In March, 1838, he discovered in the Girnār edict XIII (l. 8) the names of *Turamāya*, *Antikona*,² and *Magā*, whom he most ingeniously identified with Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (?), and Magas of Cyrene. At the same time he modified his earlier theory, and now referred the name *Antiyoka* to Antiochus I or II of Syria, preferably the former (id., p. 224 ff.).

On the Girnār rock the name of a fifth king, who was mentioned after *Magā*, is lost. The Shāhbāzgarhī version calls him *Alikasudara*. Norris recognised that this name corresponds to the Greek *Ἀλέξανδρος*, and suggested hesitatingly that Alexander of Epirus, the son of Pyrrhus, might be meant by it.³ This identification was endorsed by Westergaard,⁴ Lassen,⁵ and Senart.⁶ But Professor Beloch now thinks that Alexander of Corinth, the son of Craterus, has a better claim.⁷

As will appear in the sequel, the mention of these five contemporaries in the inscriptions of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* confirms in a general way the correctness of Prinsep's identification of the latter with Aśōka, the grandson of Chandragupta whose approximate time we know from Greek and Roman records. Antiochus I Soter of Syria reigned 280-261 B.C., his son Antiochus II Theos 261-246, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt 285-247, Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia 276-239, Magas of Cyrene c. 300-c. 250, Alexander of Epirus 272-c. 255, and Alexander of Corinth 252-c. 244.⁸ The rock-edict XIII cannot be placed earlier than twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, when he commenced publishing 'rescripts on morality'.⁹ If we assume that the rock-edicts are arranged in chronological order, it cannot have been issued earlier than thirteen years after the *abhishēka*, when Aśōka appointed '*Mahāmātras* of morality' as he tells us in edict V. If the Alikasudara of edict XIII is Alexander of Epirus, its date would fall between 272 and 255, and if Alexander of Corinth is meant, between 252 and 250. For fixing the period of Aśōka's reign within narrower limits, we are thrown back on what information can be gathered from Indian and classical literature concerning Aśōka's grandfather Chandragupta.

¹ JASB, 7. 156 ff.

² In reality Girnār and Kālsī read *Antekina*, and Shāhbāzgarhī *Antikini*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) justly remarked that these two forms would rather correspond to Antigenes than to Antigonus. But no king named Antigenes is known to us, although it was the name of one of the officers of Alexander the Great, who was executed, together with Eumenes, in 316 B.C., being then satrap of Susiana.

³ JRAS, 8 (1846). 305.

⁴ *Zwei Abhandlungen*, translated from the Danish into German by Stenzler (Breslau, 1862), p. 120 f.

⁵ *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (2nd ed.). 253 ff.

⁶ IA, 20. 242.

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 2, p. 105.

⁸ The figures of these reigns are taken from Beloch's *Griech. Geschichte*, vol. 3.

⁹ See the pillar-edict VI, B, and cf. the rock-edict IV, K.

The historical tradition of India, Ceylon, and Burma is unanimous in naming as the founder of the Maurya dynasty **Chandragupta**, and as his two immediate successors **Bindusāra** and **Aśōka**. The pseudo-prophetic account of the *Purāṇas* runs thus :

‘Kauṭilya (or Chāṇakya) will establish king Chandragupta in the kingdom. Chandragupta will be king twenty-four years, Bindusāra twenty-five years, and Aśōka thirty-six years.’¹

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years (V, 73, 100), and Bindusāra’s son Aśōka thirty-seven years (V, 101).²

The *Mahāvamsa* states that the Brāhmaṇa Chāṇakya anointed the Maurya Chandragupta (V, 16 f.), and that Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years, his son Bindusāra twenty-eight years (V, 18), and Bindusāra’s son Aśōka (V, 19) thirty-seven years (XX, 6).

Buddhaghōsha’s *Samantapāsādikā* agrees with the *Mahāvamsa* in allotting twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-eight years to Bindusāra.³

The Burmese tradition assigns twenty-four years to Chandragupta and twenty-seven years to Bindusāra.⁴

It will be seen that all sources agree in fixing the length of Chandragupta’s reign at twenty-four years. To Bindusāra the Ceylonese chronicles allot twenty-eight years, Bigandet twenty-seven years, and the *Purāṇas* twenty-five years.

The Ceylonese sources state that Aśōka succeeded his father Bindusāra **214 years** after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa,⁵ and that his anointment took place four years after his father’s death, or **218 years** after the Nirvāṇa.⁶ The Burmese tradition confirms the two dates 214 and 218.⁷

As, according to the Ceylonese sources, Bindusāra ruled twenty-eight years and Chandragupta twenty-four years, the former would have reigned A. B. 186–214, and the latter A. B. 162–186.⁸ If we deduct the year of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne (162) from the traditional date of the Nirvāṇa, 544 B. C., the result is 382 B. C. This would be about sixty years earlier than the actual accession of Chandragupta as ascertained from Greek sources. For, luckily, the approximate time of king Chandragupta of Pāṭaliputra has been already settled by one of the great pioneers of Indian research, Sir William Jones,⁹ who identified him with Σανδράκοττος of Παλιβοθρα, the contemporary of Seleucus Nikator.

Various devices were proposed in order to account for this chronological error, until Fleet showed that the Buddha-varsha of 544 B. C. is a comparatively modern fabrication, of the twelfth century, and that the difference of about sixty years is the quite natural

¹ See Pargiter’s *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913), p. 28.

² The length of Bindusāra’s reign is not specified in the *Dīpavaṃsa*; but the period of twenty-eight years is deducible from statements made in chapter XI, verses 5, 12, 13, about king Muṇḍasiva of Ceylon. See Fleet in JRAS, 1908, 481, and 1909, 25.

³ *Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, 3, 321.

⁴ Bigandet’s *Life or Legend of Gaudama*, 4th ed., 2, 128.

⁵ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 20 f.

⁶ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 1, 21 f.; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 21 f.; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

⁷ Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2, 128 f.

⁸ According to Bigandet’s *Life of Gaudama*, 2, 128, Chandragupta reigned A. B. 163–187, and Bindusāra 187–214. If, as the *Purāṇas* assert, Bindusāra reigned only twenty-five years, he would have succeeded Chandragupta in A. B. 189.

⁹ In his *Anniversary Discourse*, delivered February 28, 1793, and published in 1795 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 4. The passage is reprinted in his *Works* (London, 1799), I, 152 f., and in the *Centenary Review of the ASB*, part 2, p. 85 f.

result of accumulated mistakes which were made in rounding off the figures of the regnal years of the kings of Ceylon.¹

While thus the alleged date of the Nirvāṇa in 544 B.C., and that of Chandragupta's accession in 382 B.C., have no practical value, the traditional interval of 218 years between the Nirvāṇa and Aśoka's *abhishēka* might still be considered authentic. There are, however, two facts which in my opinion render it somewhat suspicious. It includes a period of 100 years between the Nirvāṇa and the Second Council.² Such a nice round sum as just 100 years looks very much like a clumsy guess and a pure invention.³ Secondly, the traditional figures of the Northern Buddhists are almost totally at variance with those of the Southern Buddhists.⁴

The leading passage concerning Chandragupta's date is found in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogi*, XV, 4 :⁵

‘[Seleucus] multa in Oriente post divisionem inter socios regni Macedonici bella gessit. Principio Babyloniam cepit; inde auctis ex victoria viribus Bactrianos expugnavit. Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti a cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat, sed titulum libertatis post victoriam in servitutem verterat; siquidem occupato regno populum, quem ab externa dominatione vindicaverat, ipse servitio premebat. Fuit hic humili quidem genere natus, sed ad regni potestatem maiestate numinis impulsus. Quippe cum procacitate sua Nandrum regem offendisset, interfici a rege iussus salutem pedum celeritate quaesierat. Ex qua fatigatione cum somno captus iaceret, leo ingentis formae ad dormientem accessit sudoremque profluentem lingua ei detersit expergefatumque blande reliquit. Hoc prodigio primum ad spem regni impulsus contractis latronibus Indos ad novitatem regni sollicitavit. Molienti deinde bellum adversus praefectos Alexandri elephantus ferus infinitae magnitudinis ultro se obtulit et veluti domita mansuetudine eum tergo excepit duxque belli et proelior insignis fuit. Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate, qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat, Indiam possidebat, cum quo facta pactione Seleucus compositisque in Oriente rebus in bellum Antigoni descendit.’

McCrinkle translates this as follows :⁶

‘[Seleucus] waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia, and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom, but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble

¹ JRAS, 1909. 333, 335.

² *Vinaya-piṭaka, Chullavagga*, beginning of last chapter (XII); *Dīpavanīsa*, IV, 47, and V, 15 f.; *Mahāvāṇīsa*, IV, 8; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in SBE, 13. xxii: ‘This is no doubt a round number; and the exact year of the date of the Buddha's death is open to question.’

⁴ Cf. Geiger's translation of the *Mahāvāṇīsa*, p. lx f., where the figures of the Northern Buddhists are specified, and Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 94 ff.

⁵ Ruehl's edition (Leipzig, 1886), p. 119.

⁶ *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* (Westminster, 1893), p. 327 f.

life,¹ but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,² and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight. When he lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke quietly took its departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so, having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing government. When he was thereafter preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him, and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to its back and fought vigorously in front of the army. Sandrocottus having thus won the throne was reigning over India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness. Seleucus, having made a treaty with him and otherwise settled his affairs in the East, returned home to prosecute the war with Antigonos.'

The same transactions are referred to in Appian's *Ρωμαϊκά*, book *Συριακή*, chapter 55 :³

[Σέλευκος] τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο.

'[Seleucus] crossed the Indus and waged war on Androcottus, king of the Indians who dwelt about it, until he made friends and entered into relations of marriage with him.'⁴

According to Strabo, Seleucus ceded to Sandrocottus a tract of land to the west of the Indus, entering into a matrimonial alliance with him and receiving in exchange five hundred elephants.⁵ We know from various sources that Megasthenes became the ambassador of Seleucus at Chandragupta's court.⁶ Strabo adds that Deimachus was sent on an embassy to Chandragupta's son, whom he calls Amitrochades :⁷

Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὃ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Σανδρόκοττον, ὃ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀλιτροχάδην⁸ τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν· ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀποδημίας κατέλιπον τοιαῦτα.

'Megasthenes and Deimachus were sent on an embassy, the former to Sandrocottus at Palimbothra, the other to Amitrochades his son; and they left accounts of their sojourn in the country'.⁹

¹ According to the *Mudrārākshasa*, Chandragupta was a Vṛishala, i.e. a member of the Śūdra caste; see above, p. xxix, n. 3.

² This 'Nandrus' must be the last king of the Nanda dynasty which, according to Indian tradition, was overthrown by Chandragupta; see A. von Gutschmid, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge*, 12 (1857). 262. Instead of the accusative 'Nandrum' the older editions read 'Alexandrum'; cf. Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.), p. 207, n. 3. The original reading might have been 'Nandum'.

³ Mendelssohn's edition (Leipzig, 1879), I. 426.

⁴ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 114.

⁵ Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 217 f.; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 132 f.; Krom, *Hermes*, 44. 154 ff.

⁶ Schwanbeck, *Megasthenis Indica* (Bonn, 1846), p. 19; C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 2 (Paris, 1848). 398; McCrindle, IA, 6. 115.

⁷ *Geographica*, ed. Müller et Dübner, II, 1, 9 (p. 58 f.).

⁸ The subsequent quotation from Athenaeus shows that this is a clerical mistake for Ἀμιτροχάδην or Ἀμιτροχάτην.

⁹ McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 115.

It may be concluded from this interesting notice that Chandragupta's son and successor Bindusāra had the surname *Amitraghāta*,¹ i.e. 'the slayer of enemies'. The same king is referred to as a contemporary of Antiochus (I Soter of Syria) in a curious anecdote preserved by Athenaeus:²

Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γράψαι Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὴν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι· ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὴν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.'

'Dried figs were so eagerly desired by all men that even Amitrochates, the king of the Indians, wrote to Antiochus asking him, says Hegesander, to purchase and send him sweet wine, dried figs, and a sophist; and that Antiochus wrote back: "We shall send you dried figs and sweet wine; but it is not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist."'

If this statement of Athenaeus is combined with the preceding one of Strabo, it appears that the friendly intercourse which had existed between Seleucus and Chandragupta, was continued by their respective sons and successors, Antiochus I and Bindusāra-Amitraghāta, and that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus at the court of Chandragupta, was succeeded by Deimachus, the ambassador of Antiochus I at the court of Bindusāra-Amitraghāta. From Pliny³ we learn that another Greek potentate, Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285-247), sent Dionysius as ambassador to an unnamed Indian king, who may be supposed to have been either Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁴

I now return to the question of Chandragupta's date. Seleucus I Nikator of Syria (B.C. 312-280) 'arrived in Cappadocia in the autumn of 302 [the year preceding the battle of Ipsus]. The march thither from India must have required at least two summers. Consequently, the peace with Chandragupta has to be placed about the summer of 304, or at the latest in the next winter.'⁵ Thus the coronation of Chandragupta falls between B.C. 323 (Alexander's death) and 304 (the treaty with Seleucus). As the consolidation of an empire which, as described by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά*, reached from Patnā to the Indus, must have been a matter of many years, I feel inclined to shift the date of Chandragupta's accession towards the earlier limit and to adopt as a working date the year B.C. 320 which Fleet has proposed.⁶ With this starting-point, and if the length of reigns as given in the *Mahāvamsa* is accepted, Chandragupta would have ruled 320-296, and Bindusāra 296-268. Aśoka would have been crowned (four years after his father's death) in B.C. 264. This date is confirmed approximately by Aśoka's thirteenth rock-edict, which, as stated above (p. xxxi), cannot be placed earlier than twelve or thirteen years after his *abhiśhēka*. 264-12/13 = 252/251 would be one or two years before the last possible year (B.C. 250) in which all the Greek kings mentioned in that edict were still alive. This synchronism would prove that the date of Chandragupta's coronation, on which that of Aśoka's coronation depends, can hardly be placed later than B.C. 320. It would follow further that the *Antiyoka* of edict XIII (and probably also of rock-edict II) was not Antiochus I, but

¹ See P. von Bohlen, *das alte Indien* (Königsberg, 1830), I. 92. The word *amitrāghāta* is mentioned by Patañjali on Pāṇini, III, 2, 87; cf. JRAS, 1909. 425.

² *Δειπνοσοφισταί*, ed. Kaibel (Leipzig, 1890), XIV, 67 (vol. 3, p. 444).

³ *Naturalis historia*, ed. Mayhoff, VI, 17 (vol. I, Leipzig, 1906, p. 454 f.).

⁴ As stated above (p. xxxi), Ptolemy II is mentioned in Aśoka's rock-edicts.

⁵ Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 146, n. 3.

⁶ JRAS, 1906. 985.

Antiochus II (261–246), and that the *Alikasudara* of edict XIII was not Alexander of Epirus, but **Alexander of Corinth** (252–c. 244). But we must remember that the above figures rest only on the Ceylonese tradition, while the *Purāṇas* assign to Bindusāra twenty-five instead of twenty-eight years, and that, accordingly, Chandragupta's coronation might fall about three years later than B.C. 320. Besides, it must be kept in mind that the upper limit of Chandragupta's coronation is the death of Alexander the Great in B.C. 323. The working date of B.C. 320 has the advantage of being the mean of the two outside dates 323 and 317.

I now append a list of the regnal dates which are incidentally mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, adding in brackets the year B.C. to which each year of his reign may be supposed to correspond.

1. **Eight years** after the coronation (B.C. 256). The king conquered (the country of) the Kalingas; rock-edict XIII.
2. **Ten years** after the coronation (B.C. 254). He went (on a visit) to Sāmbōdhi (i.e. Bōdh-Gayā); rock-edict VIII.
3. **Twelve years** after the coronation (B.C. 252):
 - (1) He ordered his officers to set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years; rock-edict III.
 - (2) He promoted morality by public shows of edifying subjects; rock-edict IV.
 - (3) He published rescripts on morality; pillar-edict VI.
 - (4) He gave two caves to the Ājīvikas; two of the Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.
4. **Thirteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 251). He appointed superintendents of morality; rock-edict V.
5. **Fourteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 250). He enlarged the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana to the double (of its size); Nigāli Sāgar pillar.
6. **Nineteen years** after the coronation (B.C. 245). He gave a cave (to the Ājīvikas); the third Barābar Hill cave-inscription.
7. **Twenty years** after the coronation (B.C. 244). He visited the Buddha's birth-place at Lūmmini and the *Stūpa* of Kōṇākamana; Rummindēi and Nigāli Sāgar pillars.
8. **Twenty-six years** after the coronation (B.C. 238). He issued the pillar-edicts I, IV, V, VI.
9. **Twenty-seven years** after the coronation (B.C. 237). He issued the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII.

CHAPTER III.

ASOKA'S EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

In the preceding chapter it was shown that the king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* of the inscriptions can be no other than the Maurya king Aśoka of Magadha. It will appear from the two next chapters (IV and V) that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character. In spite of this we may glean from them some details of historical importance which are mentioned incidentally.

The extent of Aśoka's empire may be guessed already from the distribution of his rock-edicts, which it seems were engraved along the very confines of his territories. In the west they are found at Gīrnār on the Kāṭhīāvāṛ peninsula and at Sōpārā on the

Bombay coast; in the south in the Raichur district of the Nizam's Dominions and in the Chitaldroog district of the Mysore State; and in the east at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts. The north-eastern boundary line is marked by the rock-edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā in the Peshāvar and Hazāra districts and at Kālsī in the Dehra Dūn district, and it is continued by the Nigālī Sāgar and Rummindēi pillars in the Nepalese Tarāī and by the Rāmpurvā pillar in the Champāran district.

The capital of this vast empire was Pāṭaliputra, which, as stated above (p. xxx), is mentioned as such in the fifth rock-edict. The two syllables *Paṭa*, which are preserved at the beginning of the third line of the Sārnāth pillar-inscription, are probably the remainder of the same name. Both the *Dīpavaṃsa* (V, 25, &c.) and the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 22) are aware of the fact that Pāṭaliputra was Aśoka's capital. From the *Mudrārākṣasa* and from classical authors we learn that it had been already the residence of his grandfather Chandragupta. As I have stated before (p. xxxii), we owe to Sir William Jones the identification of Pāṭaliputra with the Παλιβοθρα or Παλιμβοθρα of the Greeks. Megasthenes, who represented Seleucus at Chandragupta's court, described it as a very large city:¹

Καὶ λέγει Μεγασθένης, μήκος μὲν ἐπέχειν τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐκατέρην τὴν πλευρὴν ἵναπερ μακροτάτῃ αὐτῇ λαυτῆς ᾤκισται ἐς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐς πεντεκαίδεκα· τάφρον δὲ περιβεβλησθαι τῇ πόλει τὸ εὖρος ἐξάπλευρον, τὸ δὲ βάθος τριήκοντα πήχων· πύργους δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πενταεξείους ἔχειν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ πύλας τέσσαρας καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

'Megasthenes informs us that this city stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was six hundred feet in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with 570 towers and had four-and-sixty gates.'²

The identity of Pāṭaliputra with the modern Paṭnā is well known to the Hindūs.³ The capital belonged to the ancient province of Magadha,⁴ which is now called South Bihār. In accordance with this, Aśoka styles himself *Māgadha*, i.e. king of Magadha, at the commencement of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription. In the rock-edict VIII, C, he refers to his visit to another locality which was included in the province of Magadha.⁵ This is Sambōdhi, now Bōdh-Gayā to the south of Paṭnā.

The Kauśāmbī edict on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar mentions Kōsambī (*Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit), which is the modern Kōsam (see above, p. xx) to the west of the Magadha province. From the fact that Aśoka addressed the Kauśāmbī edict to his *Mahāmātras* at Kōsambī, it may be concluded that in his time, just as in later times,⁶ Kauśāmbī was the head-quarters of a province.

Two other chief towns of provinces are referred to in the Dhauli separate edict I, AA and BB, viz., Ujjōnī (*Ujjayinī*) and Takkhasilā (*Takshasilā*). Aśoka's governor of the former was a royal prince (*kumāra*). In Buddhist tradition Aśoka himself is stated to have held the appointment of viceroy at Ujjayinī in the life-time of his father Bindusāra.⁷ Ujjayinī, the capital of Avanti, and the 'Οζήνη of the *Periplus* and of Ptolemy, is the modern Ujjain in the Gwalior State. Takshasilā, the Τάξιλα of the

¹ Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, ed. by Eberhard in *Arriani Scripta Minora* (Leipzig, 1885), X, 6 f. (p. 13).

² McCrindle's translation, IA, 6. 131.

³ Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, 3rd ed., 2. 136.

⁴ BRWW, 2. 82 ff.; Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 452 ff.

⁵ BRWW, 2. 115.

⁶ BRWW, 1. 235 ff.; EI, 11. 141.

⁷ *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 15; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 39, and XIII, 8.

Greeks, was identified by Cunningham with **Shāh dhōrī** in the Rāvalpindī district, Panjāb.¹

From the commencement of the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions we learn that the head-quarters of Aśōka's southernmost province was a place of the name **Suvarṇagiri**, and that his representative there, just as at Ujjayinī, was a royal prince (*āryaputra*). Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura belonged to the district of **Isila**, which was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri. Isila may have been the ancient name of Śiddāpura. Suvarṇagiri is perhaps identical with its synonym **Kanakagiri** in the Nizam's Dominions, south of Maski where an edict of Aśōka has been found, and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency.²

At the beginning of the rock-edict XIII, Aśōka informs us that, when he had been anointed eight years, he conquered the country of **Kaliṅga**³ on the eastern coast. To this province we have to allot Dhauli and Jaugaḍa in the Purī and Ganjām districts, where copies of the rock-edicts I-X and XIV and of two separate edicts are found. The two separate edicts at Dhauli were addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at **Tōsalī**, who were headed by a royal prince (*kumāra*, sep. ed. II, A). The head-quarters of the district to which the modern Jaugaḍa belonged was called **Samāpā**,⁴ and the Jaugaḍa rock had then the name **Khōpiṅgala**.⁵

The second and third cave-inscriptions on the Barābar Hill give the ancient name of this hill as **Khalatika**. The Rummindeī pillar has preserved the designation of the site of Buddha's birth, viz. **Lummini**, or, as it is called in Buddhist works, **Lumbinī**.

All the geographical names enumerated so far must have been included in Aśōka's empire. Besides them, the king refers to tribes outside his territories, whom he calls his 'borderers' (*anta*).⁶ Several of these are mentioned by name. According to the rock-edict V, J, his western borderers were 'the **Yōnas**, **Kambōjas**, and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāṭhikas** (*Riṣṭika*, which is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāṣṭika*, at Gīrnār) and **Pitinikas** (also spelt *Pitēnika* or *Pētēnika*).' As I shall show below (p. xxxix), the Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince. The Kambōjas have to be placed in Kābul.⁷ Gandhāra is now included in the North-West Frontier Province; at the time of the *Si-yu-ki*, its capital was **Purushapura**, now **Peshāvar**.⁸ The Rāṭhikas or Rāṣṭikas (= *Rāshṭrika* in Sanskrit) are perhaps the people of Kāṭhiāwār, whose governor bore the title of *Rāshṭriya*.⁹ The Pitinikas or Pitēnikas¹⁰ have not yet been localized.

¹ *Arch. Reports*, 2, 116, and *Ancient Geography*, p. 111.

² Cf. Text, p. 177, n. 5.

³ In a passage which is based on Megasthenes, Pliny (VI, 19) mentions the 'island' of *Modogalinga*, i.e. 'the three Kaliṅgas' (from Telugu *mūḍu*, 'three', + *Kaliṅga*); see IA, 6, 338, and Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 32 f. In another place (VI, 17) he refers to the Mactocalingae or Maccocalingae as a tribe of Brāhmaṇas. Maccocalinga is probably a corruption of *Mukkaliṅga*, which would be the Tamil form of the Telugu *Mūḍugaliṅga*. For instances of the synonymous Sanskrit expression *Trikaliṅga* see Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 5, Appendix), p. 117, s. v. The earliest king of Kaliṅga, of whom inscriptions have been preserved, is Khāravēla; see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, vol. 10, Appendix), p. 160 f.

⁴ See the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, B, and II, B.

⁵ See the Jaugaḍa rock-edict I, A.

⁶ See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I.

⁷ See Text, p. 10, n. 1.

⁸ See Beal's BRWW, 1, 97. The Gandhāris are mentioned already in the *Rigvēda*, and Gandāra in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. Zimmer's *Altind. Leben*, p. 30 f.

⁹ See the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8, 46, n. 7. For other proposed identifications of the word *Rāshṭrika* see Text, p. 56, n. 21.

¹⁰ The identification of Pitēnika with Pratiṣṭhāna is phonetically impossible; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37, 262.

According to the rock-edict XIII, Q, Aśoka's borderers to the south were 'the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, as far as Tāmraparṇī.' The two former are the two well-known principal dynasties of the Tamiḷ country, and Tāmraparṇī is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon.¹ The Chōḍas or Chōḷas (*Śōḷa* in Tamiḷ) were known to Ptolemy,² the Pāṇḍya king (*Πανδύων*) to the author of the *Periplus* as well, and Tāmraparṇī (*Ταμροβάρνη*) already to Megasthenes. The rock-edict II, A, inserts between the Pāṇḍyas and Tāmraparṇī two other borderers, viz. Satiyaputra (*Sātiyaputa* at Kālsī) and Kēralaputra. The former has not yet been identified successfully.³ The latter is the king of Kērala or Malabar, who is called *Κηρόβορπος* in the *Periplus*⁴ and *Κηρόβορπος* by Ptolemy.⁵

The two sections in which the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Tāmraparṇī are referred to (II, A, and XIII, Q), mention, along with them, as Aśoka's borderers, the Yōna king Antiyoka and his four neighbours.⁶ The next section of the rock-edict XIII (R) distinguishes from them some tribes 'here in the king's territory' (*iha rāja-vishayē*), viz. 'the Yōnas and Kambōjas, the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis (*Nabhiti* at Shāhbāzgarhī), the Bhōjas and Pitinikas (*Pitinikya* at Kālsī), the Andhras and Pārindas.' The words 'here in the king's territory' distinctly keep the Yōnas of section R apart from the Yōna kings of section Q. Both here and in the rock-edict V, J, they are associated with the Kambōjas and Pitinikas, and in the second place all three of them are stated to have belonged to Aśoka's western borderers. Consequently, these Yōnas seem to have formed a small state on the north-west frontier, which was ruled over by a Greek prince;⁷ and the Bhōjas, who are coupled with the Pitinikas in the rock-edict XIII, R, will have to be looked for in the west as well. Perhaps they have to be connected with those Bhōjas whose king (*Bhōjādhirāja*) is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁸ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu people on the eastern coast, and also the designation of an ancient dynasty which ruled over a considerable part of the Deccan after the decline of the Maurya empire.⁹ Pliny, who borrowed his information from Megasthenes, mentions the *Andaræ*, i.e. the Andhras, as a great and powerful race.¹⁰ As the rock-edict XIII, R, couples the Andhras with the Pārindas, these too must have been an eastern tribe.¹¹ The Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis may have to be placed at the Nepalese frontier of Aśoka's empire.¹²

From the preceding list of geographical names we may derive some information about the scheme of Aśoka's administration. Three of the provinces of his empire were

¹ See Text, p. 3, n. 10.

² See Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar*, Introduction, p. 95 f.

³ See Text, p. 3, n. 7. ⁴ ed. Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), § 54 (p. 94).

⁵ See Text, p. 3, n. 8, and cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 99.

⁶ See above, p. xxx f.

⁷ Lassen (*Ind. Alt.*, 2 (sec. ed.). 256) identified them with the inhabitants of the tract of land to the west of the Indus which Seleucus is reported to have ceded to Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta; see above, p. xxxiv.

⁸ *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, V, verse 151; cf. EI, I. 155. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11) compares the title *Mahābhōja* in the cave-inscriptions. See also Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 100, and Senart, EI, 7. 50.

⁹ See Rapson's *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, &c., Introduction, p. xv ff.

¹⁰ See IA, 6. 339.

¹¹ The variant at Kālsī, *Pālada*, might be the same as the Sanskrit *Pārada*, but the Pāradas were probably a people in Gedrosia; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I (sec. ed.). 1028.

¹² According to Fa-hian, the mythical Buddha Krakuchchanda was believed to have been born at Na-pi-ka near Kapilavāstu; see BRWW, I. xlviii. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue, p. 19 b) assigns Nābhikapura to the territory of the Uttara-Kurus; see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 138.

entrusted to royal princes (*kumāra* or *āryaputra*), viz. Ujjayinī, Tōsalī, and Suvarṇagiri (above, p. xxxvii f.). The two *Kumāras* were probably sons of the king himself, and the *Āryaputra* perhaps some other relative of his. The rock-edict V, M, refers to the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, 'both in Pāṭaliputra and in all the outlying towns', showing thereby that the tradition according to which he had killed all his brothers but one before ascending the throne¹ is opposed to facts. His sons and 'other queens' sons' are mentioned also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, DD, and his queens in section CC of the same edict. From the Queen's edict on the Allahabad-Kōsām pillar we learn that his second queen had the name *Kāluvākī* and was the mother of *Tivala*.

Another provincial governor was perhaps the *Yavana* king *Tushāspa* who was governing Gīrnār in the time of the *Maurya Aśōka*.² Each provincial governor was assisted by a body of high officers named *Mahāmātra*,³ or, as they seem to be called in one place, *Prādēśika*.⁴ Other *Mahāmātras* were placed in charge of the districts which were included in each province. Thus the *Mahāmātras* at *Isila* were subordinate to the prince and the *Mahāmātras* at *Suvarṇagiri*.⁵ In two places⁶ we hear of a council (*parishad*) of the *Mahāmātras* or 'ministers', which was responsible only to the king and received its orders directly from him. The *Kauśāmbī* edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at *Kōsambī*, the *Sārnāth* edict perhaps to those at *Pāṭa*[liputra], and the Queen's edict to 'the *Mahāmātras* everywhere', i.e. to those of all districts. The technical term *āhāla* (= *āhāra* in Sanskrit), 'a district', occurs in the *Rūpnāth* edict, L, and in the *Sārnāth* edict, I, where it is opposed to the 'territories surrounding forts' (*kōṭṭa-vishaya* in section J), i.e., apparently, tracts which were not yet fully pacified, but were held by military posts, such as the 'forests' (*aṭavī*) mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, M. The *Mahāmātras* at *Tōsalī* and *Samāpā* were exercising judicial functions in the city (*nagara-vyavahāraka* or *nāgaraka*).⁷ At the same time they had the control of the king's borderers who were yet unconquered,⁸ i.e. they were what is called in the first pillar-edict (section F) *Anta-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of the borderers'. A new class of *Mahāmātras* was created by *Aśōka* when he had been anointed thirteen years, viz. the *Dharma-mahāmātras* or 'superintendents of morality',⁹ whom he employed for converting his subjects to his moral creed. Other special *Mahāmātras* had to supervise Buddhists, Brāhmaṇas and Ājivikas, Nirgranthas, and other sects.¹⁰ Even the control of women was entrusted to separate officers (*stry-adhyaksha-mahāmātra*, rock-edict XII, M). In Buddhist literature the word *Mahāmātra* is frequently used in the sense of 'a minister'. In *Aśōka's* edicts it has evidently a wider meaning.¹¹

Another class of high officers were the *Rājūkas*¹² or *Lajūkas*. They were 'placed

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 19 f., 33; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 299.

² See the Junāgaṛh rock-inscription of Rudradāman, EI, 8. 47.

³ See the Dhaulī separate edict II, A, and the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions, A.

⁴ See Text, p. 5 and n. 3.

⁵ See the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts, section A.

⁶ See the rock-edict III, E, and VI, F.

⁷ See the first separate edict at Dhaulī, A and Y, and at Jaugaḍa, B and Z.

⁸ See the second separate edict at Dhaulī, F, and at Jaugaḍa, G.

⁹ See the rock-edict V, I, and XII, M; the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, Y, AA.

¹⁰ See the same pillar-edict, Z.

¹¹ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 387) suggests the translations 'official' or 'dignitary'.

¹² See the Gīrnār rock-edict III, C.

in charge of many hundred thousands of men',¹ and 'either rewards or punishments were left to their discretion'.² Bühler has shown that the two dialectical forms *Rājūka* and *Lajūka* are derived from **Rajjūka*, and that this is an abbreviation of *rajju-gāhaka*, 'rope-holder', which occurs in the *Jātaka*.³ The *Rajjūka* originally 'held the rope' in order to measure the fields of the ryots and to assess the land-tax. Thus the word became the designation of a revenue settlement officer, just as in British India the chief administrative officer of a district is still called 'collector', because his special duty is the collection of the revenue.⁴

Along with the *Rājūka* and the *Prādāsika*, the rock-edict III, C, mentions the *Yutas* or 'secretaries', who correspond to the *Yuktas* of the *Kautiliya*.⁵ The last section (E) of the same edict suggests that they were employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the *Mahāmātras* or ministers.

The rock-edict XIII, S, refers to 'those to whom the envoys (*dūta*) of *Dēvānām-priya* do not go'. It may be concluded from this that Aśoka maintained ambassadors not only in the frontier states enumerated in section R, but at the foreign courts named in section Q, viz. those of the five Greek kings, the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas, and the island of Ceylon. Similarly, Dionysius may have been the ambassador of Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt at Aśoka's court.⁶

From Indian literature we know that at all times kings used to entertain spies (*chāra* or *gūḍha-purusha*).⁷ It seems probable that these are meant by the word *Purusha* in the pillar-edicts I, IV, and VII, and I have followed V. A. Smith in translating it by 'agents'. These agents were graded into 'high ones, low ones, and those of middle rank' (I, E), were acquainted with the king's wishes, controlled the *Lajūkas* (IV, G), and were 'placed in charge of many people' (VII, M). A similar class of officers, which was created by Aśoka himself, were the 'reporters' (*prativēdaka*), who were posted everywhere, as he says, 'in order to report to me the affairs of the people at any time, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, even at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the parks'.⁸ It is worth noting that this list does not include vehicles drawn by horses or bullocks, instead of which palanquins were employed in the time of Aśoka. Horses are mentioned only in the pillar-edict V, K. Section I of the same edict refers to the elephant-park (*nāga-vana*) of the king. As Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 78) remarked on the authority of Mēdhātithi,⁹ the taming and the sale of elephants used to be a royal monopoly. According to Megasthenes (IA, 6. 239),

¹ See the pillar-edict IV, C, and VII, N.

² See the pillar-edict IV, D and J.

³ See ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Collector*. Megasthenes (IA, 6. 238) speaks of high officers (*ἄρχοντες*) who 'superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners.'

⁵ See Text, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶ See above, p. xxxv.

⁷ These are evidently the *ἑφοροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι* of Megasthenes (IA, 6. 124). According to Arrian (id., p. 237) 'they spy out what goes on in country and town, and report everything to the king', and according to Strabo (loc. cit.) 'some are entrusted with the inspection of the city, and others with that of the army. The former employ as their coadjutors the courtezans of the city, and the latter the courtezans of the camp [cf. Māgha, V, 27]. The ablest and most trustworthy men are appointed to fill these offices.'

⁸ See the Gīrnār rock-edict VI, D.

⁹ Cf. SBE, 25. 323, note.

'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king, and persons are appointed to take care of them.' These officers are the *Aśvādhyaksha* and *Hastyadhyaksha* of the *Kautilīya* (p. 132 ff.). The *Gōdhyaksha* of the same work (p. 128 ff.) probably corresponds to the *Vracha-bhūmikas* or 'inspectors of cowpens' in the rock-edict XII, M. The king's cowpen is referred to in the rock-edict VI, D.

At the end of the set of rock-edicts (XIV, E) Aśoka uses the word *lipikara*, 'a writer', the formation of which is taught by Pāṇini (III, 2, 21). The three Mysore edicts were drafted by one of this class, who wrote at the end of his signature the instrumental case *lipikareṇa* in Kharōshthī characters,¹ showing thereby that he had been transferred from North-Western India.² The word *lipi*, 'a rescript or inscription', occurs six times in the rock-edicts. The commentary on the *Uṇādisūtras* (IV, 119) derives *lipi* from the root *lip*, 'to smear'. This is impossible because the two Kharōshthī versions use instead of *lipi* the form *dipi*, which is found in the Achæmenidan inscriptions.³ Besides, the participles *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita* are replaced at Shāhbāzgarhī by *nīpista*, *nīpesita*, *nīpesapita*,⁴ which cannot be derived from the Sanskrit root *nish-pish*, 'to crush', but must be connected with the Ancient Persian *nī-pish*, 'to write'.⁵ The words *ayi dhrama-dipi nīpista*, 'this rescript on morality has been written', at Shāhbāzgarhī, V, O, and XIII, X, remind one most strongly of the cuneiform inscriptions. Thus Darius says at Behistan, column 4, section 15 :—*[tu]vam kā hya aparam imām dipim vaināhy tyām adam niyapī[sha]m*, 'O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written';⁶ and Xerxes says at Van :—*yanaiy dipim naiy nīpishtām akunaush pasāva adam niyashatāyam imām dipim nīpish-tanaiy*, 'where [Darius] did not cause an inscription to be written; afterwards I commanded to write this inscription'.⁷ The conclusion is irresistible that neither *dipi* nor *nīpista* are genuine Indian words, but that they have been taken over from the Ancient Persian language before Pāṇini's time, when the provinces of *Sindhu* and *Gandhāra* belonged to the Persian empire.⁸ The Kharōshthī alphabet⁹ and the Persepolitan capital¹⁰ came to India from the same source. The preamble of many of Aśoka's edicts: 'king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* speaks thus', is evidently a reminiscence and modification of the Achæmenidan formula: *θātīy Dārayavaush (Xshayārshā, Artaxshathrā) xshāyathīya*, 'says Darius (Xerxes, Artaxerxes) the king'. Tushāspha, the name of the Yavana king who was Aśoka's governor of Gīrnār,¹¹ seems to be a Persian word like Vishtāspa, Keresāspa, &c., and suggests that Aśoka enlisted Irānians in his service.

¹ Brahmagiri, l. 13; Śiddāpura, l. 22; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, l. 22.

² Bühler, EI, 3, 135.

⁴ See JRAS, 1913, 654.

³ Cf. Westergaard's *Zwei Abhandlungen*, p. 33 f.

⁵ See id., 1914, 97.

⁶ See Tolman's *Ancient Persian Lexicon* (Nashville, 1908), p. 28 f.

⁷ See id., p. 53 f.

⁸ The provinces of Hindu and Gandāra are mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and Naqsh-e-Rustam, and Herodotus (VII, 65 f.) names the *Ἰνδοί* and *Γανδάριοι* among the tribes composing the army of Xerxes.

⁹ See Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 8.

¹⁰ See the Indices to Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised by Burgess and Spiers, 2, 515, and to V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 513.

¹¹ See above, p. xl and n. 2.

CHAPTER IV. ASOKA'S CONVERSION

FROM Buddhist literature we learn that Aśoka became a convert to and patron of Buddhism. The Kaśmīr historian Kalhaṇa also reports that Aśoka 'adopted the religion of Jina (i.e. Buddha)' and built many *Stūpas*.¹ According to the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 55), he became a Buddhist lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*), and the accounts of the *Mahāvamsa* (V, 72) and of the *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) imply the same fact. His conversion took place three full years, i.e. in the fourth year, after his *abhiśikṣa*.² He is believed to have built no less than 84,000 *Vihāras* in as many towns, besides the *Aśokārāma* at Pāṭaliputra, and to have consecrated all these buildings after three years, i.e. in the seventh year of his reign.³

Aśoka's inscriptions fully corroborate the tradition that he favoured Buddhism, and show that he was intimately acquainted with its tenets, legends, and literature. This will be clear from the subjoined references.

(1) In the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription the king pays his respects to the *Samṅha* or clergy, gives expression to his reverence to and faith in the Buddha, the *Dharma* or doctrine, and the *Samṅha*, and recommends to monks and nuns, to laymen and to laywomen, the study of seven 'expositions of the *Dharma*' selected by himself. These seven texts have been actually traced in the Buddhist canon.⁴

(2) In the Kauśāmbī, Sānchī, and Sārnāth pillar-edicts he orders heretical monks and nuns to be expelled from the *Samṅha*. This order of the king is known to the tradition of the Southern Buddhists.⁵

(3) The rock-edict VIII, C, states that when he had been anointed ten years, he paid a visit to Saṃbōdhi, i.e. Bōdh-Gayā, the place where the Buddha had attained to perfect knowledge. According to the *Dīvyāvadāna* (p. 393), Aśoka visited Bōdhi in the company of the *Sthavira* Upagupta and distributed there 100,000 (gold pieces).

(4) The same sum he is said to have spent at Lumbinī-vana, the site of Buddha's birth (id., p. 389 f.). His visit to it is confirmed by the Rummindēi pillar, which was erected by him when, having been anointed twenty years, he came himself to the village of Lumbini and worshipped the spot where the Buddha Śākyamuni was born.

(5) The Nigālī Sāgar pillar records that when he had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the (mythical) Buddha Kōṇākamana to the double (of its original size), and that when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped that spot.

(6) The Kālsī and Dhauli rocks bear the figure of an elephant with the labels 'the best elephant' and 'the white (elephant)'.⁶ On the Girnār rock the elephant has been destroyed, but the existing label implies that the missing figure represented the Buddha, who is believed to have entered his mother's womb in the shape of a white

¹ *Rājatarāgiṇī*, I, 102. According to I, 106, and VIII, 3391, Aśoka seems to have had the surname *Śāntāvasāda*.

² See *Dīpavaṃsa*, VI, 18, 24; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 34; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 300.

³ According to the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 209, in his sixth year; but see IA, 20. 233, n. 18.

⁴ See Text, p. 174, n. 1.

⁵ See Text, p. 160, n. 5.

⁶ See Text, p. 50, n. 3, and p. 92, n. 1.

elephant;¹ cf. the *Nidānakathā* of the *Jātaka*, vol. 1, p. 50, and the representation of the 'descent of the Blessed one' on the Bharaut *Stūpa*.²

These six references raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Aśoka had adopted the Buddhist religion in the course of his reign. Further undeniable evidence is supplied by the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore rock-inscriptions, which will have now to be considered at some length. These records, or proclamations (*śrāvaṇa*) as Aśoka calls them himself, were issued 'two and a half years and somewhat more' after he had become a Buddhist (*Śākya* at Rūpnāth, *Buddha-Śākya* at Maski, section B) or a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*, Sahasrām, &c.), and 'a year and somewhat more' after he had approached the *Samgha* (Rūpnāth, &c., section D). Section B confirms the statement of the *Dīpavaṃsa* that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka* (above, p. xliii). In section D the word 'approached' (*upēta*) is ambiguous. Bühler, who first edited these inscriptions, took it in the sense of 'entered'; and, by adding thirty-two and a half years (which were derived from the misreading *adhitisāni* at Rūpnāth) and one further year to the traditional date of Aśoka's conversion (three years), he arrived at the conclusion that the Rūpnāth edict was issued shortly before his death (IA, 6. 153). After Oldenberg had shown that *adhitisāni* was a misreading for *adhitiyāni*, 'two and a half',³ Bühler was obliged 'to give up the assumption that the statements of the inscription regarding the time of Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism agree with those of the Buddhist tradition' (EI, 3. 137). As Aśoka is known to have reigned thirty-seven years,⁴ Fleet, who followed Bühler in assigning the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts to the last years of the king's life, assumed that he abdicated before the end of it in order to turn a Buddhist monk. But literary tradition knows nothing of such an abdication, unless we can find some reminiscence of it in the fact that 'the *Divyāvadāna* relates that Aśoka died destitute of power and possessions, having given everything that he could give to the Buddhist *Samgha*'.⁵ Moreover, an ex-king could not have issued commands (*āṇapayati*, Brahmagiri edict, B) to his former officers. Besides, the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts must be considered the earliest of all the Aśoka inscriptions for two reasons:—(1) they speak of inscriptions on rocks and pillars as a task which it was intended to carry out, and not as a *fait accompli*; ⁶ (2) they, and the three Mysore records, contain the first elements of Aśoka's *Dharma*, which we find more fully developed in his rock- and pillar-edicts. Bühler (EI, 3. 141) believed that, as the Rūpnāth edict contrasts the words 'since I have approached the *Samgha*' with the words 'since I am a (Buddhist) lay-worshipper', the former cannot convey any other meaning but 'that he had entered the *Samgha*, and had become, at least nominally, a monk; compare the Sanskrit phrases *yajñam*, *vratham*, or *brahmacharyam upa-i*'. But the only other testimony for such a *pabbajjā* is that of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the garb of a Buddhist monk;⁷ and the expression *saṃgham upa-i* for the precise idea of 'entering into the monastic order' is, as Senart (IA, 20. 163) reminds us, 'vague and not sanctioned by the ordinary terminology, necessarily fixed at an early date in such a matter; besides, this situation of a king, who, while preserving his royal prerogatives and his royal life, enters into a religious order, is far removed from the idea which we are accustomed to

¹ See Text, p. 27, n. 2.

² Cunningham's *Stūpa of Bharhut*, plate 28, and IA, 21. 235, No. 98: *Bhagavato ūkramiti* (read thus instead of *okramiti* and see Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, section C, No. 6).

³ See Text, p. 167, n. 17.

⁴ See *Dīpavaṃsa*, V, 101; *Mahāvamsa*, XX, 6.

⁵ Fleet in JRAS, 1913. 657.

⁶ See Senart, IA, 20. 236.

⁷ See Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 496.

form with regard to Buddhist monachism in the ancient period.' These considerations induce me to accept the view of Senart, who takes the word *upāta* in the sense of 'visited' and finds in it a reference to a state visit paid by the king to the *Samgha*.¹ Aśoka's first visit to the *Samgha* is placed by the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI, 78), *Mahāvamsa* (V, 76), and *Samantapāsādikā* (p. 303) in the very year of his conversion to Buddhism. Senart compares the visit recorded in the Rūpnāth and connected edicts with the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 *Stūpas*, which is alleged to have been celebrated three years later, and at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the *Samgha*'.²

As stated above (p. xliv), the Rūpnāth edict informs us that, when issuing it, (1) Aśoka had been a Buddhist for more than two and a half years (section B), and (2) more than a year had passed after his visit to the *Samgha* (section D). The word *sami*, 'I am', in section B of the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts proves that the two and a half years of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* did not precede the single year which followed his visit to the *Samgha*, but included the second period.³ Instead of section C of the Rūpnāth and Sahasrām edicts, the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura edicts read: 'but indeed I had not been very zealous for one year'. This more precise statement implies that the period of somewhat more than two and a half years has to be subdivided into one year with, no doubt, a little more, followed by one year with the balance of the whole period. During this second year, Aśoka, having visited the *Samgha*, showed himself very zealous.⁴ In section E of the Sahasrām edict he states that, in consequence of his zeal, 'men in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in India), being during that (i.e. in the preceding) time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods'. This passage has been much discussed and interpreted in various ways. I have suggested that the 'gods' (*dēva*) may be compared with the 'divine figures' (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) of the rock-edict IV, B, where the king claims to have exhibited 'representations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures', evidently in order to induce his subjects to lead moral lives and thereby to qualify for heaven.⁵ The 'festive meetings' (*samāja*) which were approved of by him in the rock-edict I, E, are probably identical with those religious shows instituted by him.

I now pass to the knottiest problem of all those which the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts propound to posterity, viz. the meaning and application of the word *vivāsa* at the end of the Rūpnāth edict. This substantive may be expected to be derived from the same root as, and to be connected in meaning with, the verb *vivasati* in a preceding section (L). The same verb occurs as *vivāsayati* in section I of the Sārnāth edict. As I have shown elsewhere,⁶ this section adds nothing new to the king's order, but contains further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to it, and we have to translate *vivāsayati* at Sārnāth and, along with it, *vivasati* at Rūpnāth by 'causing to leave home, causing to start on tour, despatching (messengers)'.⁷ Consequently the substantive *vivāsa* seems to mean 'staying away from home, remaining on tour'. A comparison of the wording of section M at Rūpnāth with section J at Sahasrām yields the result that the edict was

¹ See IA, 20. 234, and cf. JA (11), 7. 435 ff.

² *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 3; *Mahāvamsa*, V, 185; *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 304.

³ This point was first recognised by Senart in 1892; see JA (8), 19. 481, and cf. my remarks in JRAS, 1910. 144 f., and Senart in JA (11), 7. 436.

⁴ See Rūpnāth, D; Maski, C; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, E.

⁵ See JRAS, 1913. 652 f.

⁶ See Text, p. 163, n. 10, and JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. Thomas, JA (10), 15. 518.

issued by a person on tour, who can be no other but Aśōka himself,¹ when he had spent 256 nights² on tour. It follows that Aśōka had started on tour a few months after visiting the *Samgha*, which he had done more than a year before issuing the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and the three Mysore edicts.

The Rūpnāth and cognate edicts do not specify the years of Aśōka's reign in which his conversion and his visit to the *Samgha* took place; but they furnish a few details which enable us to fix their time with great probability, viz.:

- (a) Aśōka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*.
- (b) He visited the *Samgha* one year after (a).
- (c) He started on tour.
- (d) He issued the Rūpnāth edict, &c., more than two and a half years after (a), more than one year after (b), and 256 nights after (c).

On p. xxxvi I gave a conspectus of the regnal dates which Aśōka's inscriptions contain. Of these I here repeat the following ones in tabular form:

No. 1	Rock-edict XIII	8 years after the <i>abhishēka</i>	Conquest of Kālīṅga.
" 2	" " VIII	10 " " "	Visit to Sāmbōdhi.
" 3	Pillar-edict VI	12 " " "	Publication of rescripts on morality.
" 4	Rock-edict IV	" " " "	Institution of public shows of edifying subjects.

On p. xlv I gave two pieces of evidence to show that (d) the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts must be considered the earliest of all. No. 3 places them twelve years after Aśōka's *abhishēka*, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign.³ If we suppose that they belong to the second half of the thirteenth year, we may combine No. 2 with (a) and assume that Aśōka's visit to Sāmbōdhi in the eleventh year of his reign was connected with his conversion to Buddhism. In this case (b) would fall in his twelfth year and (c) about the end of the same year. No. 1 explains the conversion by mentioning the circumstances which occasioned it. The king confesses that the Kālīṅga war was the turning-point in his religious career, and that his grief at the enormous loss of human life made him repent of his conquest and aspire henceforth to the 'conquest by morality'.⁴ Herewith we may compare the *Mahāvamsa*, V, 189:

'Before, he had been known as Chaṇḍāśōka (i.e. the fierce Aśōka) on account of his evil deeds; afterwards he became known as Dharmāśōka (i.e. the pious Aśōka) on account of his virtuous deeds'.⁵

The *Mahāvamsa* places this change of name and character in the seventh year of Aśōka's reign and his conversion already in the fourth year (above, p. xliii). These dates cannot be reconciled with the epigraphical ones and must be erroneous.⁶ But the fact that the Buddhist chronicles agree with the inscriptions in recording a change in Aśōka's policy and principles of government about the time of his conversion proves that their accounts are not purely imaginary, but are based on contemporaneous tradition.

¹ See Text, p. 169, n. 8.

² The discovery of the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of scholars for thirty-three years, is due to Thomas; see JA (10), 15. 520.

³ This view is confirmed by section E of the Rūpnāth edict, which alludes to the same shows as No. 4.

⁴ See the rock-edict XIII, P and U.

⁵ The same statement is made in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382.

⁶ Cf. Senart's remarks, IA, 20. 235.

At the same time they furnish in this manner another piece of evidence in favour of the correctness of Prinsep's identification of Aśoka with the *Dēvānāmpriya* who issued the edicts published in this volume.

A few words have to be added concerning the 256 nights which the king had spent on tour when he published his first religious proclamations. Aśoka's tours are referred to and their object specified in the rock-edict VIII, in which he states that, after he had gone to Saṃbōdhi (i.e. after his conversion to Buddhism), he commenced to undertake 'tours of morality' (*dharma-yātrā*) for 'visiting Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality'. This edict was probably not issued before the rock-edict V which records the appointment of *Dharma-mahāmātras* thirteen years after the *abhishēka*. As the tour during which Aśoka issued the Rūpnāth edict had been undertaken in his twelfth year when he commenced to be 'very zealous', it may be concluded that it was his first *dharma-yātrā*. When he issued his proclamation in the second half of his thirteenth year, he had been in camp 256 nights. The special reason which induced him to acquaint us with this figure is not apparent. Fleet has shown that it does not mark any division or total of subdivisions of the year, either lunar or solar;¹ but, as I believe I have shown that the Rūpnāth and other records are not the last, but the earliest of the edicts, I am unable to accept his ingenious suggestion that the 256 nights had been spent in worship because they corresponded to an equal number of years which had then elapsed since Buddha's Nirvāṇa.²

It must still be noted that the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription or 'letter to the *Samgha*' seems to be earlier than all the other rock- and pillar-edicts. The references to a few Buddhist tracts in this inscription suggest that after his visit to the *Samgha*, and before starting on tour, he was engaged in studying the sacred literature. This would place the inscription in the twelfth year of his reign.

The Kauśāmbī, Sānchī, and Sārnāth edicts cannot be earlier than the six first pillar-edicts, because the first of them is engraved on the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar in a position which shows it to have been a subsequent addition.³

CHAPTER V. ASOKA'S DHARMA

In the last chapter I trust to have proved that Aśoka had already embraced Buddhism when he commenced to issue 'proclamations on morality' (*dharma-śrāvāṇa*) or 'rescripts on morality' (*dharma-lipi*) in order to convert his subjects. He tells us himself (pillar-edict VII, J-L):

'The following occurred to me: I shall issue proclamations on morality (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given). Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.'

The date of this propaganda is given in the pillar-edict VI, B:

'(When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not

¹ JRAS, 1911. 1097.

² id., 1910. 1307 f.

³ See above, p. xix.

transgressing those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.'

As shown above (p. xlv), Aśoka's first proclamations (*śrāvāṇa*)¹ were the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts. When issuing them, he ordered that his views should be made public by inscribing them on rocks and pillars.² In the same year he directed his officers to carry on the propaganda on their quinquennial circuit (rock-edict III, C) :

'Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūka*, and the *Prādāsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.'³

In the next year of his reign he created special '*Mahāmātras* of morality' (*Dharma-mahāmātra*, rock-edict V, I), whom I have mentioned before (p. xl). A fresh set of six edicts was engraved on pillars twenty-six years after the *abhishēka*, and the seventh pillar-edict at Delhi-Tōprā was added in the next year.

European analogies might lead us to expect that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism would have induced him to persecute the votaries of other religions. In reality the Hindūs have been at all times extremely tolerant to other creeds, and have allowed everybody to try to attain salvation in his own fashion. Among the six orthodox schools of philosophy they count the pantheistic Vēdānta and the atheistic Sāṃkhya, and epigraphical and literary records show that Hindū kings considered it their duty to build temples and to make grants to other gods and denominations than their own. The same tolerance was practised by Aśoka. As a pious Hindū he acknowledged the 'debt' (*ṛiṇa*) which every king owes to his subjects in return for the revenue (*śhaḍbhāga*) levied from them, and which consists in affording them protection (*pālana*) :

'Whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).'⁴

In the same spirit he says :

'All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.'⁵

This principle is further specified in the pillar-edict VI, C-E :

'(Thinking) : "thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)", I am directing my attention not only to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that I may lead them to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly. In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes. And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.'

¹ Rūpnāth, H, M ; Sahasrām, H, J ; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I, K.

² Rūpnāth, J, K ; Sahasrām, L, M ; Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P.

³ Cf. also the Dhauli separate edict I, Z—CC.

⁴ See the rock-edict VI, L, and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauli, H, and at Jaugaḍa, I. On the other hand, the king reminds the *Mahāmātras* that they owe him the debt of obedience in return for the salary received from him ; see id., L and M, respectively, and the first separate edict, Q and R, U and V, respectively.

⁵ See the first separate edict at Jaugaḍa, F, G, and the second, E, F.

Accordingly he directed his *Dharma-mahāmātras* to busy themselves with Brāhmanas and Ibhyas (i.e. Vaiśyas, rock-edict V, K), and with ascetics and householders (pillar-edict VII, Y), placed special officers in charge of the Buddhist clergy, of the Ājivikas,¹ Nirgranthas (i.e. Jainas), and other sects (id., Z), and permitted all sects to reside in any place they liked (rock-edict VII, A). In the very remarkable rock-edict XII, which does him the greatest credit, he gives expression to his impartial consideration for all sects² and entreats them in their own interest to respect each other:

'For whosoever praises his own sect or blames other sects,—all (this) out of devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely' (section H).

Hence the king recommends to all sects concord (*samavāya*, section I) and the guarding of speech (*vacāḥ-guṇṭi*, section D).

There is nothing specifically Buddhistic in those benefactions to which the second rock-edict refers. Asoka arranged for medical treatment of men and cattle not only in his own dominions, but among his borderers, and caused medicinal herbs, roots, and fruits to be cultivated. Along the roads he had trees planted and wells dug for the benefit of cattle and men.³ The Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, which was issued twenty-seven years after the *abhihiṣṭa*, states that he planted banyan-trees and mango-groves along the roads, that at intervals of eight *ḷas* he had wells dug and flights of steps (for descending into the water) built, and that he established numerous places for the supply of drinking-water to cattle and men (sections R-T). When twenty-six years had elapsed after his *abhihiṣṭa*, he had ordered the release of prisoners twenty-five times (pillar-edict V, L). This suggests that he used to proclaim an amnesty to criminals at almost every anniversary of his coronation. The fourth pillar-edict records that the king left rewards and punishments to the discretion of his *Lajikas*, in order to ensure impartiality in judicial proceedings, and that he granted three days' respite to prisoners on whom the sentence of capital punishment had been passed. The fifth rock-edict (L) and the first separate edict (Dhauli, J, K, Y; Jaugada, K, L, Z) also testify to his regard for innocent prisoners.

All these measures were certainly prompted by his care for his subjects, but they do not characterize him as a Buddhist reformer. If we turn to an examination of what he tells us about the nature of his *Dharma*, it appears that the latter is in thorough agreement with the picture of Buddhist morality which is preserved in the beautiful anthology entitled *Dhammapadam*, i.e. 'words of morality'. Here we find Buddhism *in statu nascendi*. 'From the definitions or descriptions which the king gives us, it follows that to him *Dharma* ordinarily implies what we call the sum of moral duties.'⁴ 'The ideas and the language which are brought to light, from a religious point of view, in our inscriptions, cannot be considered as an isolated expression of individual convictions or conceptions.' The *Dhammapadam* 'lays before us an equivalent sufficiently exact to allow

¹ The Barābar Hill inscriptions record a grant of caves to the Ājivikas, but it is not absolutely certain whether the donor was identical with Asoka.

² Cf. also the pillar-edict VI, E, and VII, Y.

³ Megasthenes speaks of officers who 'construct roads, and at every ten *stadia* set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances' (IA, 6, 238), and of the 'royal road' (*ὁδὸς βασιλική* = *rāja-pāṭha* in Sanskrit) leading from the western frontier to the capital Pāṭaliputra, which 'has been measured by *schoeni* (1 *σχοῖνος* = 40 *stadia*), and is in length 10,000 *stadia*' (id., p. 126).

⁴ Senart, IA, 20. 260.

INTRODUCTION

us to consider that they correspond to a certain state of Buddhism, earlier than that which has found expression in the majority of the books which have come down to us.¹

The word *Dharma* is first mentioned in the Maski edict (section E). It is defined thus in the second portion of the Brahmagiri record (sections M-Q):

‘Moreover, *Devānāmpriya* speaks thus: Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues (*dharma-guṇa*) must be practised. In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives. This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life. Thus one must act.’

The rock-edicts repeat or amplify the same injunctions:

‘Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (i.e. Buddhist monks) is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious’ (III, D).

‘Abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged’ (IV, C).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas’ (IX, G).

‘Proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother (and) father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals’ (XI, C).

‘Obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion’ (XIII, G).

Finally, the pillar-edict VII, section HH, speaks of a progress ‘in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants’.

A noteworthy point in the above extracts is the equal respect which the king paid to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas.² As Senart (IA, 20. 263) has shown, the *Dhammapāda*, though a professedly Buddhist work, does exactly the same. There are, however, two edicts in which Aśoka denounces Brāhmanical usage. In the ninth rock-edict he condemns ‘many and various vulgar (“offensive” at Shāhbāzgarhī) and useless ceremonies’ which women are practising ‘during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a son, and when setting out on a journey’, and recommends in their stead the practice of morality.³ Secondly, in the first rock-edict, section B, he directly prohibits the killing of animals at sacrifices. At the end of the same edict, however, he naively confesses that he had not yet been able to carry out fully the ‘abstention from killing animals’ which formed part of his moral code, and that three animals were still being killed daily in his kitchen; but he promises that even this

¹ Senart, IA, 20. 26

² Megasthenes mentions the *Βραχμάναι* and *Σαρμάναι* as two kinds of φιλόσοφοι; see IA, 5. 243.

³ Cf. the *Māṅgala-sutta* (*Khuddaka-pāṭha*, V; JRS, 1870. 312 ff.) or *Mahāmāṅgala-sutta* (*Saṃyutta*, II, 4), in which the Buddha himself declares what he considers ‘the highest māṅgala’.

slaughter would be discontinued in future. Along with animal sacrifices he prohibited festive meetings (*samāja*, sections C, D), perhaps because some of them, like the Spanish bull-fights, consisted of contests of animals,¹ and substituted another kind of festive meetings (section E), viz. the edifying shows alluded to in the fourth rock-edict and in the Rupnāth and cognate edicts (above, p. xlv).

Among Aśoka's 'good deeds' the second pillar-edict (E) gives prominence to various benefits conferred on animals. This statement is explained by the fifth pillar-edict, which contains a detailed list of animals that were declared inviolable either permanently or on certain days, among them the well-known fast-days (*posatha*).² From the Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII it appears that this limitation of the general principle of *ahiṃsā* was a concession which Aśoka, though a convinced Buddhist, was obliged to make to the majority of his subjects:

'Now this progress of morality among men has been promoted (by me) only in two ways, (viz.) by moral restrictions and by instruction.³ But among these (two), those moral restrictions are of little consequence; by instruction, however, (morality is promoted) more considerably. Now moral restrictions indeed are these, that I have ordered this, (that) certain animals are inviolable By instruction, however, the progress of morality among men has been promoted more considerably, (because it leads) to abstention from hurting living beings, (and) to abstention from killing animals' (sections JJ-NN).

One of the items in the lists of virtues which constituted Aśoka's *Dharma* was liberality or charity (*dāna*). He not only practised it on his 'tours of morality' (above, p. xlvii), but organized the distribution of his own gifts and of those of his relatives through his officers; see the Delhi-Tōpra pillar-edict VII, sections CC, DD:

'Both these and many other chief (officers) are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity both here and in the provinces. And others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons, in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.'

According to the next section (EE) 'noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz. compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men'; while the pillar-edict II (B, C) says:—'What does morality include? (It includes) few sins, many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.' These two lists remind us of verse 224 of the *Dhammapada*, where it is stated that the practice of truthfulness, absence of anger, and charity leads to the gods:

Sacchetaṃ bhaye na kujjheyya dajjā appasmi yāchito
etehi tiri thānehi gacche devāna santike ॥

With the words 'few sins, many virtuous deeds' in the pillar-edict II, C, Senart (IA, 20. 262) compares verse 183 of the *Dhammapada*:

Sabbapāpass' akaraṇaṃ kusalass' ūpasampadā
sacchittaparyodapanam etaṃ Buddhāna sāsaṇaṃ ॥

¹ See Thomas, JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.

² Cf. Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 99 f., and *Vinaya Texts*, part I (SBE, 13), p. x. The Buddhist fast-days are mentioned also in the Sārnāth pillar-edict, H.

³ This, and not 'conversion', seems to be the actual meaning of *nijhati*. Cf. *Suttanipāṭa*, II, 8, verses 5 and 7.

In the fourth rock-edict Aśoka remarks that 'the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct' (*aśilasya*, section H), and exhorts his descendants to be 'abiding by morality (and) by good conduct' (*dharmē śīlē tiśṭhantaḥ*, F). In the *Dhammapada* we read in verse 217 :

Sila-dassana-sampannaṃ dhammaṭṭhaṃ sachchavādinam ।

and in verse 84 :

sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā ॥

Aśoka's remark : *sukaraṃ hi pāpaṃ*, 'for sin is easily committed' (Girnār edict V, G), reminds us of *sukarāṇi asādhūni* in verse 163 of the *Dhammapada*, and the words : *dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā*, 'now this (evil deed of mine) is indeed difficult to recognise' (pillar-edict III, D), of verse 252 :

Sudassaṃ vajjam aññesaṃ attano pana duddasaṃ ।

and of verse 50 :

Na paresaṃ vilomāni na paresaṃ katākataṃ ।
attano va avekkheyya katāni akatāni cha ॥

The lists of evil passions (*āsinava-gāmīni*, pillar-edict III, F) and dispositions (*jātāni*)¹ do not tally with the *āsava*s and *kilesa*s of the Buddhists.² To counteract these dispositions, Aśoka recommends 'the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry'³ and continues :

'Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise ; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice)' (Jaugaḍa, Q).

This maxim reminds one of verse 168 of the *Dhammapada* :

Uttiṭṭhe nappamajjeyya dhammaṃ sucharitaṃ chare ।

Already Aśoka's earliest proclamations have zeal (*parākrama* or *prakrama*) for their subject.⁴ He returns to it in the sixth rock-edict, which dwells on the necessity of exertion (*utthāna*, sections H, J) or zeal (*parākrama*, N) in conducting public business. Similarly, the *Dhammapada* recommends *utthāna* (verses 24, 25, 280), *parakkama* (verses 23, 383), and *appamāda* (verses 21-32). In two of his sermons on 'zeal' Aśoka appeals to all his subjects, not only to those in high positions, but to those in humble life as well ; see the Rūpnāth edict, sections G, H :

'And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous. And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued, (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous.'

Compare with this the rock-edict X, sections E, F :

'But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim). But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish for a high (person).'

¹ See the first separate edict at Dhauri, M, and at Jaugaḍa, N.

² See Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

³ See the first separate edict at Dhauri, O, and at Jaugaḍa, P.

⁴ Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, F-H ; Brahmagiri and Siddāpura, G-I.

A similar sentiment occurs in the seventh rock-edict, section E :

'But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.'

The eleventh rock-edict (B) and the ninth (J) state that 'there is no such gift as the gift of morality' (*dharma-dāna*). Senart (IA, 20. 62) compares verse 354 of the *Dhammapada* :

Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti.

Spiritual insight (*chakka*), which Aśoka claims to have spread in many ways,¹ is alluded to in the *Dhammapada*, verse 273 :

virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ dipadānaṃ cha chakkhumā ॥

According to the thirteenth rock-edict (L) '*Devānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven'.²

This remark reminds us of the noble verse 223 of the *Dhammapada* :³

Akkodhena jine kodham asādhunā sādhanā jine ।
jine kadāryaṃ dānena sacchenālikavādinaṃ ॥

The thirteenth rock-edict (sections M-O) continues thus :

'And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Devānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.⁴ And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Devānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed. For *Devānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.'

This is the 'conquest by morality' (*dharma-vijaya*) which Aśoka substitutes for the conquest by arms, and which he claims to have won even among his neighbours (sections P-U). He requests his descendants that they 'should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest' (section X).

In one important point Aśoka's inscriptions differ from, and reflect an earlier stage in the development of Buddhist theology or metaphysics than, the *Dhammapada* : they do not yet know anything of the doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*, but presuppose the general Hindu belief that the rewards of the practice of *Dharma* are happiness in this world and merit in the other world. See the rock-edict IX, M, N (Kālsī); X, C; XI, E; XIII, W, Y, AA; the Dhauli separate edict I, F; II, E, G, K; the pillar-edict I, C; III, H; IV, E, M, N; VII, PP. Cf. the *Dhammapada*, verse 219 f. :

Chirappavāsīṃ purisaṃ dūrato sotthim āgataṃ ।
ñātimittā suhajā cha abhinandanti āgataṃ ॥
Tath' eva katapuññaṃ pi asmā lokā paraṃ gataṃ ।
puññāni patigaṇhanti piyaṃ nātva āgataṃ ॥

¹ See the pillar-edict II, D.

² Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, G.

³ The same verse occurs both in the *Jātaka* and in the *Mahābhārata*; see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. xxvii, and Franke, VOJ, 20. 320 ff.

⁴ See above, p. li, n. 3.

Instead of 'merit in the other world' Aśoka often uses the term 'heaven' (*svarga*). See Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, G; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, H; the rock-edict VI, L; IX, K, L (Girnār); the Dhauī separate edict I, S, U; II, L. The *Dhammapada* (verse 126), however, distinguishes *Nirvāṇa* from *Svarga*:

saggaṃ sugatino yanti parinibbant' anāsavā ||

* * * * *

At the end of this survey of the contents of Aśoka's inscriptions we have still to consider the fourteenth rock-edict, in which the author of the preceding edicts states that he caused them to be written 'either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length. For the whole was not suitable everywhere'. The words 'at full length' must apply to the complete sets of fourteen edicts at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā. These four versions are practically identical, with the exception of the end of edict IX, where the three last of them (Kālsī, &c.) differ, for reasons which are not apparent, from Girnār, Dhauī, and Jaugaḍa.¹ The words 'in an abridged (form)' may refer to the Rūpnāth and cognate edicts, and the words 'of middle (size)' to Dhauī and Jaugaḍa, where two separate edicts were substituted for the rock-edicts XI–XIII. These, or at least the third of them, were 'not suitable' here because Dhauī and Jaugaḍa formed part of the newly conquered country of Kalinga and required different treatment and special orders to the administrative officers. It can be shown that the two separate edicts at Dhauī and Jaugaḍa were contemporaneous with the thirteenth rock-edict of the other versions: The words 'that *Dēvānāmpriya* will forgive them (viz. his unconquered borderers) what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world' in section G of the Dhauī separate edict II correspond to sections L and M of the thirteenth rock-edict at Shāhbāzgarhī:

'And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven. And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) instructs.'²

Another point of contact exists between the first separate edict and the third rock-edict, which Aśoka issued twelve years after his *abhishēka*, and in which he ordered the officers of all districts of his empire to undertake quinquennial tours for inspection and propaganda purposes. The first separate edict at Dhauī must have been drafted in the same year because in its sections Z and CC the king speaks of the quinquennial circuit of the *Mahāmātras* as a measure which he was about to introduce. At the same time triennial tours were instituted in the provinces of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā; see sections AA, BB of the same edict.

I now add a classified list of all the Aśoka inscriptions.

I. Buddhist Inscriptions.

- (1) Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.
- (2) Rumindēī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars.
- (3) Kauśāmbī, Sāmchī, and Sarnāth pillar-edicts.

II. Proclamations or 'rescripts on morality'.

- (1) Early edicts.
 - (a) Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Maski.
 - (b) Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.

¹ See Text, p. 39, n. 1.

² See above, p. liii and n. 4.

(2) Rock-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-XIV at Girnār, Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā.

(b) Edicts I-X, XIV, and two separate edicts at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa.

(3) Pillar-edicts.

(a) Edicts I-VI at Delhi-Mīraṭh, &c.

(b) Edicts I-VII at Delhi-Tōprā.

III. Donative inscriptions.

(1) Barābar Hill cave-inscriptions.

(2) Queen's pillar-edict.

CHAPTER VI.

GRAMMAR OF THE GIRNAR ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is replaced by *u* in *osudha* (=Skt. *ausadha*, II, 5). This change is due to the influence of the *o* in the preceding syllable; cf. *udupāna*=Skt. *udapāna* in the Māgadha dialect.¹

The *e* of *eta* (= **itra*?) seems to be developed from an original *i*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 21.

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (XIII, 6), while the form *guru* occurs three times. The *a* may have been introduced from the comparative *garīyas* and the superlative *garishṭha*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 260, n. 1. In *kho* (=Skt. *khalu*) the *a* is lost by syncope, the *l* is assimilated to the preceding *kh*, and Skt. *u* is represented by *o*. The form *kho* is used also in Pāli, while the literary Prakṛits have *klu* (for **khlu*, an enclitic form of *khalu*) instead of it.²

In the foreign name *Amṭiyaka*=*Ἀντιόχος*, *ῥ* is expressed by *a*. In [*A*]mṭ[*ek*]ina=*Ἀντιόγος*, *e* and *i* correspond to *i* and *ῥ*, and in *Turamāya*=*Πτολεμαῖος*, *u* and *a* to *ῥ* and *ῥ*.

The Gīrnār dialect has lost one of the Sanskrit vowels, viz. *ṛi*, which became *i* (after the stress accent) in *etārisa*, *tārisa*, *yārisa* (=Skt. *ētāṛiṣa*, &c.), and *u* (after labials) in *paripuchhā* and *vuta* (= *vṛitta*, X, 2), but generally *a*:—*ānainṇa* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *kacha* (= *kṛitya*), *kata*, *daḍha*, *bhata*, *bhataka*, *maga*, *magavyā*, *mata* (= *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *vistata*, *vyāpata*, *suhadaya*³ (IX, 7), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, IV, 11). In *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*, XII, 2, 8, 9) and *usaṭa*⁴ the *ṛi*, which became *a*, has caused the lingualization of the following dental. In *vrachha* (= *vṛiksha*, II, 8) the vowel *ṛi* is represented by the syllable *ra*, and in *sruṇāru* (XII, 7) by *ru* through the influence of other forms of the root *śru*.

Of diphthongs, *ai* is found only in *thaira*, *traidasa*, and *samachaira*, the genesis of which will be explained below (p. lvii f.), and *au* is always changed to *o*:—*dvo*, *pāralokika*, *poṭra*, *praṇoṭra*, *osudha*, *-opaga* and *-opaya*.

Short vowels are lengthened in *ānanṭaram*⁵ (=Skt. *anantaram*, VI, 8), *āchāyi*[*ke*]⁶ (= *ātyayi*-*ka*m, VI, 7), *mādhurātā* (= *madhurātā*, XIV, 4), *nāṭisu* (IV, 1), *abhikāra* (= **abhikāra*, V, 7), *abhūramaka* (VIII, 2), *paṭivēsiya* (= *prativēṣya*, XI, 3), *paṭibhā*[*g*]*a* (XIII, 4), *saṃpratīpati* (=Skt. *saṃpratīpatti*, IV, 2; also spelt *saṃpratīpati* and *saṃpaṭīpati*), *vivāha*⁷ (= *vivāha*, IX, 2), *vijaya* (XIII, 10; also *vijaya*), *bahūhi* (= *bahubhi*, IV, 4), and at the end of words in *tatrā* (XIII, 1), *paratrā* (VI, 12), *sarvatrā* (II, 6), *etamhī* (IX, 2), *paṃthesū* (II, 8).

Initial *ā* is shortened in *aropitan*, and final *ā* in *tatha* (= *tathā*, XII, 6), [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) = *Yona-rājā* (II, 3), and in the enclitic *va*, which is far more frequent than its original form *vā*. The three forms *āraddho*,⁸ *āraddhī* (i.e. **āraddhī*), and *aparadha* are perhaps to be derived from the root *radh*

¹ I use the term 'Māgadha dialect' for designating the language of the province to which Aśoka's capital belonged. It must not be confused with the Māgadhi of the Prakṛit grammarians; cf. Michelson, AJP, 30. 284.

² S. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 148, and cf. Michelson, IF, 23. 269 f.

³ This word is used in the sense of Skt. *suhrid*, 'a friend'. Cf. *suhajja* in the *Dhammapada*.

⁴ This participle corresponds in form to Skt. *utsṛita*, but its meaning agrees with that of Prakṛit *ussiya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64)=Skt. *uchchhṛita*. In other words, the Gīrnār form seems to be due to a false popular etymology of *uchchhṛita* from the root *śri* instead of *śri*.

⁵ The length of the initial *ā* may be due to the fact that the word is a translation of the Māgadha *ānanṭaliyan*; see the Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa versions, VI, 4.

⁶ Kālsī, Dhauḷi, and Jaugaḍa have *atīyāyike*, Pāli both *achchāyika* and *achcheka* (i.e. **achchayika*).

⁷ Cf. Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, s.v. *vivāha*, and Pāṇ. VI, 3, 122.

⁸ Cf. *āraddha-chitta* in the *Dīghanikāya*, translated by Franke, p. 144, n. 2.

used in the same sense as *rādhi*. The short *a* of *etarisañ* (= *ētādriṣaṃ*), *etārisani* (= *ētādriṣāni*), *dana* (= *dānam*) is probably due to clerical mistakes. Final *i* is shortened in the nom. sing. of masculine bases in *-in*:—*Priyadasi*, *hasti*.

The initial *a* of the enclitic *api* is dropped everywhere except in *evamapi* (II, 2). The initial *i* of *iti* is generally preserved, but it is dropped in *-nisrito ti* (V, 8) and in the compound *kiniti* or *kiti*.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Greek χ and γ are expressed by *k* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος* and *[A]m[ek]ina* = *Ἀντίογος*. In *-opaga* and *-opaya* we seem to have a change of *g* into *y*; cf. Franke, VOJ, 9. 345 ff. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahuka*.

In *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9), *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*; cf. *vraçanti* = Skt. *vrajanti* at Shāhbāzgarhi.

Skt. *ṣ* is preserved in *kalāṇa* (= *kalyāṇa*), *gaṇanā*, *charaṇa*, *prakaraṇa* and *pakarana*, *prāṇa* and *pāṇa*, *vinikhamana* (from *vinish-kram*), *sramaṇa* and *samaṇa* (= *śramaṇa*). In terminations, however, dental *n* is not, as in Sanskrit, lingualized after *r* and *ś*:—*agena* (= *agrēṇa*), *parākramaṇa*, *putrena* and *putena*, *mitrena*, *abhīramakāni*, *rūpāni*, *sahasrāni*, *Gaṇadhārāṇaṇi*, *gurūṇaṇi*, *thairāṇaṇi*, *manusāṇaṇi* and *mānusāṇaṇi* (= *mānushāṇaṇi*). On the other hand, lingual *ṣ* is newly developed after *r* in *prāpuṇati* (from Skt. *prāpuṇōti*), *darsaṇa* and *dasana* (= *darśana*), *saṇtīraṇa* (from *śīrayati*), and without apparent reason in *Yona* (V, 5), while *Yona* (with dental *n*) occurs four times.

As stated above (p. lvi), dentals are lingualized after the vowel *ṛi* in *usaṭa* and *vaḍhi*, and *d* becomes *r* before an original *ṛi* in *etārisa*, &c. Similarly, *dh* has turned to *ḍh* through the influence of the preceding *śh* in *osudha* (= Skt. *ausadha*), and *t* becomes *ṭ* after *r* in the preposition *paṭi* (ten times), while the original form *prati* occurs four times in *pratipati* and *saṇipratipati*. In *lipi* (= *dipi* in Ancient Persian; see above, p. xlii) *d* has become *l*. In *idha* the Gīrnār dialect has preserved the ancient form of Skt. *iha*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 266.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumentals *bahūhi* (= *bahubhūhi*), *tehi* (= Vedic *tēbhīh*), *paṭiṣesiyehi*, *satehi*, and in some forms of the root *bhū*, viz. *hoti* (= *bhavati*), *aho* (= *abhatat*), and *akuṇisu*, while *bh* is preserved in *bhavati*, *bhave*, *bhūta*.

The semivowel *y* is developed out of *i* in *Antiyaka* = *Ἀντίοχος*, and *Πτολεμαῖος* becomes *Turamāyo*. Initial *y* is lost in *ā* = Skt. *yā* (II, 2) and *āva* = Skt. *yāvat*. In the dative *athā* (XII, 9) = Skt. *arthāya* the whole syllable *ya* seems to be dropped. In causatives the characteristic affixes *aya* and *ayi* sometimes remain unchanged. More frequently both are changed to *ai* (*aya* by Saṃprasāraṇa, and *ayi* by the elision of *y*) and contracted to *e*. Thus Skt. *prativēdayata* becomes *paṭivedetha*, while e.g. *pūjayati* remains unaltered, and Skt. *hāpayishyati*, *ārādhayitum*, *rōchayitavya*, *a-rōchayitvā* are converted to *hāpesati*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavya*, *[a]-lochetpā*, while *ayi* remains in *dasayitpā* = Skt. *darśayitvā*. Similarly, Skt. *mayūra* becomes first **maūra* and then *mora* (I, 11). In two instances an original *aya* is not represented by *e*, but by *ai*: **trayadaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) becomes *traidasa* (V, 4), and Skt. **sama-charya*, having passed through the intermediate stages **samachariya* and **samacharia*, becomes *samachaira* (XIII, 7) through metathesis.¹

Lingual *ḍ* corresponds to Sanskrit *ḍ* in *mahidā*, and to Tamil *ḍ* in *Choḍa*. The *l* of *lochetavya* and *[a]-lochetpā*, which corresponds to Skt. *r*, is due to the influence of the Māgadha dialect; see Text, p. 8, n. 3. Greek λ is represented by *r* in *Turamāyo* = *Πτολεμαῖος*. This word proves that the Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhi versions are translations from the Māgadha dialect, where the λ of the Greek original is preserved (*Tulamaye* at Kālsī).² Another instance in which *r* corresponds to *l* is **arabhatē*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē*; see below, p. lxvi.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (= Skt. *ukta*, IX, 6; XIV, 4). As *aya* to *ai* and *e*, *ava* is changed by Saṃprasāraṇa to *ai* and *o*. In this way *bhavati*, *abhatat*, *avarōdhana*, **avavāditavya* become *hoti*, *aho*, *orodhana*, *ovāditavya*. The contracted form *hoti* and its original,

¹ Cf. Geiger's *Pāli*, § 27, and *puṇa* (XI, 4), which goes back to Skt. *puṇya* and presupposes the intermediate forms **puṇiya* and **puṇya*.

² If my explanation of *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugaḍa (Text, p. 33, n. 3) is right, *supadarave* at Mānsehrā would be another wrong translation from the Māgadha dialect.

bhavati, are about equally frequent in the Gīrnār text. In *thaira* = Skt. *sthavira*, *v* is elided and *ai* contracted to *ai*.

As in most Prākṛits, the two sibilants *ś* and *ṣh* have become *s* throughout: e.g. *pasu* = Skt. *paśu*, *dosa* = *dōsha*.

As in all other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. Hence the ablative singular of masculines and neuters in *-a* ends in *-ā* (= *-āt*); Skt. *tat*, *etat*, *yat*, and *yāvat* become *ta*, *eta*, *ya*, and *āva*; Skt. *bhavēt*, *abhavat*, *vasēyuk* become *bhave*, *aho*, *vaseyu*; and the nom. plur. of masculines in *-a* and of feminines in *-ā* ends in *-ā* (= *-āḥ*). But *ā* is shortened in the dative-genitive *imāya dhanīmānusastīya* (III, 3), in the nom. plur. fem. *chikīchha* (II, 4), and in the 3. sing. optative *tisteya* (for **tisthēyāt*). Final *as* generally becomes *o* (e.g. *yaso* = Skt. *yaśaḥ*, *rāño* = *rājñah*, *tistanto* = *tisthantah*, *Devānāṃpriyo* = *Dēvānāṃpriyah*); but in some instances the corresponding Māgadha form in *-e* is improperly used (e.g. *Devānāṃpiye*, XII, 1), and in others we have *-ā* (*Magā*, XII, 8; *sā* = Skt. *saḥ*, XIII, 10; *esā* = *ēśah*¹) or *-a* ([*A*]m[*ek*]ina, XIII, 8, *bhuya* = *bhūyah*, VIII, 5, and *esa*). Final *is* becomes *i* in *apachili*, *rati*, *hīni*, but *ī* in *lipī*, &c.

While thus all final consonants are dropped, a word may end not only in a simple vowel, but in a nasalized vowel, i.e. in a vowel + Anusvāra, and Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. Skt. *dānam* becomes *dānaṃ*, and *karuṇi* (XII, 4) is formed from Skt. *karōti* on the analogy of Skt. *kurvan*. Just as in modern Hindī, Anusvāra is, however, omitted frequently in writing; see *ida* (XI, 3), *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavyam*, IX, 6), *dana* (= *dānam*, IX, 7), *phala*, *mata* (= *matam*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛitam*, XIII, 1), *mādava*, *vinikkhamana*, *saka* (= *śakyam*), *ki* (IX, 9), *kiti* and *kīti* (= *kīrtim*), *chhāti* (= *kshāntim*), *v[a]dhi* (= *vṛiddhim*), *susuṃsera* (= *śuśrūṣhēran*), *karu* (for *karuṇi*), *ārādhetu* (= *ārādhayitum*), *eva* (= *ēvam*, IX, 1).²

A long nasalized vowel is generally shortened (e.g. *gaṇanāyaṇi*, *bhūtānaṃ*, *yesaṇi*, *ñātinaṃ*, *gurūnaṃ*, *anuvataṇi*); but it is preserved in *bhūtānaṃ* (XIII, 7), *pūjāṃ*, *yātāṃ*, *anuvīdhiyatāṃ*. Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (= Skt. *pūjām*, XII, 2), *mahāthāvah[ā]*, *susru[m]sā*, *susrusatā*. The long vowel is shortened and Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *tesa* (= *tēśam*, XIII, 4) and *saṃtīraṇāya* (loc. sing. of *saṃtīraṇā*, VI, 9), unless the latter is a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

III. SANDHI.

In the last paragraphs it was shown that at the end of words consonants are as a rule dropped and nasals converted into Anusvāra. In *tad-opayā* (VIII, 5) and *tad-anīñathā* (XII, 5) the final consonant of the base *tad* is preserved in composition,³ and final *m* remains before an initial vowel in *evam-āpi* (II, 2) and *katavyam-eva* (IX, 3). Similarly, hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in [*a*]ñam-anīñasa (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 7) and *bhatam-ayesu* (= *bhṛitā-ryēshu*, V, 5; cf. Text, p. 10, n. 4).

In the majority of cases, *a* + *ā* are, as in Sanskrit, contracted into *ā*; e.g. *nāsti*, *dhanīmānusā-sanaṃ*, *prāṇāraṃbho*. But the first *a* is elided before *a* in *dhanīm-avāyo* (XIII, 1), *dham-anugaho* (IX, 7), *dhām-adhiṣṭānāya* (V, 4), *et-ayaṇi* (= **itra* + *ayam*, VIII, 3); before *e* in *etāy-eva* (III, 3), *ch-eva* (IV, 7; XIV, 3), *ch-esā* (XIII, 4), *ta[tē]ta* (= *tatraitat*, IX, 4), *ten-esā* (VIII, 3); before *o* in *m[a]nus-opagān[i]* (II, 5), and *u* before *o* in *pas-o[pa]gāni* (II, 6). The result of *ī* + *a* is *ī* in *ithījhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 9).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The Gīrnār dialect has preserved a number of combined consonants which would have been assimilated in the later Prākṛits. As remarked by Bühler (*Ind. Pal.*, § 16, last section), there are among them some ligatures in which the second consonant is placed first for the sake of convenience in writing. As this point is of importance because it affects the transcription of the Gīrnār alphabet, I subjoin a list of such combinations of consonants.

(a) *tp* (written *pt*) in *ārabhītpā*, *dasayītpā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*, *-hītatpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *chatpāro*, *ātpa-*.

(b) *vy* (written *yv*) in *vyanijanato*, *vyasanaṃ*, *vyāpatā*, *apa-vyayatā*, *dīvyāni*, *magavyā*, *katavya*, *vataavyaṇi*, *prajūhītavayāni*, *ovādītavayāni*, *vijetavyaṇi*, *lochetavyā*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṇi*.

¹ Cf. Text, p. 15, n. 7.

² It deserves to be noted that in the Rīgvēda *ēva* is used nearly throughout in the sense of *ēvam*.

³ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 341.

(c) *ṣṭ* (written *ṣṣ*) in *anusasṭi*, *seṣṭe*, *tiṣṭānto*, *tiṣṭeya*, *ṣṭitā*, *-adhiṣṭānāya*, *uṣṭāna*, *niṣṭānāya*.

Although in the words given under (a) *tp* is written as *pt*, their Sanskrit prototypes suggest that we have to pronounce and transcribe *tp*. Michelson (JAOS, 31. 235 f.) supports this view by referring to *dvādasa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (III, 1; IV, 12): 'There is no question but that *db* represents the correct order of the letters. Now if Indic *dv* becomes *db*, then Indic *tv* surely should become *tp*. Hence gerunds in *-tpā* (Skt. *-tvā*) are to be read as such. This settles the reading *ātpa-* (Skt. *ātma-*) without further arguments.'

The same holds good for (b) *vy* which is written *yv*. Dr. Michelson writes to me:—'It is inconsistent to transcribe *divyāni*, *vyasanāni*, but *-tayva*, as the same symbol is used in all cases. *vyasanāni* would be unpronounceable. Bühler's argument from Pāli that *yv* is correct from the analogy of *yā* from Skt. *hy* is useless, as *vy* does not become *yv* but *bv* (or remains) in Pāli.' See also JAOS, 31. 235.

On the same analogy (c) *ṣṣ* has been transcribed by *st*, although Franke (*Gurupūjākāumudī*, p. 26, note) thinks that *ṣṣ* represents the actual pronunciation.

The fact that the Gīrnār alphabet marks the letter *r* in combination with several consonants was discovered independently by Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 25 f.) and by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji (IA, 10. 106 and note). Although the *r* is generally placed at the top of the other consonant, nobody has ever doubted that it was in most cases pronounced after it, and that we must transcribe *kr*, *tr*, *pr*, *br*, and not *rk*, *rt*, *rp*, *rb*. The symbol *rs*, however, does duty for both *sr* and *rs*, and *rv* for *vr* and *rv*. The former must certainly be read *sr* in *sahasra*, *sruṇāru*, *bahu-srutā*, *susrūṣā*, *srāvāpakāni*, *-sramaṇānāni*, *-nisrīto*, *a[pa]-parisrave*, but it cannot be meant for anything but *rs* in *vimāna-darsaṇā* (IV, 3) and *dasa-varsābhisito* (VIII, 2). Likewise the symbol *rv* may be read *vr* in *vrachhā* (II, 8), but must be intended for *rv* in *sarva* and *sarvata* or *sarvatra*. The spelling *bhūta-pruva* (V, 4; VI, 2) would be, in the opinion of Michelson (JAOS, 31. 228), the result of an erroneous translation of the Māgadha form *-puluva* which the writer found in the original draft of the edicts. I consider it more likely that the writer wanted us to pronounce *-purva*, but committed the mistake of connecting the *r* with the *p* instead of inserting it before the *v*; cf. the same spelling in the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions.

A large number of combined consonants are not preserved unchanged, but have been assimilated. In later Prākṛit inscriptions, as in the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi and in the plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman (EI, 8. 144, and 9. 57), the double consonant which is the result of such an assimilation is written in full. The inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Andhra kings, however, express every double consonant by a single letter; e.g. *aggi* = Skt. *agni* is written *agi*, *attha* = *artha* becomes *atha*, *laddha* = *labdha* becomes *ladha*, *gabbha* = *garbha* becomes *gabha*, and *nijjhatti* = **nidhyapti* is spelt *nijhati*. In double nasals both ways of spelling are in use; e.g. *dhaṇṇima* and *dhuma* = *dharma*, *aṇṇa* and *aṇa* = *anya*.

At the beginning of words an assimilated group is simplified in all Prākṛits; e.g. *ñāti* = Skt. *jñāti*, *ti* = *tri*, *pāṇa* = *prāṇa*, *bhātrā* = *bhrātrā*, *chluda* (i.e. *chhudda*) = *kshudra*. Also in the interior of words an assimilated group may be simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened; see *kāsati* (also *kasati*, i.e. *kassati*) = **karshyati*, *dhāma* (also *dhaṇṇima*) = *dharma*, *vāsa* (also *varsa*) = *varsha*, *chikichhā* = *chikitsā*, *rājūka* (from *rajju* or *rajjū*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2).

In a few cases a long vowel preceding a group of consonants is shortened; see *anusasṭi* = Skt. *anuṣṭāṣṭi*, *ayesu* (i.e. *ayyesu*) = *āryeṣhu*, *kiti* (i.e. *kitti*) = *kīrti*, *digha* (i.e. *diggha*) = *dirgha*, *puva* (i.e. *puvva*) = *pūrva*. Even a long vowel preceding a simple consonant may be shortened and the consonant itself doubled; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 90 f. Thus the short vowel in *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyaḥ*), *anuvidhiyare* and *anuvidhiyatāni* (from Skt. *anuvidhiyatē*) suggests that these words have to be read *bhuyya*, *anuvidhiyyare* and *anuvidhiyyatāni*, and that consequently *tiṣṭeya* (VI, 13) may be meant for *tiṣṭīyya* with doubled *y* and short *e*, as in the corresponding Pāli form of the 3. sing. opt. act.¹ But, as a rule, a long vowel preceding a group remains unchanged; see *asamāṣṭi* (= Skt. *asamāptam*), *āchāyikā* (= *ātyayikam*), *āṇapayāmi* (= *ājñāpayāmi*), *ātpa-* (= *ātma-*), *tadātpano* (= *ne*), *nāsti*, *parākrama*, *brāṇaṇa* and *bāṇhaṇa* (also *bramhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa*), *bhātrā*, *mahāmāta* and *mahāmātra*, *mādava* (= *mārdava*), *mahāthāvaha* (= *mahārthāvaha*), *rāñā*

¹ Similarly *nichā* may represent **nichchā*, into which *nichā* has been changed on the analogy of *uchchā*; see SPAW, 1914. 844.

(= *rājñā*), *Ri(Rā)stika* (= *Rāshṭrika*), *sūpāthāya* (= *sūpārthāya*), *ithijhakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*), *kīti* (= *kīrti*), *tī[v]o* (= *tīvraḥ*), *sāmīp[anī]* (= *sāmīpyam*).

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is frequently at the end of words (see above, p. lviii), in *Tam̐bapāniñi* (= Skt. *Tāmraparṇi*) and *Devānanīpriya*, while Anusvāra is suppressed after a long vowel in *atīkrāta* and *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ā]parātā* (= *āparāntāḥ*), *chhātī* (= *kshānti*), *[n]iyātu* (= *niyāntu*), *Pādā* (= *Pāṇḍyāḥ*), *bhāḍa* (= *bhāṇḍa*), *karote* (for **karōnte*, IX, 3), *karoto* (for **karōnto*), *pāti* (read *hoti*, for **hoṃti*). In *avilīsā* (IV, 6) *i* has taken the place of the *in* of *vihīnsā* (IV, 1). Conversely in *susru[ni]sā*, *susūnsā*, *susūnsēra* the short nasalized vowel *un* is substituted for the *ū* of *susrūsā* (III, 4), and in *susrusā* and *susrusatā* the Anusvāra of *un* is omitted.¹ There are several other instances in which Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel:—*magala* (IX, 3) = *maṅgala*, the two 3. pers. plur. *ichhati* (VII, 2) and *prāpuṇatī* (XIII, 4), *saṃbadha* (XI, 1) = *saṃbandha*, *sastuta* (twice) = *saṃstuta*, *sachhāya* (XIV, 5) = *saṃkṣāya*, *pāsaḍa* (twice) = *pāshaṇḍa*, *sayama* = *saṃyama*, *savaṭa* (also *saṃvata*) = *saṃvarta*, *kich[i]* (also *kinichi*) = *kinichit*, *kīti* (also *kīnti*) = *kīmiti*. In the first six of them the omission of Anusvāra may be due either to clerical mistakes or to the faint articulation of the nasal sound. The form *pāsaḍa* (= Skt. *pārshada*) is a recognised variant of *pāsaṇḍa* (passim); cf. *prashaḍa* and *prashanḍa* at Shāhbāzgarhī. In *sayama*, which occurs four times, and in *savaṭa* the nasal may have been assimilated to the following semi-vowel; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 59. The forms *kichi* and *kīti* occur again in other Aśoka inscriptions and are perhaps defective spellings for *kichchi* and *kitti* = **kid + chid* and **kid + iti*; see Johansson, *Shāhb.*, § 90.

So far we have seen that the Gīrnār dialect either preserves groups of consonants or assimilates them. A third mode of disposing of them is the development of an auxiliary vowel (*svarabhakti*) between two consonants. This vowel is *a* in *garahati* and *garahā* (= Skt. *garhati* and *garhā*), *i* in *paṭivesiya* (= *prativēśya*), *puñña* (for **puñya* = Skt. *puṇya*), *samachaira* (for **samachariya* = Skt. **sama-charya*), and *u* after a labial in *prāpuṇatī* (3. plur. ind. pres. act. of Skt. *prāpuṇōti*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to an initial group in *ithi* (i.e. *itthi*, = Skt. *strī*).

I now subjoin an alphabetical list of Sanskrit groups with their Gīrnār equivalents.

kt becomes *t* (i.e. *tt*) in *abhīsita*, *bhati*, *yuta*, *vatavyam*, *vutam*.

ky becomes *k* (i.e. *kk*) in *saka*.

kr remains in *atīkrāt[a]ni* (VI, 1), *parākramāmi*, *parākramena*, but becomes *k* in *atīkātanī*, *parī(rā)k[a]mate* (X, 3).

kś becomes *chh* in *sachhāya* (XIV, 5); see Bühler, ZDMG, 40. 142.

ksh becomes *kh* in *ithijhakha*, *saṃkhiṭ[e]na*; *chh* in *chhanatī*, *achhatim*, *chhamitave*, *chhātī*, *chhudanī*, *chhudakena*, *vachhā*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

gr becomes *g* in *agena*, *-anugaho*.

jñ becomes *ññ* or *ñ* in *katanñātā*, *rāñā*, *rāñō*, *añapayāmi*, *añapayisati*, *añapitam*, *ñāti*, *ñātika*.

ḍy becomes *ḍ* in *Pādā* (= Skt. *Pāṇḍyāḥ*).

ny becomes *nn* in *ānanñanī*, *hiranñā*; *ññ* or *ñ* in *apuniñanī* and *puññanī*.²

tm becomes *tp* in *ātpa*-. Cf. *tp* = *tv*, below.

ty becomes *ch* in *[a]pachani*, *āchāyī[ke]*, *ilokachasa*, *ekachā*, *kachani*, *parichajitpā*, *prachamtesu*.

Other instances of palatalization are *j* = *dy*, *jh* = *dhy*, *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*.

tr remains or becomes *t*; see e.g. *trī* and *tī*, *tatra* and *tata*, *añatra* and *añata*, *sarvatra* and *sarvata*, *putra* and *puta*, *mītra* and *mīta*, *mahāmātra* and *mahāmāta*.

tv becomes *tp* in *chatpāro*, *ārabhitpā*, *[a]-lochetpā*, *dasayitpā*, *parichajitpā*, *tadātpano(ne)*, *-hitatpā*. Cf. *db* = *dv* in *dbādasa*.

ts becomes *chh* in *chikichhā*; *s* in *usātena*.³

tsth becomes *st* in *ustāna* for **ut-sthāna*,⁴ while the corresponding Sanskrit word is *utthāna*.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajetha*; *y* in *uyānesu*.

¹ Perhaps *susrusā* is meant for *susrussā*, as *bhuya* for *bhuyya*; see above, p. lix. Cf. also Geiger's *Pālī*, § 6.

² For the epenthesis of *i* see above, p. lvii, n. 1.

³ Cf. *sthāna* = Skt. *sthāna* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 309.

⁴ See above, p. lvi, n. 4.

dr becomes *d* in *chludani*, *chludakena*.

dv remains in *dvo*, *dve*, but becomes *db* in *dbādasā*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *ithijhakha*, *nijhatī*, *majhamena*.

dhr remains in *dhruvo*, [*A**]*ñdhra*.

ny becomes *ñū* or *ñ* in *añña* and *aña*, *maññate* and *mañate*, *ñayāsu*. Cf. *apuniña* = Skt. *apunya*.

pt becomes *t* in *gutī*, *nijhatī*, *asamāt[a]ñi*, *sañkhit[e]na*, *Turamāyo* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prāpunati* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

py becomes *p* in *sāmīp[an]*.

pr remains or becomes *p*; see e.g. *prakaraṇa* and *pakaraṇa* (IX, 8), *prāṇa* and *pāṇa* (IX, 5), *Devānañpriya* and *Devānañpiya*, *Priyadasi* and *Piyadasi*, *pratīpatī* and *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4), *sañpratīpatī* and *sañpaṭīpatī* (IV, 6).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladhesu*.

br remains in *brā[m]haṇa* (IV, 2) and *braṃhaṇa* (IV, 6), but becomes *b* in *bāmhaṇa* and *bamhaṇa* (IX, 5).

bhy becomes *bh* in the passive forms *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare*.

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhātrā* or *bhāt[ā]*.

my remains in *sanya*.

nr becomes *nib* (through the intermediate stage **mbr*) in *Tañbapanñī*.

rg becomes *g* in *svaga*.

rgl becomes *gh* in *dighāya*.

rñ becomes *nñ* in *Tañbapanñī*.

rt becomes *t* in *katavya*, *kiti* or *kīti*, *anuv[a]tare*, *anuvatarani*, *anuvatisare*; *ṭ* in *sañvata* or *savaṭa*.

rth becomes *th* in *atha*.

rd becomes *d* in *mādava*.

rdh becomes *dh* in [*pra**]*vadhayisañti* (IV, 9); *ḍh* in *vadhayati* (XII, 4), *vadhayisati* (IV, 7), *vadhita*. Cf. *ṭ* for *rt* in *sañvata*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgāramhi*.

rm becomes *nim* or *m* in *kañma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhañma* and *dhama*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu*,¹ but is represented by *riy* in *samachairani*, which presupposes the form **samachariyani* (= Skt. **sama-charyam*); see above, p. lvii.

rv remains or becomes *v* in *sarva* or *sava*. Instead of Skt. *pūrva* we have *puva* in IV, 5, while *pruva*, which is probably meant for *purva*, occurs in two places; see above, p. lix.

rś becomes *rs* in *vimāna-darsañā*, but *s* in *hasti-da[sā]ñā*, *dasane*, *dasayitpā*, *Priyadasi*; *daspanani* (VIII, 4) is probably a clerical mistake for *darsanani*.

rsh becomes *rs* in *varśa* (VIII, 2), but *s* in *vāsa* (= Skt. *varsha*).

rshy becomes *s* in *kāsati*, *kāsañti*, *kaśa[ni]ti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*, *garahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapā*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalāna*.

vy remains in *vyañjanato*, *-vyayatā*, *vyasanani*, *vyāpatā*, *divyāni*, *magavyā*, and in the affix *-tava* (seven instances), but becomes *y* in *pūjetayā* (XII, 4).

vr becomes *v* in *tī[v]o*, [*pa*]*vajitāni*, *vacha* (VI, 3; XII, 9) = Skt. *vraja*.

sch becomes *chh* in *pachhā*. Other instances in which a sibilant causes aspiration are *kh* = *sk*, *shkr*, *ksh*; *chh* = *ts*, *kś*, *ksh*; *th* = *str*.

śy becomes *s* in *pasati*, but *siy* in *paṭivesiyehi* (XI, 3).

śr becomes *sr* in *sramaṇa*, *susrūsā*, *susru[ni]sā*, *susrusā*, *susrusatā*, *bahu-srutā*, *srāvāpakani*, *nisrito*, but *s* in *samaṇa*, *susuñsā*, *susuñsera*, *seste* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭham*).

śv becomes *sv* in *sveto*.

shk becomes *k* in [*du*]*katani*, *dukarani*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *vinikhamana*.

¹ The 3. plur. imper. act. [*n*]*iyātu* (III, 3) need not be derived from *nir-yā*, but may stand for *niyāntu*; cf. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) from *ni-yā* used in the sense of *nir-yā*.

shtr becomes *sṭ* in *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika*.

shth loses its aspiration and becomes *sṭ* in *seṣṭe*, *tiṣṭeya*, *tiṣṭanto*, *nistānāya*, *-adhistānāya*. Cf. the Māgadhi forms *śustu* = Skt. *sushṭhu* and *koṣṭāgālani* = *kōshṭhāgāram* (Hemachandra, IV, 290, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 303), and at Gīrnār *ṣṭita* = Skt. *sthita*, *uṣṭāna* = **ut-sthāna*, *Ri(Rā)ṣṭika* = *Rāshṭrika*, *anusasṭi* = *anūsasṭi*.

shy becomes *s* in *manusa*, *āñāpayisati*, and in other futures.

sk becomes *kh* in *agi-kh[a]ṇḍhāni*.

st remains in *asti*, *nāsti*, *hasti*, *saṁstuta*, *viṣṭata*; it becomes *sṭ* in *anusasṭi*.

str becomes *th* in *ithi*.

sth becomes *th* in *thaira*, *st* in *gharastāni*,¹ and *sṭ* in *ṣṭitā*.

sm becomes *mh* in the locatives in *-amhi*.

sy becomes *s* in the genitives in *-asa*, and in the optatives *asa*, *asu* of root *as*.

sr remains in *sahasra* and *a[pa]-parisrave*, but becomes *s* in *parisave* (X, 3).

sv remains in *svaga*, *svāmikena*, *svayāni*, but becomes *s* in *sarasake* (XIII, 11).

hm becomes *mh*, as in Prākṛit, in *banhāṇa* and other equivalents of the Sanskrit and Pāli word *brāhmaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.	} neut. <i>dānaṁ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>morā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>janani</i> , &c.		Masc. <i>yute</i> , <i>athe</i> ; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>rūpāni</i> .
Instr. <i>janena</i> , &c.		<i>paṭivesiyehi</i> , <i>satehi</i> .
Dat. <i>athāya</i> , &c.		
Abl. <i>kapā</i> , <i>-hitatpā</i> , <i>pachhā</i> .		
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.		<i>thairānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>athamhi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>kāle</i> , &c.		<i>thairesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing.—In a few neuters the final Anusvāra is missing, viz. *phala*, *mata*, *mādava* (acc.), *vinikhamāṇa*. In many instances the Māgadha termination *-e* is used; (a) masculines:—*parisave*,² *a[pa]-parisrave*, *Devānaṁpiye* (XII, 1), *prādesike*, *bhā[g]e*, *rājūke*, *sakale*, *sayame*; (b) neuters:—*āchāyī[ke]*, *kaṁme*, *-charaṇe*, *tārise*, *dasane*, *dāne*, *-puve*, *bahuvīdhe*, *maṁgale*, *-mate*, *mah[ā]-phale*, *mahālake*, *mūle*, *yārise*, *vaḍhite*, *viṣ[ul]e*, *seṣṭe*. The wrong form *-paṭividhāno* (VIII, 4) is probably due to the fact that the clerk who drafted the Gīrnār version thoughtlessly replaced the *-e* of the Māgadha neuter *paṭividhāne* by *-o*, as in the masculine *jano*, &c. = Māgadha *jane*, &c. The foreign name *[A]ṇṭ[ek]ina* (XIII, 8) has no termination, while *Magā* lengthens its final *a*.

Dat. sing.—The form *athā* (XII, 9) for *athāya* is found also in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII; cf. Text, p. 22, n. 3, and Michelson, JAOS, 31. 240.

Loc. sing.—In *pravāsaṁmhi* (IX, 2) the *m* is doubled. The termination *-e* occurs also in *pakarane*, *prakarane*, *Pāṭalipute*, *vijaye*, *vijite*, *sarasake*; *tadātpano* is a mistake for *tadātpane*.³

The acc. plur. masc. uses the termination *-āni*, which, as shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.), is peculiar to the Ardhamāgadhi dialect, in four instances:—*agi-kh[a]ṇḍhāni* (IV, 4) and *sava-pāsaṁdāni cha* [*pa*]vaṣṭitāni *cha* *gharastāni cha* *pūjayati* (XII, 1).

The acc. plur. neut. has the termination *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *vimāna-darsanā cha hasti-da[sā]nā cha* (IV, 3).

Gen. plur.—The long vowel is preserved before Anusvāra in *bhūtānām* (XIII, 7).

Loc. plur.—The final *u* is lengthened in *paṇṭhesū* (II, 8).

¹ In accordance with Vararuchi, IV, 32, and Hemachandra, II, 144, Skt. *griha* is replaced by *ghara*.

² The corresponding Pāli word *parissaya* is not a neuter, as Childers thought, but a masculine; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1004 and n. 5.

³ Cf. *-paṭividhāno* for *-paṭividhāne* in the nom. sing.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichhā</i> , &c.	(a) <i>katā</i> (II, 4); (b) <i>mahiḍāyo</i> .
Acc. <i>pūjām</i> , <i>yātām</i> .	
Instr. <i>pūjāya</i> , &c.	
Loc. <i>gaṇanāyaṁ</i> , <i>parisāyaṁ</i> .	

Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in *pū[jā]* (XII, 2), *mahāthāvaḥ[ā]* (X, 1), *susru[ni]sā* (X, 2).

Loc. sing.—In *saiṁtīraṇāya* (VI, 9) the final Anusvāra is omitted, or it may be a genitive used in the sense of the locative.

Nom. plur.—In *chikīchha* (II, 4) the long *ā* of the first of the two different terminations is shortened. The second termination is identical with -āo in the Prākṛits; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 376.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. <i>trī</i> , <i>tī</i> .
Gen. plur. <i>ñāṁinaṁ</i> .
Loc. plur. <i>ñāṁisu</i> .

The nom. plur. in -i is common in Prākṛit; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 380.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>līpī</i> , &c.	<i>aṭaviyo</i> .
Acc. <i>Saṁbodhiṁ</i> , &c.	
Instr. - <i>anusasṭiyā</i> , <i>bhātīyā</i> .	
Dat. - <i>anusasṭiya</i> (with final <i>ā</i> shortened).	
Nom. sing.—The final <i>i</i> remains short in <i>apachiti</i> , <i>rati</i> , <i>hīni</i> .	
Acc. sing.—The final Anusvāra is omitted in <i>kiti</i> (X, 2), <i>kīti</i> (X, 1), <i>chhāti</i> (XIII, 11), <i>v[a]dhi</i> (IV, 11).	

III. BASES IN -u.

Besides the gen. plur. masc. *gurūnaṁ* we have three forms of the neuter base *bahu*, viz. nom. sing. *bahu*, nom. and acc. plur. *bahūni*, and instr. plur. *bahūhi*. The nom. sing. *sādhū* is the same in all three genders.

IV. BASES IN -ri.

Instr. sing. masc. <i>pitā</i> (for <i>pitṛā</i>), <i>bhātrā</i> or <i>bhāt[ā]</i> .
Loc. sing. <i>pitari</i> , <i>mātari</i> and <i>mātr[i]</i> .

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

As in other Prākṛits, bases ending in consonants have a tendency to follow the analogy of the *a*-declension. Thus the feminine base *parishad* becomes *parisā* (III, 6) and forms the loc. sing. *parisāyaṁ* (VI, 7). The present participle *sat* forms the nom. sing. masc. *saṁto*. Of bases in -an, *panthan* forms the loc. plur. *panthesū*, and the neuter *karman* the Māgadha nom. sing. *kaṁme* and the dat. sing. *kaṁmāy[a]*.

The original consonantal declension survives in the subjoined incomplete paradigms.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. <i>karuṁ</i> or <i>karu</i> .
Nom. plur. masc. <i>tiṣṭaṁto</i> .

The nom. sing. *karuṁ* is derived from the Sanskrit verb *karōti*. In *karu* the Anusvāra is omitted. Two other forms of the same case, *karoto* (for **karonito*) and *saṁto* (from root *as*) follow the analogy of the *a*-declension.

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(2) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>rājā</i> .	<i>rājāno</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> .	
Instr. <i>rājā</i> .	
Gen. <i>rājño</i> .	

In the nom. sing. masc. [*Yo*]na-rāja (XIII, 8) the final *ā* is shortened, while II, 3 has *Yona-rājā*.

(3) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Priyadasi</i> , <i>hasti</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>Priyadasinā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>Priyadasino</i> .

(4) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. Sing. *yaso*, *bhuya* (= Skt. *bhūyah*).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. <i>aham</i> .
Instr. sing. <i>mayā</i> .
Gen. sing. <i>mama</i> , <i>me</i> .

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>so</i> } neut. <i>ta</i> .	Masc. <i>te</i> .
Acc.	
Instr. <i>tena</i> .	
Dat. <i>tāya</i> .	<i>tehi</i> .
Gen. <i>tasa</i> .	<i>te[sa]ni</i> , <i>tesa</i> .
Loc. <i>tamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *sā*.

In *pīti-raso sā* (XIII, 10) the nom. sing. masc. ends in *-ā*. The neuter *ta* (= Skt. *tat*) occurs twice (X, 3; XIII, 2) as pronoun and frequently as conjunction. Its Māgadhā equivalent *se* is taken over unchanged in I, 10.

(3) Base *na*.

Acc. plur. masc. *ne*; neut. *nāni*.

For this pronoun see Hēmachandra, III, 70, 77.

(4) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> (X, 3), ¹ <i>esā</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etanī</i> , <i>esa</i> .	Masc. <i>ete</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>eta</i> (XI, 3).	
Dat. <i>etāya</i> , <i>etakāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>etasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>etamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *esā* (VIII, 3).

With the nom. sing. masc. *esā* (VIII, 5;² XIII, 4) cf. *sā* (= Skt. *sah*, XIII, 10) and *Māgā* (XIII, 8). The neuter *eta* (= Skt. *etat*) occurs twice, and *etanī* once (X, 4), while the masculine

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii, n. 2.

² See Text, p. 15, n. 7.

form *esa* is employed three times as neuter and was known as such to Hēmachandra (III, 85), who quotes *esa siram* (= Skt. *ṛtachchirah*). Cf. the Māgadha nom. sing. *se*, which is used both as masculine and as neuter (= Skt. *saḥ* and *tat*), and see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 299.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ayan̄</i> ; neut. <i>idam̄</i> , <i>ayan̄</i> .	Masc. <i>imc</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>idam̄</i> .	
Instr. <i>iminā</i> .	
Gen. <i>imasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>imamhi</i> .	

Nom. sing. fem. *īyam̄*, *ayan̄*.

Dat. sing. fem. *imāya*.

The Anusvāra of the neuter *idam̄* is omitted in *ida* (XI, 3). The masculine *ayan̄* is employed instead of it three times, and instead of the feminine *īyam̄* (I, 1) five times. In Pāli only *ayan̄* is used as feminine.

(6) Interrogative Pronoun.

The nom. sing. neut. *kī* (for *kīn̄*) occurs in IX, 9, and *kam̄*, used as an indefinite, in XIV, 3. Of the indefinite base *kīn̄chid* we have the nom. sing. masc. *kechi* (XII, 5) and the neuter *kīn̄chi* or *kīch[i]* (X, 3). The compound *kīnti* or *kīti* (XII, 2) is used in the sense of 'that, in order that'.

(7) Relative Pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>ya</i> ; neut. <i>ya</i> .	Masc. <i>ye</i> ; neut. <i>yāni</i> .
Acc. neut. <i>ya</i> , <i>ya[n̄]</i> .	
Gen. <i>yaśa</i> .	<i>yesam̄</i> .

Nom. plur. fem. *yā*.

The acc. sing. neut. *ya[n̄]* is found only in X, 3, while *ya* (= Skt. *yat*) occurs ten times.

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>an̄ñe</i> ; neut. <i>añ[a]</i> , <i>añe</i> .	Masc. <i>a[n̄]ñ[e]</i> , <i>añe</i> } neut. <i>añāni</i> .
Acc.	Acc.
Dat. <i>añāya</i> .	
Gen. <i>[a]ñāman̄ñasa</i> .	
Loc. <i>añamhi</i> .	

The nom. sing. masc. and neut. *an̄ñe* (VIII, 5) and *añe* (IV, 7) are Māgadha forms,¹ while *añ[a]* (IX, 5) is the regular equivalent of Skt. *anyat*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. and acc. sing. neut. <i>sarvam̄</i> , <i>savam̄</i> .	Masc. <i>savc</i> .
Loc. <i>sarve</i> , <i>s[a]ve</i> .	<i>[sa]vesu</i> .

(10) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekataramhi*.

(11) Base **ikatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekachā*.²

¹ Cf. above, p. lxii.

² The corresponding Pāli form is *ekache*; see Childers, s. v., and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 113.

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D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eko*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *dvo*; fem. *dve*.

These two are the only dual forms preserved in the Gīrnār dialect.

Three.

Nom. masc. *trī*, *tī*.

Four.

Nom. masc. *chatpāro*.

Five.

Loc. *pañchasa*.

Ten, twelve, thirteen.

dasa, *dbādasa*, *traidasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. plur. *sata-sahasrāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parākramāmi*, *pari(rā)k[a]mate*. The active form *kramati* occurs also in the epics, while classical Sanskrit has *krāmati* in the active and *kramatē* in the middle.

Root *gam*: *gaccheyāmi*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ḍrīś*: *pasati* (i.e. *passati* = Skt. *paśyati*).Root *bhū*: *bhavati* and *hoti*.

Root *labh*. The absolutive *ārabhitpā* and the passive forms *ārabharc*, *ārabhisu*, *ārabhisare* presuppose the present **ārabhate*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhatē*).

Root *vas*: *vaseyu*.Root *vṛit*: *anuv[a]tare*.Root *sthā*: *tiṣṭeya*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.Root *yā*: *[n]iyātu*.Root *han* follows the analogy of the ninth class: *upahanāti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *prajñhitavyam* presupposes the present **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati* (for **juhvati*); see Pischel, GGA, 1881. 1324.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajetha* (= Skt. *pratipadyēta*).Root *man*: *manūiate* (= Skt. *manyatē*).

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class : *prāpuṇāti* (for °*ṇamti*).¹

Root *śru* follows the ninth class and forms the 3. plur. imperative active *sruṇāru*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish* : *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Both *bhuj* (*bhujy[ā]mānasa*, VI, 3) and *yuj* (*yujanitu*, IV, 11) follow the *a*-conjugation.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kri* : *karoti*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation : *chhaṇāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class and causatives.

(a) With *aya* : *pūjayati*, *dasayitpā*, *dīpayema*, *ārādhayanitu*, *vaḍhayati*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivedetha*, *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yaṇi*, *pūjetayā*, *ārādhetu*, *lochetavyā*, [*a*]-*lochetpā*.

(b) With *paya* : *hāpesati* and the derivative *dāpaka*. The long vowel of the root *jñā* is shortened, as it is optionally in Sanskrit, before *paya* in *āñāpayāmi*. With this agrees the Prākṛit *āṇavedi*, while Pāli has *āṇāpeti* with long *ā*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 8.

(c) With *āpaya* : *likhāpayisaṇi*, *sukhāpayāmi* (which is, properly speaking, a denominative of *sukha*), and the derivatives *khānāpita*, *lekhāpita*, *hārāpita*, *srāvāpaka*. In *lekhāpita* the vowel *i* of the root *likh* is strengthened by Guṇa, while in *likhāpayisaṇi* it remains unchanged.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *ropāpita*.

(2) *Moods*.

(a) Indicative.

Active.

1. sing. *parākramāmi*, *karomi*, *āñāpayāmi*.

3. sing. *garahati*, *pasati*, *bhavati* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahanāti*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *chhaṇāti*, *pūjayati*, *vaḍhayati*.

3. plur. *pāti* (read *hoti*, XIII, 6), *ichhati* (VII, 2), *prāpuṇāti* (XIII, 4). In these three forms we would have expected the termination *-nti* instead of *-ti*.

Middle.

3. sing. *pari(rā)k[a]mate*, *maññate* or *mañate*, *karote*, which follows the analogy of the active *karōti*, while Sanskrit has the weak form *kurutē*.

3. plur. *karote* (IX, 3) for **karonīte*. The termination is *-re* in *anuṇ[a]tare* (XIII, 9), in the future *anuṇvatisare*, in the two passives *anuvidhiyare* and *ārabhare*, and in the future passive *ārabhisare*. The same termination is known from Vedic Sanskrit, Prākṛit, and Pāli; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 458.

(b) Subjunctive.

Active.

1. sing. *sukhāpayāmi* (VI, 12), which has the termination of the indicative, but must be explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with the optative *gachcheyāṇi* and the imperative *ārādhayanitu*.

3. sing. *maññā* (XIII, 11) from *maññate*. Cf. *paśyāt* and many other Vedic forms.

(c) Optative.

Active.

1. sing. *gachcheyāṇi*.

3. sing. *asa* (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt* from root *as*), *bhave*, *tiṣṭeya*. Pāli, too, has both the terminations *-e* and *-eyya*.

1. plur. *dīpayema*.

3. plur. *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*), *vaseyu*.

¹ Cf. the Ardhamāgadhī form *pāṇanti* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504.

Middle.

3. sing. *paṭipajetha* (XIV, 4). The termination *-tha* (= Skt. *-ta*) is the same in Pāli; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 129.

3. plur. *susuṇṇsera* (desiderative of *śru*) with the termination *-ra* for Pāli *-raṇ* = Skt. *-ran*.

(d) Imperative.

Active.

2. plur. *paṭivedetha* (VI, 5). As in Prākṛit and Pāli, the termination of the corresponding person of the indicative is transferred to the imperative.

3. plur. *yujāntu*, *ārādhayanītu*, [*u*]iyāntu (with *-tu* for *-ntu*), *sraṇāru* (XII, 7) from **sraṇāti* = Skt. *śṛṇōti*. With the termination *-ru* cf. the middle termination *-re* in the indicative, the optative *susuṇṇsera*, and the imperative *anuṇṇatarāṇi*.

Middle.

3. sing. *anuvidhiyatām* (passive) and *susrusatā* (desiderative).

3. plur. *anuṇṇatarāṇi* (VI, 14). Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1331) compared the Vedic imperative *duhrām*. The middle termination *-raṇi* (for *-rām*) corresponds to Skt. *-ntām*, as the active termination *-ru* to Skt. *-ntu*, and as the indicative middle termination *-re* to Skt. *-nte*. In the optative middle the Sanskrit termination *-ran* agrees with Gīṇār and Pāli.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. act. *aho* for **abhot* = Skt. *abharat*; see Johanson, *Shāhāb*, § 30, last section.

II. AORIST.

3. plur. act. *ñayāsu* (VIII, 1) = Skt. **nyayāsuḥ* from root *yā* with the preposition *ni* in the sense of *nir*; cf. Michelson, JAOS, 31. 245. The form *ahūsu* (VIII, 2) seems to be based on the 3. sing. *ahu* (= Skt. *abhūt*), as Pāli *āsīṇsu* on *āsī* (= Skt. *āsīt*). In *ārābhīsu* (I, 9), which must be connected with the passive *ārabbhāre* (I, 11) = Skt. *ārabhīyante*, the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bh*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. act. *āha*. The form *ayāya* (VIII, 2) has been generally explained as an imperfect of root *yā*. It may be as well a perfect of root *i*, = Skt. *iyāya*, but with modified reduplication.

IV. FUTURE.

Active.

1. sing. *likhāpayisāṇi* (XIV, 3) has the same termination as in Prākṛit and Pāli.

3. sing. *āṇāpayisati*, *vadhayisati*, *hāpesati*, *kāsati* (= Pāli *kāhātā*) from **karshyati*.

3. plur. [*pra**]*vadhayisānti*, *anusāsīsānti*, *kāsānti* and *kasa[ni]ti* from root *kṛi*.

Middle.

3. plur. *anuṇṇatisare* (V, 2). In the passive *ārabbhisare* (I, 12) the *bh* is a defective spelling for *bh*; cf. the remark on the aorist *ārabbhisu*, above, section II.

V. PASSIVE.

The forms which occur in the Gīṇār text are all derived from the two Sanskrit passives *ārabhīyatē* and *anuvidhiyatē*:

3. plur. indicative *ārabbhāre*, *anuvidhiyare* are defective spellings for *ārabbhāre*, *anuvidhiyyare*; see above, p. lix.

3. sing. imperative *anuvidhiyatāṇi*.

3. plur. aorist *ārabbhisu*.

3. plur. future *ārabbhisare*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

The 3. plur. optative *susuṇṇsera* (XII, 7) and the 3. sing. imperative *susrusatā* (X, 2) are derived from Skt. *śuśrūṣatē*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *sthā*: nom. plur. masc. *tiṣṭānīto*.

Root *as*: nom. sing. masc. *sanīto*.

Root *kṛi*: nom. sing. masc. *karoto*, *karuṇi*, *karu*.

Middle.

Root *bhuj*: *bhūṇij[a]māna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 2, and = *mṛita*, XIII, 1), *kata* (= *kṛita*), *vyāpata* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṣṭata* (= *viṣṭṛita*), *uṣaṭa* (= *uṣṛita*), *niṣṛita* (= **niṣṛita*), *ṣṭita* (= *sthita*), *atīkrāta* (VI, 1) or *atīkāta* (= *atīkrānta*), *vuta* (= *ukta*), *samāta* (= *samāpta*), *saṁkṣhita* (= *saṁkṣhīpta*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āñāpita*, &c. The participles *viṣṭita* and *vinīta* (VI, 4) are used as substantives.

(b) The only participle in *-na* is *prasāṇna*.

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tava*: *katavya* (= Skt. *kartavya*), *vatavya* (= *vaktavya*), *prajūhitavya* (from **jūhati* = Pāli *juvhati*), *ovāditavya* (from Pāli *ovadati*), *viṣṭetavya* (from *vi-ṣṭi*), *pūṣetavya* (= *pūṣayitavya*), *lochetavya* (= *rōchayitavya*), *paṭ[i]vedeta[v]ya*.

(b) In *-ya*: *kacha* (= Skt. *kṛitya*, IX, 8), *saka* (= *śakya*).

VIII. INFINITIVE.

(a) Accusative: *ārādhetu* (= Skt. *ārādhayitum*).

(b) Dative: *chhamitave* from root *ksham*; cf. Vēdic forms like *charitave*, and *gantave*, &c., in Pāli.

IX. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tpā* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ārābhītpā*, *parichajītpā* (from root *tyaj*), *dasayītpā* (from causative of *dṛiṣ*), *[a]-lochetpā* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).

(b) The only absolute in *-ya* is *sacchīyāya* from *sañ-kṣā* (= *sañ-khyā*).

F.—SUFFIXES

Under this heading I note a few remarkable formations which differ from Sanskrit.

(1) *Kṛit* suffixes.

(a) *-anā*: *sañtīraṇā* from Skt. *tīrayati*.

(b) *-ti*: *nijhati* = **nidhyapti*, *anusastī* = Skt. *anusāsti* (Böhtlingk's *Wörterbuch*, 5. 991), while Pāli *anusīṭṭhi* agrees with Skt. *anusīṣṭhi*.

(c) *-ni*: *hīni* (IV, 11) from root *hā* on the analogy of the participle *hīna*.

The first member of the compound *vachi-guti* (XII, 3) is not a fossilized locative, as Michelson (JAOS, 31. 230) thinks, but must be connected with Ardhamāgadhi *vaī* or *vaī* = **vāchī*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 413.

(2) *Taddhita* suffixes.

(a) *-ka*: *rājūka* (from *rajju*; see Text, p. 5, n. 2), and often pleonastic: *etaka*, *y[ā]vata[k]a*, *tāvataka*, *sarasaka*, *nātika*.

(b) *-āka*: *mahālaaka* (from Skt. *mahat*) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* and *mahallaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, pp. 402, 404).

(c) *-ika*: *ilokika* and *pāralokika* (XIII, 12).

(d) *-tya*: *ilokacha* (XI, 4), *ekacha* (I, 6). The first component of *ilokacha* and *ilokika* is the pronominal base *i*, from which Skt. *itara*, *itas*, and *iha* (for *idha*) are derived; see Franke in GN, 1895. 535.

(e) *-tara*, added to participles and substantives: *bādhataraṇi*, *katavyataraṇi*, *kaṇmatararaṇi* from Skt. *karman*.

(f) *-tvana*: *tadātpano(ne)*; see Text, p. 18, n. 8.

G.—SYNTAX

Here also I do not aim at completeness, but note only a few particular constructions.

To denote time, several cases are used: the accusative in *atikātāṃ amtarāṃ*, 'in times past' (IV, 1; V, 3; VI, 1; VIII, 1), the instrumental in *bahūhi v[āsa]-satchi*, 'for many hundreds of years' (IV, 4), the dative in *dighāya*, 'in the distant (future)' (X, 1), and the locative in *pañchasaṃ pañchasa vāsesu*, 'every five years' (III, 2), *sarve kāle*, 'at any time' (VI, 3, 8), and *tadūtpano(ne)*, 'at the present time' (X, 1).

The nominative absolute occurs in XI, 4:—*so t[a]thā karu*, 'if one is acting thus', and the genitive absolute in VI, 3:—*bhūñj[a]mānasa me*, 'while I am eating'.

The genitive is employed in connexion with *bhavati* (IV, 10) and *nāsti* (VII, 3), and instead of the instrumental with *kata* (= *kṛta*, II, 4), *sādhu-matā* (I, 6 f.), and *katavya-mate* (VI, 9).

The 3. sing. *asti* is the predicate of a nominative plural in I, 6, and *nāsti* in three places (II, 6, 7; XIII, 5); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 350. In XIV, 1 f., *asti* is used as a particle in the sense of *vā*. In IX, 1, it opens a sentence, as frequently in the *Pañchatantra*; cf. Speyer's *Sanskrit Syntax* (Leyden, 1886), p. 234, n. 2. For instances from Prākṛit literature see Pischel, op. cit., p. 294.

CHAPTER VII.

GRAMMAR OF THE KALSI ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

THE vowel *a* becomes *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= *madhyama*), *vaḍhiyati* (= *vardhayati*), *vaḍhiyāsati*, and *u* after a labial in *muta*,¹ *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uckā-vucha*. In *gih[i]tha* (= *grihastha*, XIII, 37) and *ud[u]pāna* (= *udapāna*) the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to the first. In *Alikyashudale* (XIII, 8) the *u* is perhaps due to a popular etymology deriving the foreign name Ἀλέξανδρος from *alika*, 'the forehead', and *sundara*, 'beautiful'.

The *e* of *hetu* or *hetā* (= **itra*) perhaps goes back to an original *i*; see above, p. lvi. In *edisa* and *hedisa* the vowel *e* corresponds to the *i* of Skt. *īdṛiṣa*.²

The *a* of *galu* corresponds to Skt. *u*; cf. above, p. lvi. In *munisa* (II, 6) the *u* of Skt. *manushya* has become *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* in the next syllable; cf. the form *manuśa* (i.e. *manuśsa*) at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, in which the *y* has palatalized the preceding *śh*.³ In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

As in other Prākṛits, the Skt. vowel *ṛi* is lost. It becomes *a* in *[a]naniya* (= Skt. *ānṛinya*), *[u]shaṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*,⁴ *gahaṭa* (= *grihastha*, XII, 31), *dakhati*, *bhaṭa*,⁵ *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vataṇi* (= *vṛittam*, X, 27), *vaḍhi* and *vaḍhi* (= *vṛiddhi*), *viṭhaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; *i* in *edisa* and *hedisa*, *tāḍisa*, *[ā]ḍisa* (= *yādṛiṣa*), *kiṭanāt[ā]* (= *kṛitajñātā*), *gih[i]tha*, *dīḍha*, *panāṭikya* (= **pranāptṛika*), *pītisu*, *bhātina*, *mige*, *migaviyā*; *u* in *ushuṭa*,⁶ *shune[y]u*,⁷ and after a labial in *a[gabhu]t[i]*, *palipuchhā*, *nī[v]uti* (= *nirvṛitti*), *vutaṇi* (= *vṛittam*, XIII, 11), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*). It will be observed that in some of these words the original *ṛi* has caused the lingualization of the following dentals, and in *hedisa*=Skt. *īdṛiṣa* it has lingualized the preceding *d*. In *[lu]kha* (II, 6) the syllable *lu* corresponds to the syllable *vṛi* of Skt. *vṛiksha*; cf. Greek *λύκος* = Skt. *vṛika*, and see Wackernagel's *Altind.*

¹ The same form occurs in Pāli; see Geiger, § 18.

² Pāli has *edisa* and *erisa*, Prākṛit *īdisa* and *erisa*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 121.

³ Michelson (AJP, 32. 441) thinks that the vocalization of *munisa* may have followed the analogy of Māgadha *pulisa* = Skt. *purusha*. But the apparent resemblance of the two words is due chiefly to the defective spelling of *munisa*, which stands for *munissa*.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *vikāṭa* (for *vikṛita*), *utkāṭa*, *sanikāṭa*.

⁵ This Prākṛit word is used also in Sanskrit.

⁶ Cf. the assimilation of the second vowel to the first in *ud[u]pāna* = Skt. *udapāna*.

⁷ Here the *u* is due to the analogy of other forms of the root *śru*.

Grammatik, vol. 1, § 184, b). The Gīrnār equivalent *vračha* disproves the etymology advocated by Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 320), who derived Prākṛit *rukṣha* from Skt. *rukṣa* (*R̥igveda*, VI, 3, 7), to which Roth (*VIIth Oriental Congress, Aryan Section*, p. 3) had assigned the meaning 'a tree', although the traditional meaning 'bright' gives a satisfactory sense.

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are both lost. The former becomes *e* in *nī[che]* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchāiḥ*, VII, 22) and in the feminine case-termination *-e*; the second becomes *o* in *paṭotā* (XIII, 15), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya*, *-opaga* and *-opa[ya]*.

Short *a* is lengthened in *a[tiyāyike]* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *vyāma* (= *udyama*), *lāti* (= *ratī*, VIII, 23), and at the end of a few bases in *-a*, viz. *uchāvuchā-* (VII, 21), *kitanā-* (= *kṛitajña*, VII, 22), *v[ī]yā-* (= *vyaya*, III, 8), *śālā-* or *śh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *shāvā-* (= *sarva*, XII, 31), *samanā-* (= *śramaṇa*, XI, 29). The lengthening of *a* is very frequent at the end of words; e.g. *ajā* (= *adya*), *atā* (= *atra* and *yatra*), *anatā* (= *anyatra*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *ālā*, *evā* or *vā*, *chā*, *janasā*, *tasā* (= *tasya*), *tenā*, *dānenā*, *nā*, *nāmā*, *nikhamithā*, *Piyadasisā*, *mamā*, *hidā* (= *iha*), *hetā* (= *itra*).

Long *i* and *u* are nowhere distinguished in writing from the corresponding short vowels except in *osadhīn[i]* (II, 5), *Pi[ya]dasī* (I, 2), *s[ī]lasi* (IV, 12), *[chū]* (I, 4), *majūl[ā]* (I, 4), *laj[ū]k[e]* (III, 7).

Similarly, *ā* is often represented by *a*. Although in some cases this defective spelling is perhaps due to the negligence of the writer, the subjoined list will not be considered superfluous.

(1) At the beginning: *akāla(le)na*, *anam[ta]l[i]yēnā*, *[a]naniyānī*, *āpalanītā*¹ *ayatiye*, *alanībhīyisu*, *alabhi[ya]nīti*, *alābhi[y]isā[nī]ti*, *av[āha]sī*, *ahā*² (= Skt. *āha*, V, 13).

(2) In the interior of words: *adisha* (= *yādriṣam*, XI, 29), *anathesu* (= *anāthesu* at Dhauli), *apavaṭe* (= Skt. *apavāhaḥ*), *ava* (= *yāvat*, IX, 25), *ava[ta]ke*, *kala* (VI, 17), *Devanampiyem* (X, 28), *pa[la]lokikya* or *palalokiya* (= *pālalokika* in the two separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa), *paśaḍa* (= Skt. *pāśhaṇḍa*, XII, 31), *baḍhai* (XII, 32), *madhuliyāye*, *lajā*, *lajāne*, *lajinā*, *viḍina-mane*, *v[ī]dh[a]nā[nī]*, *vinana-*, *viyapaṭā* (V, 15), *vividh[aye]*, *shav[i]bhage*.

(3) At the end: *a* (= Skt. *ā*, XIII, 6), *anatha* (= *anyathā*), *abaka-* (= *ambikā*), *[e]sh[a]* (XIII, 37), *ma* (XIII, 16), *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *māta-pitisu* (III, 8), *lāja* (IV, 11), *va* (twice = *vā*), *hī[da]lokika* (XIII, 18).

Initial *a* is dropped in *pi* (= *api*) and *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*), also in *kīnti* (only XII, 33) and *kitti*; *e* in *va* (only IX, 26) and *vā*, besides which the full forms *eva* and *evā* are also employed.³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The Kālśī dialect agrees with the Māgadha one in replacing the semivowel *r* by *l*, and the two nasals *ṇ* and *ṣ* by dental *n*, throughout.

The two gutturals *k* and *g* were often palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*. This pronunciation is expressed in writing by the groups *ky* and *gy*, of which the latter occurs three times in the word *Kaligya* (= Skt. *Kaliṅga*), and the former in *[n]iky[ā]y[ā]* (XII, 34), *Alīkyashudale* (XIII, 8), and in the affixes *-ka* and *-ika* of *akāliky[e]*, *-thitikyā* and *-thitikyā*, *nātikyā*, *panātikyā*, *pālanitikyā*, *Pitinikyē[sh]u*, *-bh[u]mikyā*, *sh[a](shu)vām[i]kyena*, *sa[nī]sayikyē*, *hidalokikya* and *pa[la]lokikya* (XIII, 18). Instead of the two last words we find also the forms *hī[da]-lokika* and *palalokiya* (XIII, 17 f.), which suggest that *-ika* became *-iya* through the intermediate stage *-īkyā*. In the same way Franke (VOJ, 9, 347, n. 2) explains *nilathīya*, which corresponds at Kālśī (IX, 24) to *nirathā* at Gīrnār.⁴ Another instance of the change of *k* to *y* after *i* would be *diyaḍha* (XIII, 35), which Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 230) derived from **dvikārdha*. To this may be added the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* in *mahālaka* and *supadālaya* (V, 14); see below, p. lxxxiv.⁵ The Kālśī

¹ Dhauli reads *āpalanītā*, and Gīrnār *[ā]parātā*. Cf. the adjective *Āparāntaka* in the *Kauṭīliya*, p. 81, l. 5.

² This may be an unreduplicated perfect, as in the pillar-edicts; see Michelson, IF, 23, 244.

³ Instead of *no* at XIII, 16, we have perhaps to read *yo*, as at Shāhbāzgarhī. For *yo* = Prākṛit *yeva* see below, p. lxxxv.

⁴ Cf. also *ata-patiya* in the pillar-edict IV, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēi pillar.

⁵ In Turkish the guttural ڭ (*kyaf*) is liable to a similar palatalization and change to *y*; thus from ڪوڙ (*kyöpek*), 'a dog', is formed ڪوچ (*kyöç*), 'his dog'.

dialect, like the Gīrnār dialect, furnishes an instance of the development of *y* from *g* in *-opaga* (II, 5) and *-opa[ya]* (VIII, 23). From the form *Kaligya*, which, as stated on p. lxxi, occurs three times at Kālsī, it may be inferred that the intermediate stage was **-opagya*. Greek *γ* is expressed by *k* in *Anteki[ne]* and *Makā*, and *χ* by *g* in *Antiyoga*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

Of palatals, *ch* has been aspirated in *kechha* (= Skt. *kēcha*, XII, 32) and *kichhi* (= **kid + chid*). In *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) *ch* corresponds to the *j* of Skt. *vraja*. The letter *j* has become *d* in *palitiditu* (X, 28), the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*. Cf. Kuhn (*Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 36), who quotes from *Dhammapada*, p. 144 [l. 13], the aorist *parichchadi*; E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 25; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 215.

Dentals are lingualized in *duvāḍasa*; before *ri* in *heḍisa*; after *ri* in *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa*, *kaṭa*, *dukaṭa*, *kiṭanāṭ[ā]*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *maṭe*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (= Skt. *prati*). Dental *t* is palatalized in *chiṭhiu[u]* (IV, 12), the absolutive of Prakṛit *chiṭṭhadi*¹ (= Skt. *tishṭhati*). It is replaced by *d* in *dose* (VI, 19) and *hida-sukhāye* (V, 15).² In *tatopa[yā]* (= *tadopayā* at Gīrnār and Dhaulī) it looks as if *t* had taken the place of *d*. But the first member of the compound might be, not *tad*, but *tata* (= Skt. *tatra*); cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 194. In *hida* (= *idha* at Gīrnār) the *d* apparently corresponds to an original *dh*; but Johansson (*Shāhb*, § 57) may be right in connecting *hida* with Vedic *idh*, 'now'.

The labial aspirate *bh* has become *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, *huvēyu*, *husu*, and in the participle *huta* (= Skt. *bhūta*), while *bhuta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* has become *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*, I, 4); *v* in *visava* (= *vishaya*, XIII, 9) and *vas[e]vu* (= *vasēyuh*, VII, 21); *h* in *ye[ham]* (VI, 20).³ Initial *y* is lost in *am* (= Skt. *yat*), *asā* (= *yasya*), *e* (= *yah*, *yat*, *yē*), *at[a]* (= *yatra*), *athā* (= *yathā*), *[ā]ḍisa* (= *yādriṣa*), *āva* (= *yāvat*), *ava[ta]ke* (XIII, 39). In *aparvudha* (= *apōdha*) *v* was developed out of *ū*.

The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *palitiditu*, the absolutive of Skt. *parityajati*, and in *[a]pa-v[ī]yātā* (= *apa-vyayātā* at Gīrnār), and *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutives in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*).

In *i[e]ḍasa* (= **trayadaśa*) *aya* is contracted to *e*. The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *dasayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *pūjeti*, *pūjetat[i]ya*, &c.); in *vadhiyati* and *vadhiyisati* the second *a* is changed to *i* through the influence of the palatal *y* which follows it. In the 3. sing. optative *nivātey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) the *e* corresponds to an original *aye*.⁴ For *ava* we have *o* in *olodhana*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*.

Cases of Cockneyism are *hida* (= Skt. *iha*), *heḍisa* (= *idriṣa*), *heta* (= **itra*), *hevaṃ*, and perhaps the conjunction *hainche* (IX, 26), which is identical in meaning with Pāli *sache*, 'if'. Johansson (*Shāhb*, I. 66) derives it from Pāli *yainche* (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 603, a) through the intermediate form **ainche*, while Senart (IA, 21. 88) traces it directly to *sache*.

In the edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīrnār one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s*.⁵ From edict X the writer employs, besides *s*, the signs for *ś* and *sh*. In a few cases, *sh* is used where Sanskrit would require it; see *eshe*, *[va]sha* (= *varsha*, XIII, 35), *pāshaṃḍa*, *manu[shāna]ṃ*, *teshaṃ*, *yesham*, *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *Kaṇḍobeshu*, *Kalī[ṃ]geshu*, *nātikeshu*, *Nābhapaṇitishu*, *Pitinikeye[sh]u*, *pīṭishu*, *Y[o]nesh[u]*, *ladhesha(shu)*, *manishu*. But in the majority of instances both *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible; see e.g. *taśu* and *tasha* (= Skt. *tasya*), *dāśa* and *dāsha* (= *dāsa*), *śaṃṭhuta* and *shaṃṭhuta* (= *saṃstuta*), *ś[a]va* and *shava* (= *sarva*), *śālā-* and *sh[ā]lā-* (= *sāra*), *śiyāti* and *shiyāti* (= *syāt*), *[ś]e* and *she*, *shaha[ś]a* and *shahasha* (= *sahasra*). To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilant besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant.⁶ In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical, and in the sequel it is tacitly assumed that every *ś* and *sh* is a vicarious symbol expressing dental *s*.

As in the Gīrnār dialect, all final consonants are dropped. The preceding vowel is sometimes lengthened; see *s[a]ṇyā-* or *shanyā-* (= Skt. *sanyak*, Pāli *sammā*), *palisā* (= Skt. *parishad*), *puna*

¹ Cf. Singhalese *siṭṭu* or *hiṭṭu*, 'to stand', in Geiger's *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 47, l. 3 f.

² Cf. below, p. lxxxv and n. 4.

³ For similar forms of the 1. sing. optative see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ For similar contracted forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁵ But *ś* occurs twice in edict IV, l. 13 (*vaśa* = Skt. *varsha*, and *Piyadaśinā*).

⁶ Cf. Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I. 37, and Bühler's *Ind. Pal.*, § 14, last section.

and *ṣunā* (= *ṣunar*), *āva*, *ava*, *avā* (= *yāvat*). It is nasalized in *avanī* (XIII, 8). The termination *-ās* generally becomes *-ā* (e.g. *ṣutā*), but the *ā* is shortened in a few cases; see below, p. lxxvi. Final *-as* becomes *-e*; e.g. *jane* (nom. sing.), *natāle* (= Skt. *napātārāḥ*), *lājine* (gen. sing.), *lājāne* (nom. plur.), *bh[u]ye* (= *bhūyāḥ*), *ne* (= *nah*), *se* (= *saḥ*), *ye* or *e*, *aṇne*, *eke*, [*p*]ule (= Pāli *pure*, Skt. *purāḥ*), [*m*][*u*][*kha*][*l*][*e*], *viyāṇjamaṭ[e]*. But *o* is found instead of *e*, as at Gīrnār, in *Sātiyaputo*, *Kē[laḥ]ṣuto*, *jami[yo]*, *li[j]dno*, *yaso* or *yasho*, *tato*; *ā* in *Ḍakū*; *a* in *vadha* (XIII, 36), *hidālokikya* (XIII, 17), *eṣk[a]* (XIII, 38), *va[cha]*- (XII, 31).

Sanskrit words ending in *m* and *n* substitute Anusvāra for these two nasals; e.g. *dhaṇmāṇ*, *dānāṇ*, and the two present participles *saṁtāṇ* and *kalāṁtāṇ* (XII, 33), which correspond to Skt. *saṁ* and *karṣan*. The Anusvāra is, however, frequently omitted; see *kalā[ṁta]* (XI, 30) and *kalata* (XII, 32) for *kalāṁtāṇ*, *anata* (XI, 30) for *aṇāṁtāṇ*, *adisha* (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, XI, 29), *ṣāṣhaṇḍa*, *ṣāṣhaḍa*, and *ṣāṣha*, *ḍāḍha* (XIII, 36), *madava* (= *mārdavam*, XIII, 4), *viṣay[a]* and *viṣayataṛiṣa* (XIII, 16), [*sha*]va (= *sarṣam*, X, 28), *heva* (= *ēvam*, XII, 32), and the accusatives feminine *anusa[ti]ṣi* (XIII, 12), *kūti*, *khaṁti*, *vadhi*, *Saṁbodhi*, *sudhi*, *hīni*. In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped and preceding *a* lengthened; see [*ā*]disā (= Skt. *yādṛiṣam*, IV, 10), *kaṁ[ma]ṭalā* (= **karmataram*, VI, 20), *kḥudā* (= *kṣudram*, IX, 24), *dosā* (I, 2), *nilathiyā* (IX, 24), *ṣāṣaḍa* (XII, 32), *ṣunā* (thrice = *ṣuṇyāṇ*), *bahuk[ā]* (I, 2), *maha-phalā* (= *mahā-phalam*, XIII, 14). As a rule, the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* follows the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine and ends in *-e*; see *se*, *she*, *ese*, *eṣhe*, *ye*, *e*, *aṇne*, *sare*, *shave*, *i[ta]le*, *dāne*, &c. The acc. sing. neut. has the same termination in *dāne* (XII, 31), *ḍāḍhatala* (XII, 33), and in the particles *e* (XIII, 38), *se*, *she*.

Words ending in long nasalized vowels are treated in three different ways. Long *ā* is generally shortened; e.g. *ṣāṇmāṇ*, *tānāṇ* (XIII, 38), *teshaṇ* (XIII, 37), *nāti[ṇāṇ]* (IV, 10), *bhā[tiṇā]ṇ* (V, 16). In other instances the Anusvāra is dropped; see the genitives plural [*ba*]ṁbha-nāṇa (XI, 29), *natina* (IV, 9), *bh[og]i[m]nā* (V, 16), *gulunā* (IX, 25), and the accusatives singular *ṣujā* (XII, 31), *-dāṇḍatā* (XIII, 17), *dishā* (XIV, 23), [*ma*]hathāṇvā (X, 27), which is perhaps a clerical mistake for *mahathāṇvā* (= Skt. *mahārthāṇvāṇ*). Thirdly, the Anusvāra may be dropped and the long vowel shortened at the same time; see *ṣajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvaṇ*, V, 15), *ṣāṣaḍāṇa* (XII, 31), *m[a]nushāṇ[a]* (XIII, 39), *i[d]āni* (= *idānīm*, I, 3).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in *tameva*, [*ā*]namve[*ā*], [*e*]vamve[*ā*], *ṣāṁtikiyamve[va]*. Hiatus is prevented by nasalizing the first of two vowels in the two compounds *aṇnam-anashā* (= Skt. *anyōnyasya*, XII, 33) and *bhaṭam-ayesu* (V, 15).

a + a are contracted into *ā* in *etiyāthaye* (XII, 34), [*ka*]tābhika[*le*], *kuvāpi* (= Skt. *kvāpi*), *gabhā-gāḍa*, *-vasābhisiṭa*, *dhaṇmāṇusa[ti]ṣi* (XIII, 12) or *dhaṇmāṇushaṭhi* (twice), &c., but into short *a* in *dhaṇmāṇusaṭhi* (thrice), *dhamma[ṣv]e* (XII, 35), *li[ṣ]ikalapalāḍhena* (XIV, 23), and before an original group of consonants in *a[ta]tā* (twice = Skt. *yatra yatra*), *apalaṁtā* (= *āparāntāḥ*, V, 15), *tenatā* (= *tēnātra*, VIII, 23), *diyadha* (= **dvikārdha*, XIII, 35), *nathī* (= *nāsti*), *supāthāy[e]* (= *sūpārthāya*, I, 3).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *pā[nā]lambhe* (IV, 9) and [*ma*]hathāṇvā (= Skt. *mahārtha + āvāḥam* (?), X, 27).

ā + a becomes *a* before an original group in [*ma*]hatha (= *mahā + artha*, X, 27).

ā + u becomes *o* in *ṣajopadāne* (*ye*), on which see below, p. lxxv, n. 1.

a is elided before *i*, *e*, *o* in *baṁbhan-ibhesu* (V, 15), *chveva*, *manus-opagāni* (II, 5),¹ and before *u* in *chu*, 'but',² which corresponds to *chō* (= *cha + u*) in Buddhist *gāthās*.³

i + a are contracted into *i* in *ithidhiyakha* (= *stry-adhyaksha*, XII, 34).

u is elided before *o* in *pas-opagāni* (II, 5).

a is dropped after *e* in *e-yaṇ* (V, 15), *tā[ye]thā[ye]* (VI, 19), *etā[y]e[thāye]* (VI, 20).

¹ For *tatopayā* see above, p. lxxii.

² Michelson (IF, 23, 261) considers *chu* a contamination of *tu* and *cha*.

³ See Kern's translation of the *Saddharmapundarīka* (SBE, vol. 21), Introduction, p. xvii.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

Combined consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed between them. The only groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *tv*, *dhr*, *my*, *vy*, *sv*. For the two groups *ky* and *gy* see above, p. lxxi.

Long *ā* preceding a group of consonants is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *a[tīyāyike]* (= *ātyayikam*),¹ *anap[a]yisanti* (III, 8), *anusathi* (= *anūsāsti*), *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *ayesu* (= *āryēshu*), *āladhe* (= **ārāddham*), *gadhā* (= **gāddhā*), *tadutvāye*, *palakamāmi*, *palakamātu*, *palakamenā*, *pasavati* (= *prasāvayati*), *ma[g]a* (= *mārga*, II, 6), *madava* (= *mārdava*, XIII, 4), *mahāmata* (= *mahāmātra*). But the length is preserved in *ānapayite* and *mahāmāta*. Long *i* preceding a simple consonant is shortened and the consonant itself doubled in *tiñni* (= *triñi*, I, 3). Similarly, *bh[u]ye*, *vedaniya*, *anuvīdhiyanti* (read **yanti*) may be meant for *bhuyye*, *vedaniyya*, *anuvīdhiyyanti*; cf. above, p. lix. Short *a* preceding a group is lengthened in *ānatā* (= *anyatra*, XIII, 38), *panātikya* (= **pranāptika*, IV, 11), and *shāvā-* (= *sarva-*, XII, 31). In *pālanitika* (twice = *pāratrika*) the short *a* preceding the group *tr* has been nasalized.²

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants, as it is often at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), in *atikāntani* (= *atīkrāntani*), *khan̄ti* (= *kshānti*, XIII, 16), *Tan̄bapāni* (= *Tāmrapar̄ṇi*), *Pañḍiyā* (= *Pāṇḍiyā*), *ban̄bhana* (= *brāhmana*), *[bha]m[da]* (= *bhāṇḍa*, III, 8), *sa[m]sayikye* (= *sāmsayikam*, IX, 26). In *b[ā]bhanā* (XIII, 37), *Devānāpiye* (twice), and in the third persons plural *pāpunāta(ti)*, *palakamātu*,³ *lochetu* (XIII, 17), *[paṭi*]vedetu* (VI, 18), the Anusvāra is dropped.

As at the end of words (see above, p. lxxiii), there are many cases in the interior of words where the Anusvāra is omitted after a short vowel; see *Atiyoge* (XIII, 6), *ateshu* (= *antēshu*), *anata* (= *ananta*), *anubadh[ā]* (= *anubandhāt*), *abaka-* (= *ambika*), *alabhi[yañi]ti* (cf. the aorist *alan̄bhiyisu*, I, 3), *Alikyashudale* (= *Alēḡav̄dpos*), *Kaligya* (= *Kaliṅga*), *pāṣaḍa* and *pashaḍa* (= *pāṣhaṇḍa*),⁴ *magala* (= *maṅgala*), *vihisā* (= *vihīnsā*), *shan̄badh[e]* (= *san̄bandhaḥ*), *shuv[i]bhage* (= *sam̄vi-bhāgaḥ*), *sayama* and *san̄yama* (IX, 25), *vashati* (= *vasanti*), and *manatu* (3. plur. imperative of root *man*).

While most groups of consonants are assimilated, others are avoided by developing an auxiliary vowel in the middle of them. This vowel is *a* in *ga[lu]hati* (= Skt. *garhati*), *galahā*, *Alikyashudale* (= *Alēḡav̄dpos*); *u* before or after labials in *kuvāpi*, *duve*, *duvāḍaṣa*, *puluva* (= *pūrva*), *suvāmika*, *pāpunāta(ti)*; and frequently *i*; see *lājina* (= *rājñā*), *lājine* (= *rājñah*), the future passive participles in *-taviya*, *-adhiyakha* (= *adhiyaksha*), *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*), *apatiye*, *alabhi[yañi]ti*, *[e]katiyā*, *Pañḍiyā*, *paṭivesiya*, *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *viyan̄jana*, *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *[shamacha]ṭiya* (= **sama-charya*), *shinche* (= *sn̄chal*), *siyā* (= *syāt*). Similarly, an auxiliary *i* is prefixed to the group *str* in *ithi* (= *strī*).

It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *tr*, *dr*, *pr*, *br*, *bhr*, *ir*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *ś* throughout. The remaining groups and their equivalents are given in the subjoined list.

kt becomes *t* in *Nābhapañti*, &c.

kv becomes *kuv* in *kuvāpi*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *-adhiyakha*, *khan̄ti* (= Skt. *kshānti*), *khuda* (= *kshudra*), *dakhati*,⁵ *[lu]kha* (= *vriksha*), *mokha*, *su(san̄)khita* (= *san̄ikshipta*); *chh* in *chhanati*.

khy becomes *kh* in *shan̄kheye* (read *san̄ikhāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in *agi*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiñan̄t[ā]* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), *nāti*, *ānapayite*, but *jin* in *lājina* (= *rājñā*) and *lājine* (= *rājñah*).

¹ *atīyāyika* presupposes an intermediate form **atīyāyika*, in which the initial *ā* was shortened before the group *ty*.

² Cf. *vañka* = Skt. *vakra*, *suñka* = Skt. *śulka*, &c., in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

³ For these two forms see below, p. lxxxii.

⁴ The form *pāshaḍa* may be derived from Skt. *pārshada*; see above, p. lx.

⁵ Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 554) derives this form from **drikshati*, which is preserved in *īdriksha*, *tādriksha*, &c.

dy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

ṛy becomes *nū* or *n* in *hīlānūna*, *punā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*), but *niy* in *[a]naniya* (= *ānṛiṇya*).

ṭp becomes *p* in *pajōpadāne* (ye).¹

tm becomes *t* in *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tīy* in *apatiye*, *a[tiyāyike]*, *[e]katiyā*; *ky* in *nikyañ*.

tv remains in *tadatvāye* (X, 27), where the *ā* of *tadā* has been shortened before the double consonant of the affix *-tva*; but *tv* is assimilated in *chatālī* (= Skt. *chatvāri*, XIII, 7).

ts becomes *s* (or *śh*) in *chikisā*, *chikisakā*, *[u]shaṭe[na]* and *ushuṭena*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*; cf. *uṣṭāna* at Gīrnār.

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyā*; *y* in *[u]y[ānast]*, *uyāma*.

dv becomes *d* in *diyadhā*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvāḍasa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *n[ī]jhati*, *majhimenā*, but *dhiy* in *-adhiyakha*.

dhr remains in *dhruve* (I, 4); but it seems to be assimilated in *[Adha]* (= *Andhra*, XIII, 10).

ny becomes *nū* or *n* in *anūna* and *ana*, *mañnat[ī]* and *manati*.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *n[ī]jhati*, *asamati*, *su(sam)khitenā*, *natāle* (= Skt. *naṭtārāḥ*), *panāṭikya*, *Tulamaye* (= *Προλεμαῖος*).

pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāta(ti)*.

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibhesu*, but *bhiy* in *alabhi[yañ]ti*, *alambhīyisu*, *alābhi[y]isa[n]ti*.

my remains in *s[a]myā-* or *shamyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*).

nr becomes *nib* in *Taṇḍapaniñi*.

rg becomes *g* in *m[a]ge[s]u*, *vagenā*, *svagañ*.

rn becomes *nū* in *Taṇḍapaniñi*.

rt becomes *t* in *kiti*, *anuvatañti*, *[a]nuvat[a]tu*, *nivateti*; *ṭ* in *kaṭaviya*, *anuvatañti[n]ti*, *n[ī]va[ṭ]teti*, *nivateti[ā]*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*; *th* in *aṭha* and *nilathiyā*; see above, p. lxxi and n. 4.

rd becomes *d* in *madava* (= Skt. *mārdava*).

rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhiyisati*; *ḍh* in *vadhite*, *vaḍhiyati*, *[pa]v[a]ḍhayisañt[ī]*, *diyadhā*.

rḥh becomes *bh* in *gabdhāgālas[ī]*.

rm becomes *nū* or *m* in *kañma* (= Skt. *karman*), *dhañma* and *dhamā*.

ry becomes *y* in *ayesu* (= Skt. *āryeṣṭu*), but *liy* in *anañ[ta]l[ī]ya* (= *ānantarya*), *madhuliya* (= *mādhurya*), *[shamacha]liya* (= **sama-charya*).

rv becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivateti*, *niv[u]tiyā*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

rś becomes *s* in *dasana*, *dasayitu*, *Piyadasi* (also spelt *Piyadashi* and *Piyadaśi*).

rsh becomes *s* in *vasa* (also spelt *[va]sha* and *vaśa*).

rh becomes *lah* in *ga[la]hati*, *galahā*.

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapañ*.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

vy remains in *divyāni* (IV, 10); but it is assimilated in *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvyaṭē*, IX, 27), and it becomes *viy* in *viyañjana*, *viyashanañ*, *viyāpaṭā*, *migaviyā*, and in the affix *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *tive*, *pav[a]jītā[n]i*, *vacha* (VI, 18; XII, 34) = Skt. *vraja*.

śch becomes *chh* in *[pa]chhā*.

śy becomes *siy* in *paṭivesiyenā*.

shk becomes *k* in *dukata*, *dukala*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *nikham[an]tu*, *nikhamisu*, *nikhamithā*, *vinikhamane*.

shṭ becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha* (XIII, 35); *th* in *nikhamithā*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *seṭhe*, *chithit[u]*; *th* in *adhithā[nāye]*.

shy becomes *s* (or *sh*) in *manusa* and *manusha*, *anap[a]yisañti* and other futures.

sk becomes *k* in *agi-kañdh[ā]ni*, while Gīrnār has *agi-kh[a]ñdhāni* (with *kh*).

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *[ha]thini*, *sañthuta*, *vithaṭenā*, *anusathi*.

¹ Dhāuli and Jaugada read °dāye, Māñsehrā °daye, but Shāhbāzgarhī *pajupadane*, which might correspond to Skt. *prajōṭpādane*. At Kālśī the locative of *utpādana* is excluded, because it would end in *-asi*. For *upadā* = Skt. **utpad* see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 431 f.

str becomes *th* in *itthi* (= Skt. *strī*).

sth becomes *th* in *gahathāni*, *gil[i]thā*, *ch[i]la*-*thitikyā* (V, 17), but *th* in *chila-thitikyā* (VI, 20).

sn becomes *shin* in *shinehe*.

sm becomes *s* in the locatives in *-asi*, but *ph* in *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*, XIII, 35).

sy becomes *siy* (*siy* or *shiy*) in *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti* (= Skt. *syāt*), but *s* in *a[su]* (3. plur. optative of root *as*) and in the genitives in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svagani* (VI, 20); but it is assimilated in *shayaka* (XIII, 16), which seems to be derived from Skt. *svayam*,¹ and it becomes *su* in *suṣāmika* (IX, 25).

lm becomes *mbl* in *baṁbhana*. The form *baṁlmmana* (XIII, 39) is intermediate between **bahmana* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) and **bamhana* (*banhaṇa* at Gīrnār, IX, 5).

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phalāni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhaṁmani</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānaṁ</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutāni</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divyāni</i> , <i>luṇāni</i> .
Instr. <i>dānena</i> or <i>dānenā</i> , &c.	[<i>sa</i>] <i>tehi</i> .
Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c.	<i>mahāmat[e]hi</i> .
Abl. <i>anubadhi[ā]</i> , [<i>pa</i>] <i>chhā</i> .	
Gen. <i>jana[sa]</i> (IV, 10) or <i>janasā</i> , &c.	<i>pānānaṁ</i> , &c.
Loc. <i>dhaṁmasi</i> , &c.	<i>vasesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—There are two forms in *-o* (*Sātiyaṇṇo* and *Ke[lala]ṇṇo*, II, 4), two in *a* (*vadha*, XIII, 36, and *hidaloṇṇika*, XIII, 17), and one in *-ā* (*Makā*, XIII, 7).

Nom. sing. neut.—In four instances the termination is *-aṇi* (*anantaṇi*, IX, 26, 27, *-anusāsanaṇi* and *kaṇi*[*aṇi*], IV, 12). It is *-a* in *adisha* (XI, 29), and *-ā* in [*ā*] *disā* (IV, 10), *kaṇi*[*ma*] *talā* (VI, 20), *puṇā* (thrice = Skt. *puṇyam*).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍa* (four times, XII, 32), *-pāśhaḍa* and *-pāśhaṇḍa* (XII, 33), [*shayama*] (XIII, 4), *viṇaya*[*a*] and *viṇayataviya* (XIII, 16). The termination *-aṇi* is replaced by *-ā* in *ata-pāśaḍā* (XII, 32), *bahuk[ā]* and *dosā* (I, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The termination is *-a* in *madava* (XIII, 4); *-ā* in *maha-phalā* (XIII, 14), *khudā* and *nilathiyā* (IX, 24); *-e* in *dāne* (XII, 31) and *bāḍhatale* (XII, 33).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in [*nā*] *tikya* (XIII, 38), *pāśaṇḍa* (XIII, 37), *-pāśhaṇḍa* (XII, 34), [*pāsa*] *ṇḍa* (VII, 21), *-puluva* (V, 14), *puṇetav[i]ya* (XII, 32).

Nom. plur. neut.—In *hālāpitā chā lopāpitā chā* (II, B and C), the termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni*. The Sanskrit masculine *vr̥ksha* is used as neuter: [*lu*] *khāni* (II, 6).²

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. in *-āni* are *-kaṇi*[*ā*] *ni* (IV, 10), *Kaligyāni* (XIII, 36), *-pāśhaṇi*[*dān*] *i*, *pav[a]* *jitā*[*n*] *i*, *gahathāni* (XII, 31).

Acc. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* in *vimana-dasan[ā]* (IV, 9).

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *-pāśaḍāna* (XII, 31) and *m[a]* *nushān[a]* (XIII, 39). The termination is *-ā* in [*ba*] *m̐bhanānā* (XI, 29).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Singular.

Nom. *ichhā*, &c.

Acc. *pujā*, &c.

Instr. *puj[ā]* *ye*.

Gen. or loc. *saṁti*[*ā*] *nāye*.

Nom. sing.—In *hi[da]* *lokika* (XIII, 18) the final *ā* is shortened.

¹ See Text, p. 49, n. 2.

² Cf. *ruchhani* at Mānsehrā, II, 8.

Acc. sing.—In [-*yātaṁ*] (VIII, 22) the nasal of the original termination *-ām* seems to be preserved, and the *ā* to be shortened before it.

Instr. sing.—In *vividh[aye]* (XII, 31) the penultimate *ā* seems to be shortened.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. neut. *asamati*.
 Nom. plur. neut. *osadhī[ti]*,¹ *tiṇi*, *tiṇṇi*.
 Gen. plur. *nāti[nāṇi]*, *nātinā*.
 Loc. plur. *Nābhapaṇṭishu*.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>lipi</i> , &c.	<i>jani[yo]</i> . ²
Acc. <i>Samḍadhi</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>bhātiyā</i> , <i>-anusathiyē</i> .	
Dat. <i>-anusathiyā</i> , <i>vaḍhiyā</i> .	
Abl. <i>ni[v]utiyā</i> , <i>Tambopaṇṇiyā</i> .	
Gen.	<i>bh[agi]ni[nā]</i> .
Loc. <i>ayatiye</i> .	

III. BASES IN -u.

The nom. sing. *sādhu* or *shādhu* is the same in all three genders.

Nom. and acc. sing. neut. *bahu*.
 Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahuni*.
 Instr. plur. *ba[hi]u[hi]*.
 Gen. plur. *gulunā*.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ri.

Nom. plur. *natāle* (= Skt. *nap̐tārāḥ*).
 Gen. plur. *bhā[tina]ni* (= *bhrātr̐ṇāṁ*).
 Loc. plur. *pitisu* or *pitishu* (= *pit̐r̐ishu*).

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension : *pitinā*, *bhātinā*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

The nom. sing. masc. has a very curious form; it affixes the termination *-aṇi*, which is evidently derived from Skt. *-an*, to the strong form of the base : *sanitāṇi* from root *as*, *kalānitāṇi* (*kala[nita]*), *kalata* from root *kṛi*.

(2) Bases in -vat.

Nom. sing. masc. *pajāva* (= Skt. *prajāvān*).
 Instr. sing. *hetuvatā*.³

With the nom. sing. cf. Pāli *guṇavā* = Skt. *guṇavān*.

¹ The Kālsī dialect has mixed up *osadhi* (= Skt. *ōshadhi*, fem.) with *osadha* (= Skt. *aushadha*, neut.).

² From Vēdic *jani*, 'a wife'.

³ In Sanskrit the corresponding base is not *hētuvat*, but *hētumat*; cf. Pāṇini, VIII, 2, 9, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 601.

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(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lajā, lāja.</i>	<i>lā[j]āno, lajāne.</i>
Acc. neut. <i>nāma, nāmā.</i>	
Instr. <i>lājīnā, lajīnā.</i>	
Gen. <i>lājine.</i>	

The neuter base *karman* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *k[am]ne* or *kanim[am]*, dat. *kanimāye*.

(4) Masculines in *-in*.

Nom. sing. <i>Pi[ya]dasi</i> (I, 2), <i>Piyadasi, Piyadashi.</i>
Instr. sing. <i>Piyadasinā, Piyadaśinā.</i>
Gen. sing. <i>Piyadasine, Piyadashine, Piyadasisā.</i>
Acc. plur. <i>[ha]thini</i> (= <i>hathini</i> at Dhauli, IV, 2).

The gen. sing. *Piyadasisā* follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.

With the acc. plur. masc. *[ha]thini* (i. e. *hathini*), cf. *yutāni*, &c., in the *a*-declension (above, p. lxxvi).

(5) Neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. *yaso* or *yasho*, *bh[u]ye*.

The base *va[cha]*- (XII, 31) corresponds to Skt. *vachas*.

(6) Other bases in consonants.

The feminine base *dis* (or *disā*) forms the acc. sing. *dishā* (for *disāni*). The two feminine bases **utpad* and *parishad* also follow the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *pajopadāne(ye)* (see above, p. lxxv, n. 1), *palis[ā]ye*; nom. plur. *palisā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>hakan</i> .	
Instr. <i>mamayā, me</i> (III, 7).	
Gen. <i>[mama], mamā, me.</i>	<i>ne</i> (V, 16).

The nom. sing. *hakan* must be derived from *ahakam* (= *ahaam* in Māhārāṣṭri); see Pāṇ. V, 3, 71, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 417.

The instr. sing. *mamayā* for Skt. *mayā* is due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. Cf. *mamae*, Hēmachandra, III, 109.

(2) Base *ta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>se, [ś]e, she</i> ; neut. <i>ta, se, [sh]e.</i>	Masc. <i>te.</i>
Acc. masc. <i>tañ</i> ; neut. <i>se, she.</i>	
Instr. <i>tena, tenā.</i>	<i>tehi.</i>
Dat. <i>tā[ye].</i>	<i>te[hī].</i>
Abl. <i>[ta]phā, t[ā].</i>	
Gen. <i>taśa, tasha, tasā, tashā.</i>	<i>teshan, tānan.</i>
Loc. <i>taśi.</i>	

Nom sing. fem. *sā, shā.*

As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592), the abl. sing. *[ta]phā* goes back to *tamhā* (= Skt. *tasmāt*); cf. *aphe* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) in the separate edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada. The abl. *t[ā]* is used as conjunction (V, 13); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 425.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. [e]se (VIII, 23), ¹ [e]she (X, 28), ² csh[a] (XIII, 38); neut. ese, eshe.	Neut. e[t]āni.
Instr. etakenā.	
Dat. etāya (XII, 34), etāye, dha(e)ta[k]āye.	
Gen. etishā.	

Nom. sing. fem. [e]sh[a] (XIII, 37).

With the gen. sing. etishā cf. etisa at Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ayañ, iyañ; neut. iyañ.	Masc. ime.
Acc. neut. imañ.	
Gen. imas[ā].	
Nom. sing. fem. iyañ.	
Dat. sing. fem. imāya.	

The nom. masc. ayañ is taken from V, 15, where eyañ perhaps stands for e + ayañ (= Skt. jōyam). The form iyañ is used as masculine in V, 16; elsewhere as feminine and neuter.

(5) Interrogative pronoun.

The acc. plur. neut. [kā]ni is used as a demonstrative; see Text, p. 35, n. 12. The indefinite pronoun is formed with chha = Skt. cha (nom. sing. masc. kachha) or chhi = Skt. chid (nom. and acc. sing. neut. kichhi). As at Girnār, the compounds kiñti (XII, 33) and kiti are used in the sense of 'that'.

(6) Relative pronoun.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. ye, e; neut. ye, e, a, añ.	Masc. ye, e.
Acc. neut. yañ, añ, e (XIII, 38).	
Instr. yena.	
Gen. asā.	yeshañ.
Loc.	yesu.

(7) Base *anya*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. and neut. añne.	Masc. añne, ane;
Acc.	neut. añnāni.
Dat. añmāye.	
Gen. añmamanashā.	

(8) Base *sarva*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. neut. save, shave, [sha]va.	Masc. [sa]ve.
Acc. masc. savañ; neut. savañ, shava[ñ].	s[a]ves[u], shaveshu.
Loc.	
Nom. sing. fem. shavā.	

(9)

Nom. sing. neut. i[ta]le, while classical Sanskrit has itarat.

¹ Cf. above, p. lxiv, n. 2.

² Cf. id., n. 1.

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(10) Base *ubhaya*.Gen. plur. *ubhaya[sa]ni*.(11) Base *ekātara*.Loc. sing. *ekatalash[i]*.(12) Base **ēkatya*.Nom. plur. masc. *[c]katiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekē*.

Two.

Nom. masc. *duve*.

This form may be used for all genders in all Prākṛits ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 437.

Three.

Nom. neut. *lini, tinnī*.

Cf. Prākṛit *tiṇṇi* ; Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 91, 438.

Four.

The nom. neut. *chatāli* is used with a masculine substantive (XIII, 7). The same irregularity is frequent in Prākṛit ; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439.

Five, six.

Loc. *pañchasu, shashu* (= Prākṛit *chhasu*).

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

aṭha, das[a], duvāḍasa (with lingual *ḍ*),¹ *t[c]dasa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *satāni* ; instr. *[sa]teli* ; loc. *shateshu*.

The ordinal is *shata* (=Skt. *śatatama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *shah[a]sha* (=Skt. *śahasratama*) ; see XIII, 39.

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *shat[a]-shaha[s]e*.Nom. plur. *[sa*]ta-sahasāni*.

¹ The *ḍ* has been further changed to *r* in Prākṛit *bārasa* and *bāraka*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *palakamāmi*, *nikham[am]tu*.

Root *garh*: *ga[la]hati*.

Root *ji*: the participle *vijñamane* and the absolutive *vijñ[i]tu* (XIII, 36) show that this root first followed the ninth class (Prākṛit *jñādī*) and subsequently the *a*-conjugation (Prākṛit *jñādī*).¹

Root *dris*: *dakhati*.²

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvēyū* (sixth class).

Root *vas*: *vashati*, *vas[e]vu*.

Root *vrit*: *anuvataṃti*.

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *chitthi[u]* (IV, 12) presupposes the Prākṛit present *chitthhadi*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *ad* follows the *a*-conjugation: *adamāna*.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i* or *yā*: *yaṃti*.

Root *yā*: *ye[ham]*; see below, p. lxxxii.

Root *han*: *up[a]hant[i]*.

Third Sanskrit class.

The gerundive *pajohitaviye* (I, 1) is derived from the present **johati*, in which the *ū* of **jūhati* (see above, p. lxvi) is strengthened by Guṇa.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyā*.

Root *man*: *manmat[i]* and *manati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *pāpunāta(tī)*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *shune[y]u*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kṛi*. The 3. sing. *kaleti* follows the analogy of the tenth class, but the 3. plur. *ka[la]ṃti* the *a*-conjugation. Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 509.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *chhanati*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dasayitu*, *[d]ipayema*, *ālādhayi(yam)tu*, *a-lochayitu*, *alochayisu*, *[pa]v[a]dha-yisaṃti[i]*. The character *aya* is changed to *iya* in *vaḍhiyati* (XII, 32) and *vaḍhiyisati* (IV, 11) and is contracted to *e* in *pūjeti*, *pūjetav[i]ya*, *lochetu*, *nivateti* and *ni[vā*]teti*, *[paṭi*]vedetu*.

¹ See Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 473.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

(b) With *āya*: *sukhāyāmi* (VI, 20).

(c) With *paya*: *hāpa[y]i[sat]i*, [*ānapayā*]mi, *anap[a]yisanīti*, *ānapayite*, *lopita*.

(d) With *āpaya*: *lekhāpeśāmi*, *likhāpita* (without Guṇa of the radical vowel), *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*.

(e) With *pāpaya*: *lepāpita*.

(2) Moods.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the 3. sing. aorist *nikhamīthā* and the two participles present *adamāna* and *vijīnamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *palakamāmi*, [*ānapayā*]mi.

3. sing. [*pa**]lakamati, ga[*la*]hati, dakhati, hoti, athi, up[a]hanīti[i], maninat[i] and manati, ichhati, kaleti, chhanati, pūjeti, nivateti and ni[*va**]teti, vadhiyati.

3. plur. *anuvatanīti*, *vashati* (= Skt. *vasanti*), *yanīti*, *ichhanīti*, ka[*la*]nti. In *pāpunāta(tī)* the termination *-ti* (for *-nti*) is affixed to the strong base of the ninth class (*pāpunā-*); cf. the 3. sing. *pāpunāti* and the 2. plur. *pāpunātha* in the first separate edict at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḷa.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhāyāmi* (with indicative termination).

3. sing. *susushātu* (desiderative, with imperative termination).

3. plur. *palakamātu* (with *-tu* for *-ntu*).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ye[hanī]* (for **yeyāmi*) from root *yā* (VI, 20). Cf. [*ṣa*]ti[*ṣādasy*]ekani (or *ṣaṭṣādayekani*) and *ālābhekani* in the separate edicts at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḷa. Senart has noted similar forms in the *Mahāvastu* (vol. I of his edition of this work, p. 403): *tishṭhikani*, *abhisambudhikani*, *gacchekhani*.

3. sing. *nivāṭey[ā]*, *paṭipajeyā*, *siyā*, *siyā*, *siyāti*, *shiyāti*. The two last forms (= Skt. *syāt*) have the termination of the indicative; cf. Text, p. 71, n. 14. With the contracted form *nivāṭey[ā]* (= Skt. *nirvartayāti*, IX, 26) Senart (*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I, 215) compares Pāli *niḍḍatteyyāmi* (for *niḍḍattayeyyāmi*) in the commentary on the *Dhammapada*, p. 143 [l. 2]. Cf. also *choreyya* for *chorayeyya* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 110, *dāze* = Skt. *dapayēḥ* and *paṭigāhe* = Skt. *prati-grāhayēḥ* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 460.

1. plur. [*d*]ipayema.

3. plur. a[*su*] (cf. above, p. lxvii), *huvēyu*,¹ *shane[y]u*, *shushusheyu* (desiderative). The *y* of the optative is replaced by *v* in *vas[ṣ]vu* (VII, 21).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*, [*a*]nuva[*ta*]tu.

3. plur. *nikham[am]tu*, *manatu*, *yujanītu*, *ālādhayi[ya]tu*, *lechetu* (= Skt. *rēchayantu*), [*ṣaṭi**]-*vedetu*, *anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu* (passive).

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *aho* (from root *bhū*).

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle *nikhamīthā* (from *nish-kram*, VIII, 22). In Pāli and Ardhamāgadhi the termination is *-ittha* and *-iṭṭhā*; see E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 115, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 517.

3. plur. active *nikhamīsu*, *husu* (= *ahuṃsu* at Gīrnār). The two forms *manishu* (XIII, 16) and *alochayisu*² are used as subjunctives.

¹ Hēmachandra (IV, 320, 323) quotes *huvēyya* (= Skt. *bhavēt*) from the Pāṣāṇī dialect.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āhā, ahā* (V, 13) = Skt. *āha*.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kachhāmi*,¹ *lekhāpeśāmi*.

3. sing. *kachhati, vadhiyisati, hāpa[y]i[sat]i*.

3. plur. *kachhami[i]i, anuvāṭisa[ni]ti, anusāsisaṁti, anap[a]yisaṁti, [pa]v[a]ḍhayisaṁti[i]*, and the two passives *[a]nurvīdhīyisāna* (read °saṁti) and *alābhi[y]isa[ni]ti*.

V. PASSIVE.

The terminations are those of the active.

The 3. sing. indicative *pasavati* (= Skt. *prasāvvyatē*) occurs three times and is misspelt twice (*pavasati*, IX, 26, and *paśavati*, XI, 30) ; cf. Text, p. 39, n. 3.

3. plur. indicative *anurvīdhīyāna* (read °yaṁti, = Skt. *anurvīdhīyantē*), *alābhi[yam]ti*.

3. plur. imperative *anuvī[dh]īya[ni]tu*.

3. plur. aorist *alanībhiyisu*.²

3. plur. future *[a]nurvīdhīyisāna* (read °saṁti), *alābhi[y]isa[ni]ti* (cf. the Sanskrit aorist passive *alābhi*).

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. subjunctive *susushātu*.

3. plur. optative *śhushusheyu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *saṁtam*.

Root *kri*: *kalaṁtam* (*kala[ni]ta*, *kalata*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *viḥnamana*; see above, p. lxxxi.

Root *ad*: *adamāna*.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *maṭa* (= *myita*), *kaṭa* (= *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *viṭhaṭa* (= *vistṛita*), *[u]shaṭa* and *ushuṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *niṣita* (= **niśṛita*), *likhita*, *lekhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *lopita*, *loṇāpita*, *ānapayita*,³ *luta* (= *bhūta*), *atikanṭa* (= *atīkrānta*), *su(sam)khita* (= *saṁkṣipta*), *vudha* (= *vṛiddha*), *apavudha* (= *apōḍha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), *āladha* (= **ārāddha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *p[a]śh[am]na*, *vipakṣina* (i. e. °hīna).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-tavya*: *kaṭaviya*, *vataviya*, *pajohitaviya* (see above, p. lxxxi), *viyayataviya* (for Skt. *viyētavya* under the influence of the substantive *viyaya*), *pūjetav[i]ya*, *paṭi[vedeta*]viya*.

(b) In *-niya*: *vedaniya*.

¹ Johansson (*Shāhb.*, § 76, b) explains this form as a future derived from **kajjati* (= **karyati*), and compares the Ardhamāgadhī passive *kajjāi*.

² The introduction of the nasal is perhaps due to the influence of the Skt. aorist passive *alanībhi* or of the substantive *alanībha* (III, 8, &c.).

³ This barbarous equivalent of Skt. *ājñāpta* and *ājñāpita* retains the causative character *aya* of the present *ānapayati*.

VIII. ABSOLUTE.

- (a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*): *ālabhitu*, *palitiditu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya* and dentalization of *j*), *chīṭhit[u]* (from the Prākṛit present *chīṭṭhadi*), *vijin[i]tu* (from the present **vi-jīnati*; see above, p. lxxx), *sutu* (from root *śru*), *dasayitu*, *a-lochayitu* (= *a-rōchayitvā*).
- (b) In *-ya*: *śaṁkheya* (read *saṁkhāya*) from *saṁ-khyā*.

F.—SUFFIXES

The pleonastic affix *-ka* (or *-kya*) occurs in *hakani* (= Skt. *ahani*), *etaka*, *ava[ta]ka* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *tāvataka*, *nātika* or *nātikya* (= Skt. *jñāti*), *panātikya* (= *pramapti*), *svāmika* (= *svāmin*). The adjective *shayaka* seems to be formed from Skt. *śvayam*; see Text, p. 49, note 2.

With the affix *-ālaka* or *-ālaya* is formed *mahālaka*, 'wide' (XIV, 20), 'aged' (V, 16), = Prākṛit *mahālaya* (Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 402). As suggested in the Text (p. 33, n. 3), *supadālaya* (V, 14) seems to contain the same affix and to signify 'stepping fast'.

The affixes *-tara* and *-tama* are added to substantives in *kaṁ[ma]talā* (i.e. *karmataram*, VI, 20) and *gajatame*, 'the best elephant' (Text, p. 50).

CHAPTER VIII.

GRAMMAR OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK-EDICTS,
WITH NOTES ON THE MANSEHRA VERSION

The Shāhbāzgarhī version has received the advantage of a detailed treatment by an accomplished linguist, Professor Johansson:—*Der Dialekt der sogenannten Shāhbāzgarhī-Redaktion der vierzehn Edikte des Königs Aśoka*. (*Tiré des Actes du 8^e Congrès International des Orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania*). [Part 1,] Leide, 1892. Part 2, Upsala, 1894. In the following pages the results of his investigations are utilized for my own inventory of the language of the text, which I had been able to improve by repeated examination of the fresh impressions.

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after a labial in *mut[a]* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8) and *uchavucha*. In *meñati* (= *manyatē*, XIII, 11) the change of *a* into *ē* is perhaps caused by the palatal *ñ*.¹

If the reading *etra* (VI, 15) is correct (the other versions have here *iyān*, *eshe*, &c.), it would correspond to *eta* (Girnār) and *heta* (Kālsī) = **itra*; see above, pp. lvi and lxx. As at Kālsī, the vowel *e* corresponds to Skt. *ī* in *ediśa* (= *īdrīśa*).

As in Pāli, Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (VI, 14, 15) = *puna* (six times, for Skt. *punaḥ*), and in *garuna* (IX, 19) = *guruna* (XIII, 4, for Skt. *gurūṇām*). Michelson suggests that the form *pana* may be due to vowel-assimilation; see IF, 23. 258, n. 1. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*) Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

The vowel *ṛi* is replaced by (1) *a*, (2) *i*, (3) *u*, (4) *ra*, (5) *ri*, (6) *ir*, (7) *ru*, causing at the same time the lingualization of a following dental. See (1) *usaṭena*, *dukaṭaṇi*, *bhaṭa*, *bhaṭaka*, *vaḍhi* (= Skt. *vriddhi*), *vapaṭa* and *viyapaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *anaṇiyaṇi*, *[da]khati*; (2) *kiṭa*, *s[u]kiṭa[ṇi]*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *pranatika*; (3) bases in *-ri*: *pīṭushu*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na* (= *svasṛiṇām*),

¹ With *meñati* Johansson (p. 19) and Wackernagel (*Altind. Grammatik*, vol. 1, p. xx) compare Gothic *ga-mainjan* and German *meinen* (English *to mean*).

and for *ṛi* after a labial: *agrabhūti*, *viyapūṣa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *muṣa*, *vuṣam* and *vuṣam* (= *vyṣṭam*), *nivūṣa* (= *nivṛiṣṭa*), *nivūṣi* (= *nivṛiṣṭi*), *vudha* (= *vriddha*); (4) *grahattha* (= *grīhastha*); (5) *[kr]i[ta]* (II, 4), *drīḍha*, *vīṣṭriṣṇa*; (6) *kīṣṭra* (i.e. *kīṣṭa*, = Skt. *kṛiṣṭa*);¹ (7) for *ṛi* after a labial: *pa[ṛi]p[ru]chha*, *mruga*, *mrugaya* (= *mṛigayā*). In *ṣruṇya* (XII, 7) the *ru* is due to the influence of *ṣṛuta*, *ṣṛuta*, &c.

In a few cases the vowel *e*, both if it is inherited from Sanskrit and if it is due to dialectical changes (cf. Johannson, § 23), appears to have become *i*; see *duv[i]* = *du[v]e* at Mānschrā for Skt. *duḥ* (II, 4) and *drau* (I, 3), *ayi* for **aye* = Skt. *ayam*, *amūi* (VIII, 17) for *amūe* = Skt. *anyaḥ*, *Amītkini* (nom. sing., XIII, 9), *rajani* (nom. plur., XIII, 9).

The two diphthongs *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*, respectively; see *niche* (perhaps = Skt. *nichaiḥ*, VII, 5), *[o]sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *paṣṭra* (XIII, 11), *paralokika*, *-opaka* and *-opaya*.

The Kharoṣṭhi alphabet does not mark the length of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and we must always keep in mind that every *a*, *i*, *u* of the text may be meant for *a* or *ā*, *i* or *ī*, *u* or *ū*, respectively.

Initial *a* is dropped in *ṛi* (= Skt. *opi*); *i* in *ti* (= *iti*) and *kiti* (= **kid + iti*); *e* generally in *va*, while *eva* is preserved three times through Sandhi. Besides *va*, the text often uses the two forms *to* (= Vedic *ṛā*, i.e. *ṛā + u*)² and *jo*, which Johannson (§ 36) derives from Prākṛit *yeva* (= Skt. *ēva*).³

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

The guttural *k* has become *y* in *nirapīya* (= *nilathiya* at Kālsī) and *-opaya* (VIII, 17) = *-opaka* (II, 5), instead of which the remaining versions of the rock-edicts (besides Mānschrā) have *-opaga*. It seems to be dropped altogether in *diḍḍha* = **dikārdha*. Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amītyoka*, and *γ* by the same in *Amītkini* and *Maka*. Skt. *gh* has become *h* in *lahu* and *lahuka*.

The palatal *j* has become *y* in *Kamīḍya*, *[p]rayukotave*, *samaya* (= Skt. *samāja*, I, 1, 2), *raya* (= *rajā*), and is represented by *ch* in *vrachasfi*, *vrachā-bhūmika* (also at Mānschrā), and in *vracharati*, *[r]achyām*; cf. Prākṛit *vrachai* (for **vrājati*?) = Skt. *vrājati*.

Skt. *ṣ* is generally preserved, except in *kshamanaye*, *garana*, *aviprahina*, *pranatika*, *Pitinika* (= *P[ṣ]ṭika* at Gīrnār). In terminations, however, dental *n* is never lingualized after *ṛi*, *r*, or *sh*; see *akarena*, *agrena*, *anavitarīyena*, *bhadrakena*, *Devanamāyriyena*, *parakramena*, *putrena*, *vagrena*, *āshīramani*, *raṣani*, *sahajani*, *Gaṇḍhikarāmani*, *manuṣṭanani*, *mahamatranani*, *Raṣhikanani*, *garuna*, *garuna*, *ṣṭana*, *ṣṭatana*, *ṣṭa(su)na*. On the other hand lingual *ṣ* is newly developed after *r* in *ṣṛapṛati* (from Skt. *ṣṛapṛati*), *samīṣṭaya* (from *ṣṛayati*), and wrongly in *Devanapriy[e]* (I, 1).

Dentals are lingualized after an original *ṛi* (see above, p. lxxxiv), after *ra* in the preposition *ṛasi* (eight times) or *ṛasi* (twice) for *ṛati* (five times), and after *sha* in *[o]sha[dha]ni* (II, 5), *ṛashamāṣa* and *ṛashamāṣa* (for **ṛashamāṣa* and **ṛashamāṣa* = Skt. *ṛashamāṣa*). Between vowels *t* is replaced by *d* in *hapetati* (= *hapetati* at Mānschrā) and, as at Kālsī, in *hida-sukhaye* (V, 12).⁴ Here we have the beginning of the process which, later on, every intervocalic *t* underwent in the Śaurasēni dialect. For *hida* (five times) = *hida* at Gīrnār, see above, p. lxxii.

As in literary Prākṛit, the labial *p* becomes *v* between vowels in *anutrāṣeyu* (XIII, 8). Initial *b* is replaced by *p* in *paḥam* (VII, 5) for *baham* (XIII, 3). The aspirate *bh* has turned to *bhi* *ḥoti* (only VIII, section E, for the usual *bhoti*), *aho*, and in the termination *-hi* (= Skt. *bhāhi* of *bahūhi* and *bahūhi*).

As at Kālsī, *y* becomes *j* in *majara* (= Skt. *mayāra*, I, 3), and *v* in *vīṣṭa* (XIII, 3). *ṣ* is dropped at the beginning of *ava* (five times) for *yava* (IX, 19) = Skt. *yavat* and of *[ṣ]* (XIII, 11) for *je* = Skt. *jat*, and between two vowels in *Priadrafi* (thrice), *Devanapriyā* (four times).

¹ The spelling *kīṣṭra* suggests that (5) *[kr]i[ta]* is also meant for *kīṣṭa*. Cf. Johannson, AJP, 31, 57; and below, p. lxxxvii.

² See Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 136, according to a suggestion of the late Professor Kuhn.

³ Michelson (JAOS, 30, 86, n. 4) identifies *jo* with the nom. sing. masc. of the pronoun.

⁴ At Mānschrā (VIII, 35) *t* is softened also before *r* in *ṛata* (for **ṛatā* = *ṛatā*) and *tenada* (= *tēnātra*) in both versions presupposes an intermediate form **tēnātra* = *tēnātra* in the Wardak vase-inscription; EI, 11, 208, n. 3.

**piasa* (I, 2), *ekatia* (I, 2), *vijetaṭṭa* (XIII, 11). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *paritijitu* (= *palitiditu* at Kālsī). The causative affixes *aya* and *ayi* either remain unchanged (in *aṇapayami*, *draṣayitu*, &c.) or are contracted (in *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeṣanti*, &c.). The same contraction takes place in *anuneti* (XIII, 7). The *e* of the 3. sing. optative *nivāṭeyati* (= Skt. *nirvartayēt*) corresponds to an original *aye*, and the *o* of the numeral *todaṣa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*) to an original *ayo*.¹

The change of *r* into *l* in *palig[o]dha* (V, 12), *palibodha* (V, 13), *sala* (= Skt. *sāra*, XII, 2, 8), *lo[ck]e[sh]u* and *a-lochetti*² is a Māgadhism, while, as at Girnār, *r* corresponds to *l* in **arabhati*, 'to kill', = Skt. *ālabhatē* (see below, p. xciv), and in *Turamaye* = *Πτολεμαῖος* (XIII, 9). As stated above (p. lvii), this wrong translation of the foreign name *Tulamaye* (Kālsī) proves that the Shāhbāzgarhī version is based on a Māgadhā original. In *Keraḍaputro* (II, 4) the *ḍ* corresponds to the lingual *ḷ* of Tamiḷ *Kēraḷa*; the other versions of the rock-edicts have *l* instead of *ḷ*.

The semivowel *v* is developed out of *u* and *ū* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*), *vuta* (= *uṭṭa*, II, 5), and *apavudha* (= *apōḍha*). As at Kālsī, the syllable *vā* becomes *u* in the absolutes in *-tu* (= Skt. *-tvā*). Contraction of *ava* into *o* takes place in *orodhana*, *bhoti*, *bhotu*, *aho*.

Like the Kālsī version, the Shāhbāzgarhī one distinguishes the three sibilants *ś*, *sh*, *s*, but with one important difference. While at Kālsī these three symbols are used indiscriminately (see above, p. lxxii), the Shāhbāzgarhī text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit.³ Thus we find *ś* in *anuśasti*, *aśamana*, *ediśa*, *tadiśa*, *yadiśa*, *daśa*, *deśa*, *draśana*, *draṣayitu*, *Priyadraśi*, *paśu*, *pradeśi[ka]*, *yaśo*, *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*), *śata*, *śila* (i. e. *śīla*), *[śilana]* (i. e. *śilana*), *śudhi* (i. e. *suddhi*), *saśayike*, *pratīveśiya*, *nīśita* (= Skt. **nīśrita*), *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, *śruṇeyu*; and *sh* in *eshe*, *esha*, *[o]sha[dha]ni*, *ghosha*, *tosho*, *dosha*, *parisha*, *prashanḍa*, *vishava* (= *vishaya*), *pitushu*, in the loc. plur. in *-eshu*, in the gen. plur. *tesha[ni]* and *yesha*, in the 3. plur. aorist *nikramishu*, *mañishu*, *lo[ck]e[sh]u*, in *vasha* (= *varsha*) and *kashati* (= **karshyati*). Exceptions are not frequent: *s* for *ś* in *anusochana*, *[s]reṭha* (= *śrēṣṭha*); *s* for *sh* in *abhisita* (= *abhishikta*), *yesu*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *[arabhi]yis[u]*; *sh* for *s* in *pañichashu* and *shashu*. In *manuśa* (= *manushya*) and in the futures in *-īśati* and *-eśati* the *ś* is a defective spelling for *śś*, in which the original *sh* had been palatalized through the influence of the following *y*. In *suśrisha*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu* the first *s* (for *ś*) is probably due to dissimilation, and in *an[u]śaśana*, *anuśaśiśanti* the second *ś* (for *s*) is due to assimilation.⁴

Cases of Cockneyism are *hañche* (see above, p. lxxii), *hahati* (twice) for *ahati* (thrice) = Skt. *āha*, *hida* (see above, p. lxxii), *hidalokika*. Conversely, *h* is dropped at the beginning of *[a]stina* = Skt. *hastinaḥ*, and between two vowels in *maa* = Prākṛit *maha* (gen. sing. of the pronoun of the first person), *ia* (= Skt. *iha*) and *ialoka*.

As at Girnār and Kālsī, all final consonants are dropped. In some cases this applies also to the *s* of final *as*; see *jana*, &c. (below, p. xc), *[sa]* (XIII, 10), *ekatia* (I, 2), *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastinaḥ*, IV, 8), *vacha-* (XII, 2). But generally final *as* becomes *o*, and frequently, as in the Māgadhā dialect, *e*; see *bhuy[e]*, *chature*, and the nom. sing. masc. *eshe*, *y[e]* (V, 13), *añe* (XII, 9), *jane*, &c. (below, p. xc). In *añiñi* (VIII, 17), *Amitikini* (XIII, 9), *rajani* (XIII, 9) = *rajano* (II, 4), *-i* has taken the place of *-e*.

The Anusvāra of words ending in nasal vowels is omitted in many instances. The reason of this deficiency need not be the carelessness of the writer, but may have been as well the faint articulation of the nasal sound. Examples of the omission are *prajava* (= Skt. *prajāvān*), *ida* (IX, 20) = *idañi* (XIII, 3), *ima* (IX, 19) = *imañi* (passim), *aya* (twice) = *ayañi* (V, 13), *[i]dani* (= Skt. *idāñim*),⁵ *eva* (twice) = *evañi* (passim), the acc. sing. masc. *aṭh[r]a*, *dosha*, *ba[hu]ka*, the nom. and acc. sing. neut. *dana*, &c. (below, p. xc), the acc. sing. fem. *puja*, &c., and *Sabodhi*, &c., the gen. plur. *ñatina*, *Nabhiṭina*, *guruna*, *garuna*, *bhratuna*, *spasa(su)na*, *tesha*, *yesha*, *u[bha]y[e]sa*, *abhiratana*, &c. (below, p. xc).

As in the Māgadhā dialect, the nom. sing. neut. frequently ends in *-e* instead of *-ani*; see *eshe* (X, section E), *ye* (VI, section F; IX, F and I; XIII, 1), *savre* (XII, 5; XIV, 13), *[saka]sre*

¹ Mānsehrā has *treḍaśa*, Dhauli and Kālsī *tedaśa*, for **trayadaśa*.

² But not in *rochetti*; see Text, p. 8, n. 3.

³ I differ here from Johansson, §§ 14, 48, and side with Michelson, AJP, 30. 289.

⁴ Cf. Skt. *śaśa* instead of **śasa*, which is presupposed by German *Hase* (English *hare*).

⁵ Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 29.

(XIII, 1), *dane*, &c. (below, p. xc). This barbarism is due to the analogy of the nom. sing. masculine.¹ The termination *-e* is found even in the acc. sing. masc. (*sayame*, VII, 2) and in the particle [*e*] (= Skt. *yat*, XIII, 5). While in the nom. sing. masc. we often have *-e* for *-o* (see above, p. lxxxvi), the *-e* of the nom. sing. neut. is replaced by *-o* in *kaṣavo* and three other gerundives (see below, p. xc), and the nom. sing. neut. of the pronoun *idam* has once the form *iyo* (XII, 2) for *iyañ* (VIII, section E). The nom. sing. masc. *so* is used for the nom. sing. neut. (XIII, 2) and for the acc. sing. neut. (passim), and the relative *yo* (X, 21) for the acc. sing. neut. *yat*. Instead of *anudīvasaṃ* at Gīrnār we find *anudīvaso* (I, 2), and at XII, 6, the acc. sing. of the masculine *dhrama* is *dhramo*. Finally it must be noted that *ayi* occurs repeatedly instead of *ayañ* and *aya* (= Skt. *ayam* and *iyam*).

III. SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved before the particle *eva* in [*e*] *vamveva* and *paratrī[ka]mveva*, and hiatus is prevented by *m* in *añam-añasa* and *dhāṣam-ayeshu*.

As the length of *ā* is not marked in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, the result of *a+a* always appears in writing as short *a*; see *kiṭabḥikaro*, *grabhagara*, *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*), *nasti*, *praṇa-ravibho*, *mahābhavāka*, *-vashabhisita*, *supaṭṭhaya[e]*, *dhramannasasti*, &c. The hiatus remains in [*aṭha*] *vasha-a[ḥhis]ita[sa]* (XIII, 1).

a is elided before *i* in *bramañ-ibhesku*; before *u* in *chu* (= *cha+u*) and *paj-upadane*; before *e* in *cheva*; before *o* in *manuṣ-opakani* and *tat-opayanī* (see above, p. lxxii); and *u* before *o* in *paṣ-opakani*.

i+a are contracted into *i* in *ī[stīdhi]yaksha* (= Skt. *stry-adhyaksha*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

As at Gīrnār (above, p. lix), there is some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. 'The order of the symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations':²

(1) *r* is combined with the preceding *akṣara*

(a) in *rbh*: *grabhagara* (= *garbhāgāra*).

(b) in *rm*: *dhrama* (i. e. *dharmā*) and *dhramima* (i. e. *dharmma*), *krama* (= Skt. *karmaṇ*) and *kramima* (i. e. *karmma*).

(c) in *rv*: *pṛva* (= Skt. *pūrva*).

(d) in *rs*: *draṣana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadrasī*.

(e) in *rsh*: *prashanīda* and *prashaḍa* (from Skt. *pārshada*).

(2) *r* is attached to the next following consonant

(a) in *rg*: *vagra* (i. e. *varga*), *spagra* (= Skt. *svarga*).

(b) in *rt*: *kiṭra* (i. e. *kīṛṭa*, = Skt. *kṛita*), *kiṭri* (= Skt. *kīṛṭi*).

(c) in *rth* and *rth*: *athra* and *aṭhra* (= Skt. *artha*).

(d) in *rv*: *savra* (i. e. *sarva*) and *savratra* (i. e. *sarvatra*).

It must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation.

As at the end of words, the Anusvāra is often omitted before consonants; see *atara* and *añtara*, *atikrata* (= Skt. *atīkrānta*), *Atiyoka* and *Añtiyoka*, *anata* and *ananta*, *Alīkasudaro* (= Ἀλῆξαρδρος), *karatañ* and *karañtañ*, *Kaliga*, *Devanapriya* and *Devanapriya*, *prashada* and *prashanīda*,³ *badhana* and *sañba[ni]dha*, *magala* and *mañgala*, *vihisa* (= Skt. *vihīṇisā*), *satañ* and *sa[ni]tañ*, *Sabodhi*, *sayama* and *sa[ni]yama*, *s[a]yuta* (= *sanyukta*), *saṣayika* (= *sāñśayika*),

¹ Cf. above, pp. lxii, lxxiii, and Johansson, part 2, p. 47.

² Bühler, ZDMG, 43, 133. Cf. Johansson, § 17, and Michelson, AJP, 30, 289, n. 2.

³ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 4.

sastuta and *sanistuta*, and the 3. plur. *karo[ti]* (IX, section C), *prapuṇati* (XIII, 6), *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati* (XIII, 4), *nik[r]amatu*, *maña[tu]*, *aradhetu*, *paṭivedetu*, *rochetu*.

Some groups of consonants are avoided by the development of an auxiliary vowel, which is *a* in *garahati*; *u* before or after a labial in *duv[i]*, *prapuṇati*; and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Shāhbāzgarhi will show. Michelson has proved that some of these correspondences are in reality Māgadhisms and alien to the Shāhbāzgarhi dialect; see his articles in AJP, vols. 30 and 31, and JAOS, vol. 30.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky becomes *k* in *sako* (= Skt. *śakyam*).

kr remains in *atikratam*, &c.

ksh remains¹ in *akshati*, [*adhi*]yaksha, [*ksham*]ti, *kshanati*, *kshamanaye*, *kshamitaviya*, *mo[kshaye]*, *saṁkshītena*, but becomes *kh* in *khudrakena* and [*da*]khati.²

kshy becomes *ksh* in *vrakshanti*.

khy becomes *kh* in *mukha* (= Skt. *mukhya*, XIII, 8), *saṁkhy[a]* (= *saṁkhyāya*).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr remains in *agra*, [*a*]pag[r]atho (XIII, 5), but the *g* seems to be aspirated in *apaghratho* (XIII, 6).

chy becomes *ch* in *vuchati* (= Skt. *uchyatē*).

jñ becomes *ñ* in *kiṭrañāta* (= Skt. *kṛitajñātā*), *ñati*, *ñatika*, *ñanam*, *raña*, *raño*; *ṇ*, as in literary Prākṛit, in *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapēsanti*, *aṇapita*.

jy becomes *j* in *joti* (= Skt. *jyōtis*, IV, 8).

ñj becomes *mñ* in *vaniñanato* (= Skt. *vyañjanataḥ*).

dy becomes *d*, as at Gīrnār, in *Paiṇḍa* (XIII, 9), but *ḍiy*, as at Kālsī, in *Paiṇḍiya* (II, 4).

ṇy becomes *ñ* in *puña*, *hiraña*, but *ṇiy* in *anaṇiya* (= Skt. *ānṛiṇya*).

tp becomes *p* in *pajupadane*.³

tm becomes *t* in *ata* (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *ti* in *ekatia*, but *ch* in *achayika*, *apacha*, *chati*.

tr remains in *trayo*, *atra*, *putra*, *savatra*, &c., but becomes *t* in *savata* (V, section N) and *todaśa* (= Skt. *trayōdaśa*, V, 11), and *d* in *tenada* (= Skt. *tēnātra*, VIII, 17).⁴

tv remains in *tadatvaye*, but becomes *t* in the absolutes in *-ti* (= Vēdic *-tvī*).

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena*, *chikisa*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), but *th* in *uṭhanam* (ibid.).⁵

dy becomes *j* in *aja*, *paṭipajeyati*; *y* in *uyana* (= Skt. *udyāna*).

dr remains in *khudrakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duv[i]*, but *b* in *badaya(śa)* (cf. *dbādasa* at Gīrnār), and *d* in *diadha*.

As at Kālsī, *dhy* becomes *jh* in *nijha[i]* and *anunija(jha)peti* (= [*a*]nu[nijha]payat[i] at Mānsehrā), but *dhiy* in [*adhi*]yaksha.

dhr remains in *dhruva* and *Aindhra*.

nm becomes *m* in *yamatra* (= Skt. *yanmātra*).

ny becomes *mñ* or *ñ* in *amña* and *aña*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *mañisku*, *hamñant[i]*, [*ha*]ñi-ñeyasu.

pt becomes *t* in *guti*, *nijha[i]*, *vuta* (= Skt. *uṇṭa*, II, 5), *asamatam*, *saṁkshītena*, *nataro* (= *naptāraḥ*), *pranatika*, *Turamaye* (= Πτολεμαῖος).

pn becomes *pun* in *prapuṇati*.

pr remains in *Priyadraśi*, *Devanaṁpriya*, *pṛiti* (i. e. *pṛīti*), *prakara[ṇ]*e (XII, 3), *p[r]aja* and *prajava* (V, 13), *praṇa* (i. e. *prāṇa*), *pradeś[ka]*, *pranatika*, *prapuṇati*, *prabhaye*, [*p*]rayuhotave, *pra[va]dh[e]śanti*, *pravase*, *pravajita*, *prasado*, *prasana*, *prasavati*, *aviprahino*, *pratipa[ti]* (XIII, 5), *pratibhagam*, *pratibh[o]gaye*, *pratiवेशyena*, *p[r]atīvidhane* (VIII, 17), *pratiavedetavo* (VI, 14), but becomes *p* in *Devanapiasa* (I, 2), [*a*]pakaraṇasi (XII, 3), *pajupadane* (IX, 18), *papotra*, *paṭipajeyati*,

¹ For the sign which I have transcribed by *ksh*, see Text, p. 55, note 5.

² See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

³ See above, p. lxxv, n. 1.

⁴ Mānsehrā has *yada* (for **yadra* = Skt. *yātrā*) in the same section.

⁵ Mānsehrā has *uṭhana* in both cases.

paṭipati (twice), *saṃpaṭipati* (twice), *paṭividhana* (V, 13), *paṭivedaka*, *paṭivedana*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedavo* (VI, 15).

bdh becomes *dh* in *ladha*.

br remains in *bramaṇa* (= Skt. *brāhmaṇa*).

bhy becomes *bh* in *-ibheshu*, *arabhiśanti* (future passive), but *bhiy* in *[arabhi]yis[u]* (aorist passive).

bhr remains in *bhratuna*.

my becomes *mm* (also spelt *numm*) in *samma-* and *saṃmma-*.

mr becomes *m̐b* in *Taṃbapaṇṇi*.

rg remains in *vagra* (i. e. *varga*; see above, p. lxxxvii) and *spagra* (i. e. *sparga* = Skt. *svarga*).

rx becomes *m̐x* in *Taṃbapaṇṇi*.

rt becomes *t* in *anuvataṭu*, but *r̥t* in *kiṭṭi* (i. e. *kirtī* = Skt. *kīrti*), and *t̥* in *kaṭava*, *anuvataṃti*, *an[u]vaṭiśanti*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*.

rth remains in *athra* (i. e. *artha*, IV, 10), but becomes *r̥th* in *aṭhra* (i. e. *artha*, VI, 14; IX, 19), and *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim), *niraṭṭiyani*.

rdh becomes *dh* in *vaḍhiśati*, *vaḍheti*, *pra[va]ḍh[e]śanti*, *vaḍhita*, *diḍḍha*.

rbh remains in *grabhagara* (i. e. *garbhāgāra*).

rm remains in *krama* (i. e. *karma*) and *kramma* (i. e. *karmma*, III, 6), *dhrama* (i. e. *dharma*) and *dhramma* (i. e. *dharma*).¹

ry becomes *y* in *-ayeshu* (= Skt. *āryēshu*), but *riy* in *anantariyena*, *madhuriyaye*, *sama[cha]-riyani*.

rv remains in *pruva* (i. e. *purva* = Skt. *pūrva*), *savra* (i. e. *sarva*), but becomes *v* in *sava*, *nivaṭeti*, *nivaṭeyati*, *nivṇa*, *nivṇi*.

rs remains in *draṣana* (i. e. *darśana*), *draṣayitu* (= Skt. *darśayitvā*), *Priyadraṣi* (= °*darśin*), but becomes *ś* in *daṣana* (VIII, 17).

rsh remains in *prashanḍa* (i. e. **pārshandā*)² and *prashaḍa*, but becomes *sh* in *vasha*, *pashanḍa* (XII, 3) and *pashaḍa* (XII, 9).

rshy becomes *sh* in *kashan̐*, *kashati*, *kashanti*.

rh becomes *rah* in *garahati*: *r* in *garana* (= Skt. *garhaṇā*).³

lp becomes *p* in *apa*, *kapa*.

ly becomes *l* in *kalana* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *van̐ṇana*, *vapaṭa* (twice), *apa-vayata*, *vasana*, *divani*, *prasavati*, *kaṭava*, *paṭivedetavo*, *[p]rayuhotave*, *vatavo*, but *vi* in *viṭetav[i]a*, and *viy* in *viyapaṭa* and *viyaputa* (V, 13), *kshamitaviya*, *puṭetaviya*.

vr remains in *[tivr̥]*, *pravrajita*, *vrachanti*, *v[r]acheyan̐*, *vrakshanti*, *vrachaspi* and *vrachabhumika* (also at Mānsehrā).

sch becomes *ch* in *kachi* (= Skt. *kaśchit*), *pacha* (= *paśchāt*).

śy becomes *śiy* in *pratiśeṣiyena*.

śr remains in *śramaṇa*, *śravaka*, *suśrusa*, *suśrushatu*, *suśrusheyu*, *śruta*, *śrutu*, but becomes *ś* in *śamaṇa* (IX, 19), *niśite*, and *sr* in *[s]reṭha* (= Skt. *śrēṣṭha*).

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭan̐*, *dukara*.

shkr becomes *kr* in *nikramaṇan̐*, *nik[r]amatu*, *nikrami*, *nikramishu*.

sh̥t becomes *ṭh* in *[aṭha]* = Skt. *aṣṭa* (XIII, 1).

sh̥tr becomes *ṭh* in *Raṭhikanan̐*.

sh̥th becomes *ṭh* in *tiṭhiti*, *[s]reṭhan̐*; *th* in *-adhithana*.

shy becomes *ś* (i. e. *śś*) in *manuśa* and in the futures in *-iśati* and *-eśati*.

As at Kālsi, *sk* becomes *k* in *joti-kamdhani*.

st remains in *asti*, *nasti*, *[a]stina* (= Skt. *hastināḥ*), *saṃstava*, *saṃstuta*, *vistritena*, *-anuśasti*.

It occurs also in the Ancient Persian word *nipista*.⁴

¹ At Mānsehrā we find twice (IV, 13 and 16) the defective spelling *dhama* beside the usual form *dhrama*.

² This form is a variant of Skt. *pārshada* (for *pārishada*) and the origin of Skt. *pāshandā*; cf. Johansson, §§ 37, 64.

³ See Johansson, § 56, c, and cf. Pāli *rassa* = Skt. *hrasva* (Geiger, § 49). At Mānsehrā the reading is *garaha* (= Skt. *garhā*).

⁴ See above, p. xlii.

str remains in *i[stri]*, *striyaka*.
sth becomes *th* in *grathatha*, *chira-thitka*.
su becomes *siu* in *[si]{ne*}ka* (XIII, 5).¹
sm becomes *sp* or *s* in the locatives singular in *-aspi* and *-asi*.
sy becomes *siy* in *rabhasiye*, *siya*, *siyati*, *siyasu*, but *s* in *asu* and in the genitives singular in *-asa* and *-isa*.
sr remains in *parisrave*, *sahasra*, but becomes *s* in *sahasani* (I, 2).
st becomes *sp* in *sfa[ka]*, *spagra* (= Skt. *starga*), *spamikena*, *spasa(su)na* (= *staspiṇām*).
lm becomes *m* in *bramaṇa*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. masc. <i>jano</i> , &c.; neut. <i>danari</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>putra</i> , &c.; neut. <i>[e]sha[dha]ni</i> , &c.
Acc. masc. <i>dhramari</i> , &c.; neut. <i>maṇḍalari</i> , &c.	Masc. <i>yutani</i> , &c.; neut. <i>divani</i> , <i>rufani</i> .
Instr. <i>putrena</i> , <i>danena</i> , &c.	<i>latchi</i> .
Dat. <i>athaye</i> , &c.	
Abl. <i>karāṇa</i> (= Skt. <i>kāraṇāt</i> , III, 6), <i>paṭha</i> .	
Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c.	<i>praṇanari</i> , &c.
Loc. (a) <i>cradhanaSpi</i> , &c.; (b) <i>dhrame</i> , &c.	<i>vashesu</i> , &c.

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* is dropped in *jano* (XIV, 13), *ghesha* (IV, 8), *pradeśi[ka]* (III, 6), *vadha* (XIII, 3), *saṁba[ri]tha* (XI, 23), *sayama* (VII, 4), *Maka* (XIII, 9). The Māgadha termination *-e* is frequent; see *jane* (X, 21), *viṇade* (VI, 14, 15), *Turamaye* (XIII, 9), *Devanapriye* (X, 21), &c. In *dhritikini* (XIII, 9) we have *-i* instead of *-e*.

Nom. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *dana*, *a[cha]yika* (VI, 14), *anusechana* (XIII, 2), *[du]kara* (VI, 16), *draṇa* and *daṇa* (VIII, 17), *puṇa* (XI, 24), *maṇḍala* (IX, sections D and F), *maka-phala* (IX, F). As in the nom. sing. masc., Māgadha forms in *-e* are frequent; see *dane* (VII, 4), *draṇe* (VIII, 17), *likhite* (XIV, 13), *viṇite* (XIV, 13), &c. In a few gerundives we have *-o* instead of *-ani* or *-e*: *kaṭavo* (IX, 18, 19; XI, 24), *prativēdetavo* (VI, 14) and *paṭivēdetavo* (VI, 15), *vaṭavo* (IX, 19; XI, 24; XII, 8), *ṭako* (XIII, 7). The Sanskrit masculine *bhāga* is used as neuter in *sahasra-bhagaṇi* (XIII, 7).

Acc. sing. masc.—In *ath[r]a* (VI, section E), *desha* and *ba[hu]ka* (I, 1), the Anusvāra is omitted. There are two irregular forms: *dhrame* (XII, 6) and *sayame* (VII, 2).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *[da]na* (XII, 1), *karāṇa* (XIV, 14), *vasana* (XIII, 5), and in a few other instances.

Loc. sing.—The group *sp* of the termination *-spi* is assimilated in *[a]pakaraṇasi* (XII, 3), *uṭhanas[i]* (VI, 15), *[ga]ṇanasi* (III, 7), *mahana[sas]i* (I, 2), *yu[ta]si* (V, 13). The termination *-e* occurs also in *anutape*, *abadhe*, *avake*, *Kalige*, *prakara[ṇ]e*, *pravase*, *viṇay[e]* (XIII, 11), *viṇite*, *viṇahe*, *ṣile*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The Sanskrit neuter *apātya* is used as masculine in *[ṣ]e me apacha vṛakshanti* (V, 11).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-a* instead of *-ani* in *[e]sha[dha]ni* *karāṇita cha vuta cha* (II, 5).

The remaining instances of the acc. plur. masc. are *-kaṇḍhani*, *Kaliga[ni]*, *-praśhaṇḍani*, *pravrajita[ni]*, *grathahani*.

Gen. plur.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *abhiratana* (XIII, 5), *mahamatrana* (VI, 14), *-bramaṇana* (twice), *-śramaṇana* (IV, 9).

¹ Mānsehrā reads *si[ne]ke*.

(2) Feminines in -*a*.

Singular.	Plural.
Nom. <i>ichha</i> , &c.	<i>chik</i> [t]sa, [kr]t[t'a], <i>striyaka</i> , ¹
Acc. <i>pūja</i> , &c.	
Instr. <i>pūjaye</i> , <i>vividhaye</i> .	
Loc. <i>sa</i> [m] <i>tirāṇaye</i> .	

II. BASES IN $-i$.

(1) Masculines in -i.

Nom. plur. *trayo*.

Gen. plur. *ñatina*[*m*], *ñatina*, *Nabhitina*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-l*.

Singular.		Plural.
Nom. <i>dipi</i> , &c.		<i>aṣavi</i> .
Acc. <i>Sabodhi</i> , &c.		
Instr. <i>-anusā[sti]ya</i> , <i>bhātiya</i> .		
Dat. <i>-anusāstiye</i> , <i>vadhiya</i> .		
Abl. <i>nirutiya</i> , <i>Ta[ni]bapaṇ[ni]ya</i> .		
Loc. <i>ayatiya</i> .		

With the nom. plur. *astri* cf. Pāli *ratti*, nom. plur. of *ratti* (= Skt. *rātri*).

III. BASES IN \mathcal{A} .

The same forms as at Girdār and Hēist occur, viz. nom. sing. *māsa*, *fama*, and *shast*; vocat. sing. *māsā*, *famā*, and acc. sing. neut. *bahū*; nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūnī*; instr. plur. *bahūlī*; gen. plur. *yaymāna*, *garimā*.

II. WASHERS AND TUBS 18 41.

Very sincerely,

San Juan Ignacia, 20 de Mayo, 1901

میں نے اپنے آپ کو بے رحم سے دیکھا۔

The last sig. follows the ~~stimulus~~ picture, figure.

T. ZACHRY CORPORATION

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

2. Describe the

Staphylococcus aureus = *S. aureus*

2. Interpretation of the results

A handwritten musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The title is written at the top center. Below it are two staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of several measures of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff continues the melody. At the bottom of the page, there is a small section of text that appears to be lyrics or additional notation, partially obscured by a horizontal line.

1. *Handwritten text, mostly illegible due to blurriness.*

[illegible]

(4) Masculines in *-in*.Nom. sing. *Priyadrasī*.Instr. sing. *Priyadrasīna*.Gen. sing. *Priyadrasīsa*.Acc. plur. [*a*]*stina* (*asti[ne]* at Mānschrā).The gen. sing. follows the analogy of the *a*-declension.(5) Neuters in *-as*.Acc. Sing. *yaśo*, *bhū[re]*.The base *ṛacha-* (XII, 2) corresponds to Skt. *ṛachar*.(6) Neuter in *-is*.The base *jōti-* (IV, 8) corresponds to Skt. *jyōtis*.(7) Feminine in *-d*.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: loc. sing. *parishaye*. The nom. sing. *parisha* is preserved at Mānschrā (III, 11).

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *aham*.Instr. sing. *maya*.Gen. sing. *maa*, *me*.

With the gen. *maa* cf. Prākṛit *maka*, which seems to be derived from the Skt. genitive *mama* under the influence of the dative *mahyam*; see Michelson, JAOS, 30. 85, n. 2.

(2) Base *ta*.

| Singular. | | | Plural. | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>so</i> | } neut. <i>tañi</i> , <i>so</i> . | | Masc. <i>te</i> . | |
| Acc. masc. <i>tañi</i> | | | | |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> . | | | <i>tesha[ñi]</i> , <i>teska</i> . | |
| Dat. <i>taye</i> . | | | | |
| Gen. <i>tasa</i> . | | | | |
| Loc. <i>tasi</i> . | | | | |

Nom. sing. fem. *sa*.Acc. plur. fem. *ta* (XIII, 7).

In two places (XIII, section T, and V, section H) we have *sa* for *so* (nom. masc. and acc. neut.).

(3) Base *sha*.

The acc. plur. neut. *sha* (VI, 16) corresponds to *she* (acc. plur. masc.?) at Mānschrā; cf. Text, p. 59, n. 1.

(4) Base *ēta*.

| Singular. | | | Plural. | |
|---|-----------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>eshe</i> ; neut. <i>eta</i> , <i>etañi</i> , <i>etake</i> , <i>eshe</i> | (X, section E). | | Masc. <i>eta</i> (I, 3). | |
| Instr. <i>etakena</i> . | | | | |
| Dat. <i>etaye</i> , <i>etakaye</i> . | | | | |
| Gen. <i>etisa</i> (III, 6; XII, 9). | | | | |
| | | | | |

Nom. sing. fem. *esha* (XIII, 4).

The *i* of the gen. sing. *etisa*, which is found also at Mānsehrā (XII, 8), is perhaps due to the analogy of the Pāli interrogative *kissa* (from base *kī*) = *kassa* (from base *ka*).

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *ayaṁ, ayi*; neut. *idaṁ, ida, imaṁ, ima, iyaṁ, iyo*.

Acc. neut. *imaṁ*.

Gen. *imisa* (IV, 10).

Nom. fem. *aya, ayi*.

Dat. fem. *imisa* (III, 6).

With the gen. masc. *imisa* cf. *etisa* (from *ēta*) and the Gīrnār and Pāli instrumental *iminā*.

The dat. fem. *imisa* is an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā*. Cf. the feminine bases *imī, tī, eī, jī, kī* in Prākṛit (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 424).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

The indefinite *kichi* (nom. and acc. sing. neut.) forms the nom. sing. masc. *kachi* (XII, 5). The compound *kīti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *yo, y[e]*; neut. *yaṁ, ye*.
Acc. neut. *yaṁ, yo* (X, 21), *[e]* (XIII, 5).
Instr. *ye[na]*.
Gen. *yasa*.
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *ye*.

yesha (*yesha[ni]* at Mānsehrā).

yesu.

Nom. sing. fem. *ya* (XIII, 12).

Nom. plur. fem. *ya* (XIII, 7).

(8) Base *anya*.

Singular.

Nom. masc. *añe, aṁñi*; neut. *añāṁ*.¹
Acc.
Dat. *añaye*.
Gen. *añamañasa*.

Plural.

Masc. *aṁñe* } neut. *añani*.

(9) Base *sarva*.

Singular.

Nom. neut. *sav[r]aṁ, savre*.
Acc. masc. and neut. *savraṁ, savāṁ*.
Loc.

Plural.

Masc. *savre*.

savreshu, saveshu.

(10) Base *ubhaya*.

Gen. plur. *u[bha]y[e]sa* (*ubhayesaṁ* at Mānsehrā).

(11) Base *ekatara*.

Loc. sing. *ekatare*.

(12) Base **ēkatya*.

Nom. sing. masc. *ekatia*.

¹ *añ[e]* at Mānsehrā, IV, 15.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Acc. sing. neut. [e⁺]*kaśi*.

Two.

Nom. masc. and fem. *duḥ*[t].

Three.

Nom. masc. *traya*.

Four.

As in Ardhamāgadhi (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 439), the acc. masc. *chature* (= Skt. *chaturah*) is used in the place of the nom. (XIII, 9).

Five, six.

Loc. *pañcashaśu*, *ṣaśu*.

Eight, ten, twelve, thirteen.

[aṭṭha], *daśa*, *badaya(śa)*, *teḍaśa*.

Hundred.

Acc. plur. *śatani*, instr. *śatehi*, loc. *śateṣu*.

The ordinal is *śata*; see *śata-bhage*, XIII, 7.

Thousand.

The ordinal is *sahasra* (XIII, 7).

Hundred thousand.

Nom. sing. *śa*[śa-saśa]*śre*.Nom. plur. *śata-sahasani*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I PRESENT.

(1) *Bases*.

First Sanskrit class.

Root *kram*: *parakramati*, *nik*[r]*amatu*.Root *garh*: *garahati*.Root *ji*: [vī]*jīnamano*, *vijīniti*; see above, p. lxxxix and n. 1.Root *trap*: *avatrapeyyu*.Root *drīś*: [dā]*khati*.Root *nī*: *anuceti*.Root *bhū*: *bhoti*, *hoti*.

Root *labh*: the absolutive *ara*[*bhitu*] and the two passive forms [*arabhi*]*jis*[u] and *arabhi-śanti* presuppose the present **arabhati*, 'to kill' (= Skt. *ālabhat*?).

Root *vas*: *vasati*.Root *vrī*: *anuvatatatu*, *anuvatañti*.

Root *vraj*: *vrachamti*. For Prākṛit *vachchā* (for **vrajyati*?) = Skt. *vrajati* see Hēma-chandra, IV, 225; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 202 and n. 3

Root *sthā*. The absolutive *tiṭhiti* (IV, 10) presupposes the present **tiṭṭhati* (= Skt. *tishṭhati*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *asti*.

Root *han*: *upahamti*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *hu*. The gerundive [*ṣ*] *rayuhotave* is formed from the Skt. present *juhōti*.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *paṭipajeyati*.

Root *man*: *mañati* and *meñati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class: *prapūṇati*.

Root *śru* follows the *a*-conjugation: *śruṇeyu*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujamtu*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kri*: *karoti*; but the optative *apakareyati* and the two present participles *karamān* and *ka[ra]min[o]* presuppose the present **karati*, **karate*.

Root *kshaṇ* follows the *a*-conjugation: *kshaṇati*.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *aś* follows the *a*-conjugation: *aśamana* (part. pres. middle).

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *dīpayami*, *draṣayitu*, *sukhayami*. The character *aya* is contracted into *e* in *pujēti*, *pujētaviya*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *aradhētu*, *rochetu*, *lo[ch]e[sh]u*, *a-locheti*, *paṭivedetu*, *paṭivedetavo*, *nivaṭēti*, *vaḍhēti*.

(b) With *paya*: *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*, *aṇapeṣamti*, *aṇapita*, *anuniya(jha)peti*, *haṇeṣadi*.

(c) With *āpaya*: *likha[ṣ]eṣami*, *likhapitu(ta)*, *khanapita*, *nīṣapita*, *harapita*.

(2) *Moods*.

The terminations of the middle are replaced by those of the active, with the exception of the present participles [*vi*] *jinamana*, *ka[ra]mina*, *aśamana*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *parak[r]amami*, *karomi*, *aṇapayami* and *aṇapemi*.

3. sing. *parakramati*, *garahati*, [*da*] *khati*, *anuneti*, *bhoti* and *hoti*, *asti*, *upahamti*, *mañati* and *meñati*, *ichhati*, *karoti*, *kshaṇati*, *anuniya(jha)peti*, *pujēti*, *a[ra]dhēti*, *nivaṭēti*, *vaḍhēti*.

3. plur. *anuvaṭamti*, *vrachamti*, *ichhamti*. The Anusvāra is missing in *bhoti* (XIII, 7), *vasati*, *prapūṇati*, *karo[ti]* (IX, section C).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *dīpayami* and *sukhayami* (with indicative termination).

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ṛ[ṛ]uckeyam* (from **ṛackhati* = Skt. *ṛrajati*).
 3. sing. *siya* and *siyati* (= Skt. *syāt*), *paṣipajeyati*, *apakareyati* (from Skt. *apakarēti*), *nivāṭeyati*¹ (= Skt. *nivartayāt*; cf. above, p. lxxxii). The four last forms have the termination of the indicative.

3. plur. *avāṭapeyu*, *vaseyu*, *ṛuṇeyu*, *asu* (= Pāli *assu*) and *siyasu*. With the last form cf. the optative passive [*ka*]mñeyasu (below, V).

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *bhetu*, *anuvātatu*.
 3. plur. *parakramāntu*, *yujāntu*. The Anusvāra is missing in *nīl[r]amatu*, *mañā[tu]*, *aradhētu*, *vechētu*, *paṭivedētu*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *ako* (= Skt. *abharat*).

II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. *nikrami*.
 3. plur. *nikramisku*. In *abharasu* (VIII, 17) the aorist termination *-su* seems to be affixed to *abhūvan*, the Sanskrit aorist of root *bhū*; cf. Johansson, § 32.

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. *mañishu* (from Skt. *manyatē*), *k[ek]e[sk]u* (*akchayisu* at Kāśi and Mānschrā).²

III. PERFECT.

To the Sanskrit perfect *āka*, which has the meaning of the present (see Pāṇini, III, 4, 84), the termination of the 3. sing. indicative present is affixed: *akati* and *kakati*.³

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *kasham* ([*ka*]shami at Mānschrā), *likka[ṣ]eśami* (while Gīrnār has *likhāṣyisam*).
 3. sing. *kashati*, *vadhīṣati*, *kaṣeśati*.
 3. plur. *kashanti*, *an[u]ṛaṭiṣanti*, *ṛakshanti* (from root *ṛraj*), *anusaṭiṣanti* (from *anu-sās*), *aṇaṣeṣanti*, *pra[va]dh[e]ṣanti* (*paravdhayisanti* at Mānschrā).

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *uckati* (= Skt. *uckyatē*), *ṣṣavati* (= *ṣṣāṣyātē*).
 3. plur. indicative [*a*]nucidhiyanti (= *anucidhiyātē*), *kaññanti*[i] (= *kanyantē*).
 3. plur. optative [*ka*]mñeyasu (XIII, 8) with aorist termination; cf. *siyasu* (= Skt. *syuḥ*, XII, 7), and see Johansson, § 140.
 3. sing. imperative *anuv[dk]iyatu*.
 3. plur. aorist [*arabhi*]yis[ti] (from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).
 3. plur. future *anucidhiyisanti*[ti] (from Skt. *anucidhiyātē*), *arabhiṣanti* (for **ālabhyishyanti* from Skt. *ālabhyatē*).⁴

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. plur. optative *suṣrusheyu*.
 3. sing. imperative *suṣrushatu*.

¹ Mānschrā reads *nivāṭeya*.

² See Text, p. 31, n. 7.

³ Cf. Text, p. 52, n. 11.

⁴ Cf. *ārabhare*, *ārabhisu*, and *ārabhisare* at Gīrnār, where *bh* is also a defective spelling for *bh*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as*: *sa[ri]tan* (*satan*).

Root *kri*: *karamtan* (*karatan*).

Middle.

Root *ji*: *[ri]jinamana*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1.

Root *kri*: *ka[ra]mina*.

Root *as*: *asana*.

Other participles in *-mina* or *-ma* are found in the Māgadha edicts; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 72, and below, p. cx, and chapters X and XI.

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta*: *mata* and *ruta* (= Skt. *mata*, XIII, 8), *muṣa* (= *mṛita*), *kiṣa*, *[kr]iṣṭa*, and *kiṣra* (= *kṛita*), *vapṣa*, *vīyapṣa*, and *vīyapṣa* (= *vīyāpṛita*, V, 13), *vistṛiṣṭa* (= *vistṛita*), *uṣaṣa* (= *utṣṛita*), *nīṣṭa* (= **nīṣṛita*), *nīṣṭa* (= Ancient Persian *nīṣṛita*; see above, p. xlii), *nīṣṣṭa*, *nīṣṣapṭa*, *likṣṭa*, *likṣapṭa* (ta), *kṣapṭa*, *karapṭa*, *arepṭa*, *anapṭa*, *bhūta* (i. e. *bhūta*), *atīkrata* (= *atīkrānta*), *[ṭa]ṣṭa*, *nīṣṭa* (= *nīṣṛita*), *uṣṭa* (= *uṣṭa*), *saṁṭa* (= *saṁāpṭa*), *saṁkṣṭa* (= *saṁkṣṛita*), *vudḥa* (= *vṛiddha*), *apvudḥa* (= *apvṛiddha*), *ladha* (= *labdha*), &c.

(b) In *-na*: *prasana* (i. e. *prasanna*), *vīrakṣa* (i. e. **hina*).

(3) Future passive participle.

(a) In *-taya*: *kṣarṇitaya*, *puṣṭitaya*, *vijetav[ī]a*, *kaṣava*, *vatava*, *[p]rayuhotava*, *paṭive-detava*.

(b) In *-aya*: *t[ā]dāy[ī]a*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaka* (= Skt. *śakya*).

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

(a) In *-tu* (= Skt. *-tū*): *araṣṭhita*, *paritijitu* (from root *tyaj* with Samprasāraṇa of *ya*), *drutu*, *drasayitu*.

(b) In *-ti* (= Vedic *-ti*): ¹ *tīṣṭi* (from the Skt. present *tīṣṭhi*), *vijinīti* (from the present *vijināti*; see above, p. lxxxi and n. 1), *a-leketi*.

(c) In *-ya*: *śaṅkṣya* (from *śaṅkṣya*).

The dialect of the Mānśrū text is nearly identical with the Shāhbāzgarhi one, but contains some more Māgadhiisms.² It will, therefore, be sufficient to draw attention only to those forms at Mānśrū which differ from the corresponding ones at Shāhbāzgarhi.

The vowel *e* for *a* in the second syllable of *sayeme* (VII, 33) may be due to the preceding palatal *y*, unless it is a clerical error. For the form *m[un]iṣa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx. Instead of the vowel *ri* the Mānśrū version has (1) *a* in *kaṣa*, *sukaṣa*, *[ma]ṣe*; (2) *u* in *[pa]r[ī]puchha*, *vapṣa* (= Skt. *vīyāpṛita*); (3) *e* in *gṛathā* (= *gṛihastha*);³ (4) *ra* in *vīyapṛaṣa* (V, 24);⁴ (5) *ar* in *kaṣra* (i. e. *karṣa* = Skt. *kṛita*), *vudhri* (i. e. *varddhi* = Skt. *vṛiddhi*); (6) *ri* in *mrig[e]*, *mrigaviya* (= *mṛigavyā*); (7) *ru* in *vudḥi* (= *vṛiddhi*);⁵ (8) *ur* in *vudhra* (i. e. *vurddha* = Skt. *vṛiddha*). For *ruchha* = Skt. *vṛikṣa* (II, 8) see above, p. lxx f.

The guttural *k* becomes *y* in *[di]ya[dha]* (XIII, 1). Greek *χ* is represented by *g* in *[A]tyoge*

¹ Cf. Delbrück's *Altind. Verbum*, § 221; Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412.

² Cf. Michelson, *AJP*, 30. 285 f.

³ The Prākṛit form *gṛha* is used for *gṛiha* also in Sanskrit. Another instance of this change is the root *ṛdh* = *ṛidh*; see Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, 1. 39.

⁴ The spelling (5) *kaṣra* (for *karṣa*) suggests that (4) *vīyapṛaṣa* is meant for *vīyapṛaṣa*.

⁵ The spellings (5) *vudhri* and (8) *vudhra* suggest that (7) *vudḥi* is meant for *vurddhi*.

(II, 6). As at Kālsī, the palatal *ch* has been aspirated in *kechhi* (= Skt. *kacchit*) and *kichhi* (= **kid + chid*). Dentals are lingualized in *duva[da]śa* (III, 9) = *duva[da]śa* (IV, 18), *tredaśa* (V, 21), and after *ṛi* in *kaśa*, *sukaśa*, [*ma*]śe, *vaṇuśa*, *viyapraśa*, *vruddhi*. Sanskrit *ṇ* is preserved in *paṇatika* (= *prapaṇtika*), but is represented by dental *n* in *tī[nī]* (= *trīṇi*). In *aṇaṇiyam* (VI, 31) the first *ṇ* is due to assimilation. The *t* for *dh* in *śuti* (VII, 33) is perhaps a clerical error. The *bh* of the root *bhū* has become *h* in *hoti*, *hotu*, *aho*, [*hu*]vryu, *husu*, *huta-pruṇe* (twice), but not in *bhuta-pruṇa* (V, 21) and in the substantive *bhuta* (i. e. *bhūta*). The semivowel *y* is prefixed to *e* in *jeva*, while initial *y* is lost in *e*, *aṇi* (= *yati*), [*a*]diśe (twice), *atra* (twice = *yatra*), *atha* (thrice = *yathā*). In *supadarave* (V, 21) we seem to have *r* for *l* and *v* for *y*; see Text, p. 33, n. 3, and above, p. lvii, n. 2. The first *ś* of *śa[śa]yike* (IX, 7) is due to assimilation. In the aorists *husu*, [*arabhi*]isu, and [*alo*]chay[*i*]su, dental *s* has taken the place of *sh*. In *aa* (VI, 26) = *aha* (i. e. *āha*) and *aani* (VI, 30) = *ahani* (VI, 28), *h* is elided between vowels.

Final *as* becomes *o* only in *tato*, *mukhato* (VI, 28), *yaśo*, *Devanapriyo* (VII, 32), *niśito* (V, 25), but generally *e*; see *he[tute]*, *vi[yaṇija]nate*, *natare* (= Skt. *nap̐tārāḥ*), *rajine* (= *rājñāḥ*), *ra[jane]* (= *rājñāḥ*), *Priyadraśine* (gen. sing.), *Devanapriye*, &c. In *vinī[k]ramaṇi* (XIII, 5) the *-e* is replaced by *-i*.

The hiatus remains in *dhramayuta-apalibodhaye* (V, 23). *a + e* becomes *e* in *usaṭen-eva* (X, 11), and *ā + u* becomes *o* in *praj-opadaye* (IX, 2).

As at Shāhbāzgarhi, the letter *r* is sometimes attached to the next following consonant. Thus *nirathriya* (IX, 3) is meant for *nirarthiya*, *vadhrite* and *vadhrayisati* (IV, 15) for *vardhite* and *vardhayisati*. Similarly *kaṭra* (= Skt. *kṛita*, V, 24) stands for *karṭa*,¹ *vadhri* (= *vṛiddhi*) for *varddhi*, *vudhra* (= *vṛiddha*) for *vurddha*. Anusvāra is omitted before consonants in *ata* (II, 5), *aṇarata* (V, 22), *saṇata* (II, 6), [*A*]tiyoge, *Adha*, a[*na*]taliyena, *anarabhe*, *anubadha*, *aṇa-bha[ḍata]*, [*aba*]ka, *asapa[ḥ]ipati*, *Gadharaṇa*, *-chhadē*, *para[kra]mate* (3. plur.), *satiraṇa* (VI, 30), *hacche* (for *hañche*).

ksh becomes *chh* in *chhāṇati* and *ruchhani*.

jñ becomes *n* in *kiṇanata* (= Skt. *kṛitajñatā*), but *jñ* in *rajina* (= *rājñā*) and *rajine* (= *rājñāḥ*).

ṇy becomes *ṇ* in *puṇa*, *puṇani*, *afu[ṇe]*.

tm becomes *tv* in *atva*- (= Skt. *ātman*).

ty becomes *tiy* in *apatiye*, [*eka*]tiya.

tr remains in *tredaśa*, but becomes *t* in *tī[nī]* (= Skt. *trīṇi*), and *d* in *tenada* and *yada*.²

dr becomes *d* in *khuda* and *khudakena*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duva[da]śa* and *duva[ḍa]śa*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *istrija(jha)ksha*.

ny becomes *n*, as at Kālsī, in *ana[tra]* (X, 11); *ṇ* in *aṇe*, *aṇatra* (X, 9), *aṇamaṇasa*, *maṇati*, *maṇ[ishu]*.

pr remains in *prap[o]tra*, but becomes *p* in *paṇatika*, *pa-vadhayisanti*, *avipahin[e]*, *paṭibhogaye*, *paṭivesīyena*.

br becomes *b* in *bamaṇa* (IV, 15) = *bramaṇa* (passim).

bhy remains in *-ibhyeshu*, but becomes *bhiy* in [*ara*]bh[iyaṇti], and *bh* in [*arabhi*]isu (aorist passive).

bhr becomes *bh* in *bhata(tu)na* (V, 24) = *bhratuna* (twice).

my remains in *samya-*.

rg becomes *g* in *ma[geshu]*.

rt becomes *ṭ* in *anuvaṭatu* and *kiṭi* (= Skt. *kīrti*).

rth remains in *nirathriya* (i. e. *nirarthiya*).

rdh remains in *vadhrite* (i. e. *vardhite*, IV, 15) and *vadhrayisati* (i. e. *vardha*°), but becomes *dhi* in *vadhite* (IV, 12).

ly becomes *y* in *kayaṇa* (= Skt. *kalyāṇa*).

vy becomes *v* in *vapuṇa*; *viy* in *viyapraśa*, *vi[yaṇija]nate*, *mrigaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *pra[joli]taviye*, *vataviye*, *paṭivedetaviye*.

vr becomes *v* in [*p*]rava[ji]tani.

st becomes *th* in *saṇitha[v]e*.

¹ In *viyapraśa* (i. e. *viyaparta* = Skt. *vyāpṛita*) the *r* is combined with the preceding *akshara*.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxv, n. 4.

sth becomes *fl* in *chira-flitika*.

sr becomes *s* in *pa[r]isavv*.

Masculines in *-a*: abl. sing. *anubadka*; dat. plur. *mahamatrehhi*.

Feminines in *-ā*: acc. sing. *pūja[m]*; loc. sing. *prajopadaye*; nom. plur. *janika*.¹

Masculines in *-ī*: loc. plur. *[Na]bhapa[m]tishu*.

Masculines in *-rī*: nom. plur. *nature*.

Present participle in *-at*.—The gen. sing. *asatasa* follows the *a*-declension.

Masculines and neuters in *-an*: instr. sing. *rajina*; dat. sing. *krama[r]e* (i. e. *karmāṇe*); gen. sing. *rajine*; nom. plur. *ra[jane]*.

Masculines in *-in*: gen. sing. *Priyadrasine*.

Pronoun of the first person: nom. sing. *nam* (VI, 30) = *aham* (VI, 28); instr. sing. *me* (III, 9).

Base *ta*.—The nom. sing. masc. *se* is used also as nom. and acc. sing. neut.; dat. plur. *tchi* (XII, 7); gen. plur. *ta[nam]* (XIII, 5).

Base *īta*: nom. sing. masc. *[esha]* (XIII, 6); gen. sing. *e[ta]sa*; nom. plur. neut. *[e]tani*.

Demonstrative *idam*: nom. sing. neut. *iya* (VIII, 35); gen. sing. *imasa*; nom. plur. masc. *ime*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*; dat. sing. fem. *imaye*.

Indefinite pronoun: nom. sing. masc. *kechhi*; nom. and acc. sing. neut. *kichhi*.

Base *itara*: nom. sing. neut. *[i]tare*.

Numerals: *[e]k[e]* (nom. sing. masc.), *du[re]*, *tī[ni]*, *duva[da]sa* and *duva[da]sa*, *treḍasa*.

Present indicative: 3. plur. *yānti* (from root *i* or *yā*).—Subjunctive: 1. plur. *dipayama*; 3. plur. middle: *para[kra]mate*.—Optative: 1. sing. *ye[hām]* and 3. plur. *[hu]reyu*, as in the Kālsi version, which cf. also for the aorist *husu* (VIII, 34) and the perfect *aha* (i. e. *āha*).

Passive: 3. plur. indicative *[ara]bh[iyānti]* (*alabhi[yam]ti* at Kālsi); 3. plur. aorist *[arabhi]isu* (*ārabhiisu* at Gīrnār).

Present participle: *asatasa* (gen. sing.) from root *as*.

Past passive participle: *[apa]yit[e]* (III, 9),² *repapita* (*repāpita* at Gīrnār).

Future passive participle: *pa[jok]tariye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Absolute in *-ī*: *draṣṭi*.

CHAPTER IX. GRAMMAR OF THE DHAULI AND JAUGADA ROCK-EDICTS

A.—PHONETICS

I. VOWELS.

The vowel *a* is converted to *i* through the influence of a neighbouring *y* in *majhima* (= Skt. *madhyama*) and *likhiyis[am]*. It becomes *u* after a labial in *munisa* (= *manushya*), *uchāvucha*, and is assimilated to the vowel of the first syllable in *udupāna* (= *udapāna*).

The *a* in the second syllable of *pulhavi*, which corresponds to Skt. *i*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 115. In *su* = Skt. *svīd*, *i* has become *u* through the influence of the preceding *r*. For *e* = *i* and *i* in *heta* (= **itra*) and *edisa*, *hedisa* (= Skt. *īdṛiṣa*), see above, p. lxx.

Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *pana* (= *panah*). In *pulisa* (= *purusha*) the *i* of the second syllable, which corresponds to Skt. *u*, was originally an auxiliary vowel; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 124. For the *i* in the second syllable of *munisa* (= Skt. *manushya*), see above, p. lxx and n. 3. In *kho* (= Skt. *khalu*), Skt. *u* is represented by *o*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

¹ This is a diminutive of *jani*, 'a wife', which occurs at Kālsi.

² Cf. above, p. lxxxiii, n. 3.

Skt. *ṛi* becomes (1) *a* in *ana[n]a* (= *anṛiṇa*), *ānaṇna*, *ānaniya*, and *ānancya*, *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]*tū* and *kaṭu* (= *kṛitvā*), *dakhattha*, *dakhāmi*, [*bha*]*taka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*; (2) *i* in *ediṣa* and *hedisa*, *tādiṣa*, *ādiṣa* (= *yādṛiṣa*), *dhiti*, *ṣ[i]t[i]su*, *bhāt[i]naṇ*, *m[ā]t[i]*- (= *mātrī*-, Dhau. IV, 4), *mige*, [*miḡa*]*viy[ā]*; (3) *u* in *pitu*- (= *pitri*-, Dhau. IV, 4), and after labials in [*a*]*nā[v]uti* [= *anāvṛitti*], *ṣ[al]i[ṣ]ukhā*, *puṭhavi* (= *prithivī*), *vuḍha* (= *vṛiddha*); (4) *e* in *dekhata*; (5) *ra* in *drakhati* (Jau. I, 2). The syllable *vri* is represented by *lu* in *lukha* (= *vṛiksha*).

The diphthong *ai* becomes *e* in *nīche* (perhaps = Skt. *nīchait*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opaga* and *-[o]ṣaya*, *osadhāni*, *mokhya* and *mokhiya*, *papotā*, *pālalokika*.

Short *a*, *i*, *u* are lengthened in *atiyāyike* (= Skt. *ātyayikam*), *abhikā[la]*, *chi[la]-thitika*, [*v*]*i[vāha]*, *anāvūtiya* (Dhau. Sep.) = [*a*]*nā[v]uti[ya]* (Jau. Sep.), *tūlanā[ya]* and *at[ā][a]nā* (for which Jau. Sep. reads *t[ul]āya* and [*atulanā*]), *nīṭhūliyena*, *y[ā]jyū* and *yūjevū* (also *yūjyū* and *yūjevū*), *bahūhi*, *bahūsu*. Final *a*, *i*, *u* may be lengthened either when they are followed by the particle *tī* (= *iti*) or without it; see *ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā*, *āhā* (passim) = *ā[ha]* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *chā*, *kechā*, *paṭipādayemā tī*, *ma[m]ā tī*, *vā* (twice = Skt. *ēva*), *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3), *hosāmī*, *aphesū tī*, *ālādhayanitū tī*, [*ka*]*tū* (Jau. Sep.) = *kaṭu* (Dhau. Sep.), *palakama[ni]t[ā]*, *yujānitū*, *s[ā]dh[ā] tī*. Final *a*, *i*, *u*, which stand for original *am*, *is*, *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*aph*]*ākā tī*, *anusathī tī*, *āl[adh]i*, [*n*]*ijhati*, *lipi*, *v[ā]dhī*, *sudhī*, *alochayisū*, *ālādhayey[ā]* and *ālādhayevū*, *chaley[ā]* *tī* and *chalevū*, *nikhamāvū*, *pāpuncvū itī*, *yūjyū tī* and *yūjevū tī*, *y[ā]jyū tī* and *yūjevū tī*, *lahey[ā]*, [*va*]*sevū tī*, *huvvū tī* and *hveyū tī*.

The three derivatives *gamu[a]*, *nagalaka*, and *vachanik[a]* correspond to Skt. *gāmuka*, *nāgaraka*, and *vāchanika*. The *ā* of *mahā*- is shortened in *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *atha* and *athā* (= Skt. *yathā*), *ada* and *adū* (= *yadā*), *tatha* and *tathā*, *pita* and *pitā*, *lāja* and *lājā*, *va* and *vā*, *kam[mana]* and *kamana* (= *karmaṇā*), [*a*]*nā[v]uti[ya]* and *anāvūtiya*, and the nominatives singular feminine *achala*, *ichha*, *likhit[a]*, *sotaviya*. Long *i* is shortened in *nītiyaṇ* (thrice) = *nī[t]iyaṇ* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) and in the nom. plur. *nati* (Dhau. IV, 5) = *nat[ī]* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 2).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *hakam* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *tī* (passim) = *iti* (thrice) and *kiinti*, *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*). In *hveyū* (Jau. Sep.) = *hveyu* (Kālsī and Mānschrā), the vowel *u* seems to be elided.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

In the separate edicts at Jaugaḍa the guttural *k* is softened in *palaloganī*, *hidalog[anī]*, *hidalogika*, while Dhau. reads *palaloka[ni]*, *hidaloka*, *hidalogika*.¹ *k* is represented by *γ* in [*n*]*ilaṭh[ī]yaṇ* (Dhau. IX, 2) and *supadālaye* (Dhau. and Jau. V, 3); *g* by *γ* in *-[o]ṣaya* (Dhau. VIII, 3) = *-opaga* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 3). In *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*, Dhau. Sep. I, 22) the aspiration of the first *kh* is perhaps due to the influence of the second *kh*, which is a defective spelling of *kkh*, and which was produced by the assimilation of the group *rk*.² Greek *χ* is expressed by *k* in *Amītyoka*.

The palatal *ch* is aspirated in [*k*]*c[chka]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 7) = *kechā* (Jau. Sep. I, 4), *kiinchhi* and *kichhi*. It is softened in [*a*]*jalā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) = *achala* (Jau. Sep. II, 9, 11), while *j* is hardened in *Kamibocha* and *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajī*). The palatal nasal *ñ* occurs only in *paṭimnā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6), instead of which the Jaugaḍa text reads *paṭimnā*. It is replaced by dental *n* also in *ānapayāmi*, *ā[na]ṣ[ay]is[ā]tī*, *nāṭisu*.

As at Kālsī, lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n*. But *ṇ* is used in four stray instances: [*kha*]*ṇas[ī]* (Dhau. Sep. II, 10), *nijhap[ē]ta[vr]ye* (Jau. Sep. I, 1), *pālaloki[k]c[ṇa]* (Jau. Sep. II, 4), and *saveṇā* (Jau. Sep. II, 3).

Dentals are lingualized after *ra* in the preposition *paṭi* (also *praṭi* in *praṭivedayanitu*, Jau. VI, 2), and after *ri* in *usaṭa*, *kaṭa*, [*ka*]*tū* and *kaṭu*, *puṭhaviyaṇ*, [*bha*]*taka*, *bhaṭi*, *vaḍhī*, *vithaṭa*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vuḍha*. *t* becomes *ch* in [*ch*]*i[th]itu*. In the Jaugaḍa separate edicts, *d* is hardened in the following forms of the root *pad*: *paṭipātaychaṇ*, [*pa*]*ṭipātayem[a]*, *vipaṭipātayanitāṇ*, [*saṇ*]*paṭipā[ta]yaṇ*, *saṇpaṭipātayit[av]e*, while Dhau. reads [*pa*]*tī[pādaj]chaṇ*, &c. For [*i*]*dha* (Dhau. IV, 8) and *hida* (passim) see above, p. lxxii. The enclitic particle *naṇ* (in *huvaniti naṇ*, Dhau. and Jau. VIII, 1)

¹ Both Dhau. and Jau. have *sava-loka-hita* and *pālalokika*.

² For other instances of the aspiration of initial *k* see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 206.

is derived by native grammarians from Skt. *nanu*; but in Pischel's opinion (*Grammatik*, § 150) it goes back to Skt. *nānam*, which would have lost its first syllable.

The labial *p* is aspirated in *aphal[usa]ni* (Jau. Sep. I, 11), as in Prākṛit *pharusa* (= Skt. *paruska*); see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 208. *bh* becomes *h* in the instrumental and dative plural in *-hi*, in *lakey[ā]* and *laheru, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, hurañti, [h]ureyā, hurevu*, and in the participle *hūta*, while *bhūta* is used as substantive.

The semivowel *y* becomes *j* in *majūla* (= Skt. *mayūra*), and *h* in the optatives *ālabhehāni, yehāni, [pa]i[pa]day[ehāni]* and *paṭipādayehāni*. It is replaced by *v* before *u* and *ū* at Dhauli, while it remains at Jaugada; see *-āvutike, āsvasevu, ālādhayevū, chalevū, [p]ā[p]unevu* and *pāpunevū, jujevū* and *jūjevū, lahervu, [ra]sevu, hurevu* and *hurevū*, instead of which Jaugada reads *-āy[ut]ike, &c.* But both Dhauli and Jaugada have *nikhamāvu* (III, 2). *y* is prefixed to *e* in *yeva*, but is dropped at the beginning of *e, ena, ahi* (= Skt. *yat*), *ata* (= *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= *yathā*), *adā* and *ada* (= *yadā*), *asa* (= *yasya*), *ā* (= *yā*), *āni, ādisē, āva* (= *yāvat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *apa-riy[a]i[ā], paṭitijit[u], bhaṭi* (= *bhṛitya*). The syllables *aya* and *ayi* are contracted to *e* in *tedasa* (= **trayadaśa*), *Ujēni* (= *Ujjayini*), *niḥkap[e]ta[vi]ye, paṭivedetaviye*.

As at Kālsī, *r* becomes *l* throughout.

v is prefixed to *u* in *u[ut]e* (= *uktam*). The syllable *va* becomes *u* in *u[ut]āya* and *[atulanā]*; *vā* becomes *ū* in *[ka]tū* (= *kṛitvā*), and *u* in *kaṭu, anusāsitu*, and other absolutes. The syllables *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *ekadhana, viyevadita[viye*], -viyohūlaka, hoti, hotu, a[h]o, and hosati* (= *bhaṛishyati*).

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* are replaced by *s* throughout. Skt. *ś* is represented by *ch* in *ekakiye* and *chaghatha*, from root *chak* (= *śak*).

h is prefixed in *hida, heta, hedisa, hevāni*.

As in other Prākṛits, final consonants are dropped. A preceding short vowel is lengthened in *saṁmyā-* (= Skt. *samyak*), *p[a]līsā* (= *parishat*), *anusathī, ālādhayevū, &c.* (see above, p. c). Conversely, a preceding long vowel is sometimes shortened; see *[siya]* and *siyā* (= *syāt*), *da[kheya]* and *dakh[e]yā, anubandh[a]* (= *anubandhāt*, Dhau. V, 6), and the nom. plur. masc. *anuvigina, &c.* (below, p. civ). Final *as* generally becomes *e*; see *Ujenite, kute, T[a]kha[s]ilāte, duvālate, mukhate, viyanjanate, ketute*, the genitives singular *atane, lājine, Piyadasine*, the nom. plur. *lājāne, da[v]iye, [bhuy]e, ne, jane, &c.* It becomes *o* only in *seto, [ya]so, and man[o]-*; *a* in *[saṁpa]tipāda* (?), *sa, esa*; ¹ *ā* in *[sā]*. Final *ar* becomes *e* in *ante* = Prākṛit and Pāli *anto* (Skt. *antar*), and *a* in *pana* (= *punar*).

Final *a* and *u* are nasalized in *mamañi* (Jau. Sep. II, 7) = *mama* (passim) and *sahasessuñi* (Dhau.) = *sahasessu* (Jau.), while the Anusvāra of words ending in short nasal vowels is omitted in *hidaleka, bakuka, -rachanik[a], -a[ni]tik[a], &c.* (below, p. civ), the acc. sing. fem. *Sambodh[i]* and *lini, aphāka* (= Skt. *asmākam*) and *i[u]phāk[a]*. The Anusvāra is dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened in *kiñi, vadhi, sudhi, kaṭaviyatalā, k[ani]matalā, duvālā, [aph]ākā ti*; cf. above, p. c. But the nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculines and ends in *-e*; see below, p. civ.

Long nasalized vowels are generally shortened; see the genitives plural *bhaginīnani, gulūnani, bhāt[i]nani, [te]sa[ni], pānānani, &c.*, the acc. sing. fem. *yātani, susūsani*, and the loc. sing. fem. *[pa]līsāy[ani]* (Jau. VI, 4), *Samāpāyani, Tosaliyani, nitiyani, puṭhaviyani*. The Anusvāra is omitted in *palisāyā* (Dhau. VI, 3); in *tes[a]* and *sañtīlanāya* the long *ā* is shortened at the same time.²

III. SANDHI.

Final *d* is preserved in *[ta]d[o]payā*, and final *m* in *hedisamēva*. In *hemeva* (= Skt. *ēvamēva*) the syllable *va* of *ēvam* is dropped.³ The final *m* is doubled in *hevānimeva* and *sukhānimeva*. Hiatus is prevented by *m* in *bhaṭi[m-ayesu]*.

Hiatus remains in *svag[a]-ālādhi* (Jau. Sep.); *mahā-apāye* (Dhau. Sep.) = *mahāpāy[e]* (Jau.

¹ The two last words, although masculine in form, are used as neuters.

² But *palisāyā* and *sañtīlanāya* may as well be genitives used in the sense of the locative.

³ Cf. *emeva* = Skt. *ēvamēva*, Hēmachandra, I, 271, and Jacobi, ZDMG, 47. 579.

Sep.), *duāhale* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.), *pasu-opagāni* (Dhau. and Jau.), *man[o]-atileke* (Dhau. Sep. and Jau. Sep.). As a rule, *a* + *ā* are contracted into *ā*; see *-vasābhisita*, *pānālambhe*, &c. But the *ā* is shortened before a group of consonants; see *atata* (= Skt. *yatra yatra*), *āpalāntā* (= **āpa-rāntāḥ*), [*t*]*e*[*na*]*tā* (= *tēnātra*), *nathi* (= *nāstī*), *badhana*[*n*]*tik*[*a*] (= *bandhanāntikam*), *sūpaṭhāye*. Final *a* preceding *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* is dropped in *bābha*[*n*]-*ibhi*[*yes*]*u*, *chu* (= *cha + u*), [*pa*]*j-upādāye*, *che-eva*, [*ta*]*tesa*, *munis-opagāni*. In *eve* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) the nasal vowel *aiṃ* of *evaiṃ* is treated in the same manner before *e* (= *yaḥ*). *a* is elided after *e* in [*e*]*y*[*aiṃ*] for *e* + *ayanṃ* (= Skt. *yō-yam*).

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unchanged are *khy*, *tr*, *tv*, *ny*, *pr*, *my*, *vy*, *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *sm*, *sy*, *sv*. Moreover the group *rs* is preserved at Jaugaḍa in *drasayitu* (IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (I, 3), which are meant for *darsayitu* and *Piyadarsine*; cf. above, p. lxxxvii. All other groups of consonants are either assimilated, or an auxiliary vowel is developed within them.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *atane* (= *ātmanah*), *atānaiṃ*, *atiyāyike* (= *ātyayikam*), *anusathi* (= *anūsāstī*), *anusathe*, [*ayesu*] (= *āryēshu*), *asvāsanāye*, *asvāsa*[*n*]*i*yā, [*a*]*svaseyu*, *asvasevu*, *asamati* (= *asamāpti*), *āladhi* (= **ārāddhi*), *tadatvāye*, *p*[*a*]*lakamāmi*, *palakamena*, *maga* (= *mārga*), *mahamatā* (Jau. Sep. II, 1), *Laṭhika*, *sasvatani*, *isāya* (= *īrshyayā*), *kiṭi* (= *kīrtim*), *puluva* (= *pūrva*).¹ But *ā* remains in *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*i*s[*a*]*ti*, *mahāmāta* (passim), *sāsvatani* (Jau. Sep. II, 14). In *tiṇi* (= *trīṇi*) the *i* is shortened and the nasal doubled. Similarly, the short vowels *i* and *u* in *asvāsa*[*n*]*i*yā, *da*[*v*]*i*ye, and [*bhuy*]*e* suggest that these three words are meant for *asvāsanīyā*, *daviyye*, and *bhuyye*; cf. above, p. lxxiv.

A long nasalized vowel is shortened before consonants in *atikanāntaiṃ*, *apa-bh*[*aiṃ*]*ḍatā*, *kilānte*, *Devānanīpiya*, *Paṇḍiyā*, *baiṃbhana*, while the nasal is dropped and the length retained in *bābhana*. In *chhāinda* (Jau. Sep. II, 5, 11) = *chhaiṇda* (passim), the *aiṃ* is lengthened although it is followed by a consonant. Anusvāra is omitted after short vowels in *kichhi* (cf. above, p. lx), *badhana* (= Skt. *bandhana*), *viḥsā*; after *e* in *kaleti* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2); and before *y* in *anusaṃyānaiṃ*, *sayama*, *sayuta* (= *saṃyukta*).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before or after labials in *duve*, *duvāda*, *duvāla*, *puluva*, *suṃvāmika*, *pāpunāti*; *e* in *ānaneyaiṃ* (Jau. Sep.) = *ānanīyaiṃ* (Dhau.); and frequently *i*, as the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa will show. I need not quote any examples of the groups *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, *dhr*, *br*, *bhr*, *śr*, *sr*, which have become *k*, *g*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh*, *s*, *s*, respectively.

ḷkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukha*[*n*] and *dukhīyati*.

kt becomes *t* in *-āy*[*ut*]*i*ke, *-āvutike*, &c.

ky becomes *kīy* in *sakiye* and *chakiye*.

kl becomes *kil* in *kilānte*, *k*[*i*]*lamathena*, *palikilesa*.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khana*, *khamitave*, *khamisati*, [*kh*]*ud*[*aiṃ*], *khudakena*, *T*[*a*]*kha*[*s*]*ilāte*, *dakhāmi*, &c.,² *nakhatena*, *mokhāye*, *lukhāni*.

kshṇ becomes *khin* in *s*[*a*]*khina* (= Skt. *ślakṣṇa*).

kshy becomes *gh* in *chaghatha*.

kly remains in *mokhya* (Dhau. Sep.), but becomes *khiy* in *mokhiya* (Jau. Sep.).

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gn becomes *g* in [*a*]*gi*, but *gin* in *anuvigina*.

jñ becomes *jin* in *lājinā*, *lājine*; *nñ* in *paṭinñā* (Dhau. Sep.); *nin* or *n* in *paṭinñā* (Jau. Sep.), *ānapayāmi*, *ā*[*na*]*p*[*ay*]*i*s[*a*]*ti*, *ānāp*[*ay*]*i*[*ta*], *nātisu*.

jy becomes *j* in the passive forms *yujeyū* and *y*[*ū*]*jeyū*.

dy becomes *ḍiy* in *Paṇḍiyā*.

ny becomes *nin* in *hīlanina* and *ānanine*, but *niy* in *ānanīyaiṃ*, and *ney* in *ānaneyaiṃ*.

tp becomes *p* in [*pa*]*jupādāye*.

¹ *puluva* presupposes an intermediate form **purva*, in which the *ū* of *pūrva* was shortened before the group *rv*. The same applies to *atiyāyike*. Cf. above, p. lxxiv, n. 1.

² See above, p. lxxiv and n. 5.

tm becomes *t* in *atane* and *atānani*.

ty becomes *tiy* in *atiyāyike*, *apatiye*, *ekatiyā*.

tr remains in *s[a]vatra* (Jau. II, 4), but becomes *t* in *s[a]vata* (passim), *tiñni*, &c.

tv remains in *tadatvāye*.

ts becomes *s* in *usaṭena* and *chikisā*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in *uṭhāna*, but *th* in *uṭhāy[ā]*; cf. above, p. lxxxviii.

dg becomes *g* in *uga[chiha](chhe)*.

dy becomes *y* in *uyānasi*; *j* in *aja*, *[pa]ṭipa[ja]ti*, *paṭipajeyā*, *saṇipatiṭipajati*, *sa[ni]paṭi-pajam[i]n[ε]*.

dv becomes *v* in *anuvigina*, but *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *duvāla*.

dhy becomes *jh* in *[n]ijhatī*, *ṇijhap[ε]ta[v]ye*, *majhān*, *majhime[na]*.

ny remains in *[anyε]* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), but becomes *ñu* in *añna* (passim) and *mañm[ate]*.

pt becomes *t* in *asamati*, *nat[i]* and *nati* (= Skt. *naṭṭārah*), *[n]ijhatī*.

pn becomes *pun* in *pāpunāti*, &c.

pr remains in *praṭivedayañtu* (Jau. VI, 2), but becomes *p* everywhere else.

bhy becomes *bhiy* in *āla[ni]bhiyānti*, *ālabhiyisu*, *āla[bh]iṇisānti*, *-ibhi[yes]u*.

my remains (with the nasal doubled) in *saṇmyā*.

rk becomes *kh* in *akhakhasa* (= Skt. *akarkasa*).

rg becomes *g* in *agesu*, *vaga*, *svaga*.

rt becomes *t* in *[anu]vataṭu* and *anuvatisānti*; *ṭ* in *vaṭitaviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *kiṭi*.

rth becomes *th* in *aṭha* (Jau. Sep. II, 2, 12, 14); *ṭh* in *aṭha* (passim) and *[niṭaṭhi]yañ*.

rdh becomes *dh* in *vadhite*, *vadhayis[a]ti*, *pavadhayisānti*.

rbh becomes *bh* in *gabhāgālasa*.

rm becomes *ñm* or *m* in *a[nu]chātunimāsān*, *kañma*- (= Skt. *karman*) and *kamana* (= *kar-maṇā*), *dhañma*.

ry becomes *y* in *[ayesu]*, but *tiy* in *ānāntaliyañ*, *niṭhūliyena*, *mādhuliyāye*.

rv becomes *v* in *parvatasi* and *sava*, but *luv* in *puluva*.

rs becomes *s* in *dasana* and *Piyadasi*-, but *rs* in *drasayitu* (i. e. *darsayitu*, Jau. IV, 3) and *Piyadrasine* (i. e. *°darsine*, Jau. I, 3).

rsh becomes *s* in *vasa*.

rshy becomes *s* in *iṣāya*.

ḷp becomes *p* in *apa* and *-kapañ*.

ly becomes *y* in *kayāna*.

vy remains in *sañchalitavye* (Jau. Sep. I, 7), but becomes *y* in *[ichhi]taye* (Jau. Sep. I, 5), and *viy* in *sañchalitaviy[ε]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 13), *ichhitaviye*, and other gerundives, *divi[y]āni*, *[miga]viy[ā]*, *viyañjanate*, *viyāpaṭā*, *-viyohālaka*.

vr becomes *v* in *vachasi* (= Skt. *vrajā*).

śch becomes *chh* in *paṭchhā*.

śl becomes *s* in *s[a]khina* (= Skt. *ślakshṇa*).

śv becomes *sv* in *asvāsanaṇye*, *asvāsa[n]iṇyā*, *[a]svaseyu*, *asvaseṇu*, *sāsvatañ* and *sasvatañ*, but *s* in *seto*.

shk becomes *k* in *dukaṭañ* and *dukala*.

shkr becomes *kh* in *nikhamāvū*, *[n]ikhami*, *[n]i[kha]m[i]s[u]*, *nikhamisānti*, *nikhāmayisāmi*.

shṭr becomes *ṭh* in *Laṭhika*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *[ch]i[ṭh]itu*, *niṭhūliyena*, *se[ṭhe]*; *th* in *adhithāna*.

shp becomes *ph* in *niphati*.

shm becomes *ph* in *tuphe*, &c.

shy becomes *s* in *tisa*, *munisa*, *hosati*, *esatha* (Jau. Sep.), and other futures, but *h* in *chatha* (Dhau. Sep.); cf. *Māhārāshṭri chii* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 529, and *chiti* in Pāli.

As at Kālsī, *sk* becomes *k* in *[a]gi-kañdhāni*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *nathi*, *anusathi*, *anusathe*, *vithaṭena*, *sañthuta*, *hathini*; *ṭh* in *aṭhi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).

str becomes *th* in *ithi*.

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chila-ṭhitikā*.

sm remains in *akasmā*, but becomes *ph* in *aphe*, &c., and *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy remains in [āla]s[y]e[na] (Jau. Sep. I, 6), but becomes *siy* in *ālasiyena* (Dhau. Sep. I, 11), *siyā* and [siya] (= Skt. *syāt*), and *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svaga*, but becomes *suv* in *suvāmike[na]*.

lm becomes *m̐bh* in *bam̐bhana*. In *bābhana* the Anusvāra is omitted, and the long *ā* of Skt. *brāhmaṇa* is preserved.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES in *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>putā</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>osadhāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>dhaṇṇmaṇi</i> , &c. ; neut. <i>maṇḡalaṇi</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>kaṇḍhāni</i> , <i>y[u]t[ān]i</i> ; neut. <i>vasāni</i> , &c. |
| Instr. <i>putena</i> , &c. | <i>jāte[h]i</i> . |
| Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c. | <i>mahāmātehi</i> , <i>samanehi</i> . |
| Abl. <i>anubam̐dh[a]</i> , <i>pachhā</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c. | <i>pānānaṇi</i> , &c. |
| Loc. <i>aṭhasi</i> , &c. | <i>vasesu</i> , &c. |

Nom. sing. masc.—The original termination *-s* seems to be dropped in [*saṇpa*]t̐pāda (Dhau. Sep. I, 14). The termination is *-o* instead of *-e* in the colophon of Dhauḷi: *seto* (Text, p. 91).

Nom. sing. neut.—The termination is *-aṇi* in *jīvaṇi* (Dhau. and Jau. I, 1) and *duvālaṇi* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) ; *-a* in *-a[ni]tik[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 9 ; Jau. Sep. I, 5), *duvāl[a]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 3 ; Jau. Sep. II, 2), *mata* (four times), *v[a]ṭṭaviya* (Jau. Sep. I, 7) ; *-ā* in *kaṭaviyatalā* (Jau. IX, 6), *k[am̐]matalā* (Jau. VI, 5), *duvālā* (Dhau. Sep. II, 2).

Acc. sing. masc.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *hidaloka* (Dhau. Sep. II, 6).

Acc. sing. neut.—The Anusvāra is omitted in *baluka* (Jau. Sep. I, 4) and *-vachanik[a]* (Jau. Sep. I, 12, II, 1). The form of the nominative is used in *ānaṇne* (Dhau. Sep. I, 14).

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anuvigina* (Dhau. Sep. II, 4 ; Jau. Sep. II, 5), *āya[ta]* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4 ; Jau. Sep. I, 2), *nagalaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 10), *ma[hā]māta* (Dhau. Sep. I, 1), *vataviya* (Dhau. Sep. I, 2, II, 1), *-viyohālaka* (Jau. Sep. I, 1).

Nom. plur. neut.—The termination is *-ā* instead of *-āni* in *lopāpitā* and *hālāpitā* (Dhau. II, sections B and C ; Jau. II, 4). As at Kālsī and Mānsehrā, the two Sanskrit masculines *vṛiksha* and *prāṇa* are used as neuters : *lukhāni* (Dhau. and Jau. II, 4) and *pānāni* (I, 4).

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *pajā*, &c.

Acc. sing. *yātani*, *susūsani*.

Instr. sing. *isāya*, *t[ul]āya*, *tūlanā[ya]*.

Loc. sing. *Samāpāyaṇi*, *saṇtīlanāya*, *pajāye*, [*pa*]jupādāye.

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *achala*, *ichha*, *likhīt[a]*, *sotaviya*.

II. BASES IN *-i*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-i*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *tiṇiṇi*.

Loc. plur. *nātisu*.

(2) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Nom. sing. *anusathi*, *āladhi*, *lipi*, &c.

Acc. sing. *Sam̐bodh[i]*, *hīni*.

Instr. sing. *anusathiyā*, *anāvūtiya*.

Dat. sing. *anus[atḥ]iṣ[e]*, [*va*]ḍhiye.

Abl. sing. *niphatiṣ[ā]*.

Loc. sing. *Tosaliyaṇ, nitiyaṇ, puṭhaviyaṇ, ā[ya]tiye*.

Nom. plur. *iṭhī*.¹

Gen. plur. *bhaginīnaṇ*.

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *anusathī, āl[adh]ī, [n]ijhatī, lipī, v[a]ḍhī* (Dhau. IV, section I), *sudhī* (Dhau. VII, section E).

Acc. sing.—The termination is *-ī* in *kiṭī, vaḍhī* (Dhau. IV, J), *sudhī* (Dhau. and Jau. VII, B).

III. BASES IN -u.

Nom. sing. masc., fem., and neut. *sādhu, sādhu[ū]*.

Nom. and acc. plur. neut. *bahūni*.

Instr. plur. *bahūhi*.

Gen. plur. *gulīnaṇ*.

Loc. plur. *bahūsu*.

IV. MASCULINES IN -ṛī.

Nom. Sing. *pitā, pita* (Jau. Sep. II, 10).

Gen. plur. *bhāt[ī]naṇ*.

Loc. plur. *p[ī]ṭ[ī]su*.

The instr. sing. follows the *i*-declension: [*p*]itīnā, *bhātīnā*, likewise the nom. plur. *nat[ī], nati*; cf. Prākṛit and Pāli *aggī* (nom. plur. masc.).

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in -at.

Nom. sing. masc. *saṇṭaṇ, kalaṇṭaṇ,*² *vipaṭipātayaṇṭaṇ, [saṇṭipā]ta[yaṇ]ṭaṇ*.

The base *mahat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *mahaṇṭe*.

(2) Masculines and neuters in -an.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|-----------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>lājā, lāja</i> (Dhau. Sep. II, 4). | <i>lājānc</i> . |
| Acc. masc. <i>atānaṇ</i> ; neut. <i>nāma</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>lājīnā, kaṇ[mana], kamana</i> . | |
| Dat. <i>kaṇmaṇe</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>ataṇe, lājīne</i> . | |

The neuter base *karman* may also follow the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *kaṇme*, acc. *kaṇmaṇ*, gen. *kaṇmasa*.

(3) Masculines in -in.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasī*.

Instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

Gen. sing. *Piyadasine*.

Acc. plur. *hathīni* (= [*ha*]thīni at Kālsī).

(4) Neuters in -as.

Acc. sing. [*ya*]so, *da[v]iye, [bhuy]e*.

(5) Feminine in -d.

The base *parishad* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. *p[a]lisā*, loc. [*pa*]lisāy[am] and *palisāyā*.

¹ Cf. *aṭavi*, above, p. xci.

² For these two forms see above, p. lxxvii.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|--|
| Nom. <i>hakañ</i> . | <i>maye</i> . |
| Acc. | <i>aphe</i> , <i>a[ph]eni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>mamayā</i> , <i>mamāye</i> , <i>mamiyāye</i> , <i>me</i> . | |
| Abl. <i>mamate</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>mama</i> , <i>mamā</i> , <i>mamañ</i> , <i>me</i> . | <i>aphāka</i> , [<i>aph</i>]ākā, <i>ne</i> . |
| Loc. | [<i>aphesu</i>], <i>aphesū</i> . |

For the forms *hakañ* and *mamayā* see above, p. lxxviii. With the instr. sing. *mamāye* (Dhau. Sep.), instead of which Jau. Sep. reads *mamiyāye*, cf. *mamāi*, Hēmachandra, III, 109. The ablative *mamate* for Skt. *mattat* is, like the instrumental *mamayā*, due to the influence of the genitive *mama*. The nom. plur. *maye* is derived from Skt. *vayam*, but influenced by the instr. sing. *mayā*, and the acc. *aphe* (Dhau. Sep. II, 7) is formed from the same base as Skt. *asmān*. The acc. *a[ph]eni* (Jau. Sep. II, 10) and the loc. *aphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

| |
|--|
| Nom. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>phe</i> . |
| Acc. plur. <i>tuphe</i> , <i>tupheni</i> . |
| Instr. plur. <i>tuphehi</i> . |
| Gen. plur. <i>t[u]phāk[a]</i> . |
| Loc. plur. <i>tuphesu</i> . |

The base **tushma*, from which the nom. and acc. plur. *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *tumhe*) is derived, seems to be a compromise between the Skt. base *yushma* and the singular *tvam* (Prākṛit *tumañ*).¹ With the form *phe* (Jau. Sep. I, 2) cf. *bhe*, Hēmachandra, III, 91. The three forms *tupheni* (Jau. Sep.), *tuphehi*, and *tuphesu* follow the analogy of the masculines in *-a*.

(3) Base *ta*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>se</i> , <i>te</i> (Dhau. Sep. I, 13). | <i>te</i> , <i>se</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>tani</i> , <i>se</i> , <i>sa</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>tasa</i> . | [<i>te</i>]sa[ni], <i>tes[a]</i> . |
| Loc. <i>tasi</i> . | |

In Dhau. Sep. II, 7, the nom. plur. neut. *tāni* takes the place of the masc. *te* (Jau. Sep. II, 9).

(4) Base *ēta*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>e[sā]</i> (Dhau. VIII, 3); neut. <i>esa</i> . | Masc. <i>ete</i> ; neut. <i>etāni</i> . |
| Acc. masc. and neut. <i>etani</i> . | |
| Instr. [<i>e</i>]takena. | |
| Dat. <i>etāye</i> , <i>etākāye</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>etasa</i> . | |
| Loc. <i>etasi</i> . | |

Nom. sing. fem. *etā(ta)kā*.

In Dhau. Sep. I, 11 f., the nom. plur. masc. *ete* [*jātā*] corresponds to the nom. plur. neut. *et[ā]ni* *jātā[ni]* in Jau. Sep. I, 6.

¹ With *aphe* and *tuphe* cf. the Singhalese nom. plur. *api* and *topi*.

(5) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>ay[aiṇ]</i> , <i>iyaiṇ</i> ; neut. <i>iyaiṇ</i> . | Masc. <i>ime</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>imaiṇ</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>imena</i> . | <i>imehi</i> . |
| Dat. <i>[i]m[ā]ye</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>imasa</i> . | |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>iyaiṇ</i> . | |
| Dat. sing. fem. <i>imā[y]e</i> . | |

As at Kālsī, the nom. sing. masc. *ayaiṇ* occurs only in *[e]y[aiṇ]* (= Skt. *yo-yam*, Jau. Sep. I, 6).

(6) Interrogative pronoun.

Nom. sing. neut. *kiṇi*. The acc. sing. neut. *kaiṇ* and the acc. plur. neut. *kāni* are used as demonstratives. The abl. sing. of the same base is preserved in *akasmā*. The indefinite pronoun is formed with *cha* or *chha* (nom. sing. masc. *kechhā*, *[k]e[chha]*), and with *chhi* = Skt. *chid* (neut. sing. *kiñchhi*, *kichhi*); and *kiṇti* is used in the sense of 'that'.

(7) Relative pronoun.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>e</i> . | Masc. <i>ye, e</i> ; neut. <i>āni</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>aiṇ</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>ena</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>asa</i> . | |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>yā, ā</i> . | |

(8) Base *anya*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>[anye]</i> , <i>aiṇe</i> ; neut. <i>aiṇe</i> . | Masc. <i>aiṇe</i> } neut. <i>aiṇāni</i> . |
| Acc. | |
| Dat. <i>aiṇāye</i> . | |
| Loc. | <i>aiṇesu</i> . |

(9) Base *sarva*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|----------------------|
| Nom. neut. <i>sarve</i> . | Masc. <i>sarve</i> . |
| Acc. masc. and neut. <i>savaiṇ</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>savena</i> , <i>savēṇā</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>savasa</i> . | |
| Loc. | <i>savesu</i> . |

(10) Base **ṛkatya*.

Nom. plur. masc. *ekatiyā*.

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. masc. *eke*; instr. sing. *ekena*, *ek[a]k[e]na*.

Two, three, five.

Nom. masc. *duve* (cf. above, p. lxxx); nom. and acc. neut. *tiṇni*; loc. *pañchasu*.

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Ten, twelve, thirteen.
d[a]sa, dvādaśa, tedasa.

Hundred.
 Acc. plur. *satāni*; instr. *satehi*.

Thousand.
 Loc. plur. *sahasasu, sahasasūni* (Dhau. Sep. I, 4).

Literary Prākṛit also uses the termination *-esun* besides *-esu*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 371.

Hundred thousand.
 Nom. plur. *sata-sat[a]nāni*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) *Roots.*

First Sanskrit class.

Root *karp*: *anukaripati*.
 Root *kram*: *ś[a]lakramāni, nikhramānū*.
 Root *gam*: *gachchhema*.
 Root *chal*: *chaley[ū]*.
 Root *drīḥ*: *dīkṣāmi, drakṣati, dekhata*.
 Root *bhū*: *hoti, karṣanti* (sixth class).
 Roots *raḥ* and *labh*: *ālakṣhāmi, lakey[ū]*.
 Root *ras*: *[as]rasū*.
 Root *ṛit*: *[anu]ṛatata*.
 Root *ṛas*: *[a]ṛaseya*.
 Root *sthā*: *[ch]i[th]ītu* (from **chiffhasti*), *uthāy[ū]* (from **utthāti*).

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi, aphi* (Jau. Sep. I, 4).
 Root *i*: *eti*.
 The two roots *yā* and *śās* follow the *a*-conjugation: *yachāmi, anusāsāmi*.

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *ku*: *pajohitaviye*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *[pa]tipa[pa]ti*.
 Root *man*: *manin[ate]*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp* follows the ninth class (*pāpunāti, pāpunātha*) and the *a*-conjugation (*pāpuneyu*).

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*: *ichhati*.

Seventh Sanskrit class.

Root *yuj* follows the *a*-conjugation: *yujeyū* and *yūjeyū, yujanitū, yujisanti*.

Eighth Sanskrit class.

Root *kri*: *kaletī*, *kalāmi*, *kalanīti*, *kalanītanī*; see above, p. lxxxii.

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *jñā*: *jñānītu* and *jñānisānīti* are formed from the present *jñānīti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya*: *atīkāmāyisati*, *nikhāmāyisāmi*, *dasayitu* and *drasayitu* (i.e. *darsayitu*), *paṭipādāyemā*, *ālādḥayānītu*, *likhīyis[āmi]*¹, *alechayisū*, *vaḍḥayis[ā]ti*, *vedayati*, *sukhayāmi*. The character *ayī* is contracted into *e* in *paṭivēdetaṣṭīye*.

(b) With *ṣaya*: *kṣāyisat[ī]*. In *ānapayāmi* and *nijhap[ī]ta[va]ye*¹ the long vowel of the two roots *jñā* and *dhjā* is shortened.²

(c) With *āṣya*: *khānāpīṭāni*, *likhāpīṭā*, *hālāpīṭa*.

(d) With *śāṣya*: *loṣāpīṭa*.

(e) With *ḥya*: *duḥhīyati* (denominative of Skt. *duḥkha*).

(2) *Meeds*.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *ṣ[a]lakamāmi*, *dakhāmi*, *anusāsāmi*, *icchāmi*, *kalāmi*, *ānapayāmi*.

3. sing. *anukarṣ[ī]ti*, *[ṣa]lakama[ṭi]*, *drakhati*, *heti*, *atī* and *aṭhi*, *eti*, *[ṣa]ṭipa[ṭi]*, *sanipati-ṣaṭi*, *ṣāpīṇāti*, *icchati*, *ka[ṭi]*, *vedayati*, *duḥhīyati*. The only middle form is *manin[ate]* (Dhau. X, 1).

2. plur. *ṣāpīṇātha* (from the strong base of the ninth class).

3. plur. *kuranīti*, *icchanīti*, *kalānīti* and *kaletī* (Dhau. and Jau. IX, 2).

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *sukhayāmi* with indicative termination; cf. above, p. xcv.

3. plur. *nikharānā* with optative termination; cf. Johanson, *Shāh*, part 2, p. 89, n. 2.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *ālākhayān*, *yachān*, *[ṣa]ṭi[ṣāḍay]chān* and *paṭipātayechān*; see above, p. lxxxii.

3. sing. *ugā[ekha](ekhe)*, *dakḥ[ī]yā* and *da[ekheya]*, *utthāy[ā]* (from the indicative **utthāti* = Pāli *utthāti*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 483), *[k]ureyā*, *sīyā* and *[sīya]* (= Skt. *syāt*). *paṭipajeyā*.

1. plur. *gachhema*, *paṭipādāyemā* and *[ṣa]ṭipātāyem[a]*.

3. plur. *chaley[ā]* and *chalevā*, *kreyā*, *kurevā* and *kurevā*, *lahay[ā]* and *lahavā*, *[va]sevyā* and *asevavā*, *ṣāpūcyā*, *[ṣa]ṭipūcyā* and *ṣāpūcyā*, *yu[ṣ]eyā*, *yujeyā*, and *yūjeyā*, *ālādhayeyā* and *ālādhayevā*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *ketu*, *[anu]vatatu*.

2. plur. *dakhatha* (with indicative termination), *dekhata*.

3. plur. *[ṣa]lakamanītu* and *ṣalakama[ṇi]t[ā]*, *yujamītu*, *ālādḥayamītu*, *paṭivēdayamītu*.

(e) Imperfect.

3. sing. *a[h]o*.

¹ Cf. the substantive *nijhati* (= **nidhyapti*) in the rock-edict VI, which is formed from **nidhyapayati*, as Skt. *ājñāpti* and *nijñāpti* from *jñāpayati* = *jñāpayati*.

² But in *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* (Dhau. III, 1), the long vowel of the root *jñā* is preserved.

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II. AORIST.

(a) Indicative.

3. sing. [n]ikhami ; 3. plur. [n]i[kha]m[i]s[n].

(b) Subjunctive.

3. plur. alochayisū ; see Text, p. 31, n. 7.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. ā[ha] (only Jau. Sep. II, 1) and āhā.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *hosami* and *hosāmī* (= Prākṛit *hōssāmī*), *nikhāmayisāmī*, *likhiyis[āmi*]*.

3. sing. *khamisati*, *hosati*, *kachhati*,¹ *atikāmayisati*, *ā[na]p[ay]is[ā]ti*, *vadhayis[ā]ti*.

2. plur. *esatha* and *chatha*, *chaghatha* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*),² *ālādhayisatha* and *ālā[dha]-yisa[th]ā*.

3. plur. *nikhamisaṃti*, *anuvatisaṃti*, *[a]uus[ā]sisam[t]i*, *yujisaṃti*, *kachhaṃti*, *jānisaṃti*, *parva-dhayisaṃti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. plur. indicative *āla[m̐]bhiyaṃti*.³

3. plur. optative *yujeyū*, *y[ū]jeyū*, *yujevū*, *y[ū]jevū*.

3. plur. aorist *ālabbhiyisu*.

3. plur. future *āla[bh]iyisaṃti* and *āl[am̐]bhiyisa[m̐]t[i]*.

VI. DESIDERATIVE.

3. sing. imperative *susūsatu*.

VII. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active.

Root *as* : *sam̐tam̐*.

Root *kṛi* : *kalam̐tam̐*.

Causative of *pad* : *vīpaṭipātayaṃtam̐* and *[sam̐paṭipā]ta[yaṃ]tam̐* (Jau. Sep.).

Middle.

Root *pad* : *sa[m̐]paṭipajam̐[i]n[e]*, and causative : *[vi]paṭ[i]pādayam̐ne* (Dhau. Sep.).

(2) Past passive participle.

(a) In *-ta* : *mata*, *kaṭa* (= Skt. *kṛita*), *viyāpaṭa* (= *vyāpṛita*), *vithaṭa* (= *vistrīta*), *usaṭa* (= *utsṛita*), *[n]isita* (= **niśṛita*), *likhita*, *likhāpita*, *khānāpita*, *hālāpita*, *ālopita*, *lopāpita*, *ānā-*

¹ For an explanation of this form see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1.

² Cf. *sagghasi* in the Suttanipāta, verse 834.

³ For the probable origin of the nasal within the root, see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 2.

(b) In case of α - β (α is β).

(a) In *stariya, sariya, kharīya, vatarīya, fajohitariya, ichhitariya* and *[ichhū]taya* (from the present *ichhātā, chahitāya, sañchahitāya* and **tariya, vaṭitāya, vijayadita[riya]*, jayaditāya, gāh[ā]t[ā]ya*).

(c) In your religious and political

Marshall, John Wilson, early of Scotland and early of Maryland.

Let us add [hā] to the Sā. list, i. *aruṣita*, *ādhāta*, *śāśkalita*, *jāmita* (from *jānāti*), *śahita* [u] (from *śahati*), [hā] [hā] [hā] (from *śahyānā* *darayita* and *darayita* (i.e. *darayita*), *kāyita*. In the English entry, [hā] to Sā. is added; the causative character of is neglected.

A few words may be mentioned on the small Bombay-Sōpārā fragment of the eighth century (first part). The general forms agree with the Māgadhā dialect of Dhātālī and Jaśālī. The *ś* at the end of the compound *ś* is not changed to *ṣ*; see *kirāṇa* (= Śkt. *kṛpā*), *ś* and *śrāṇ* (*śrā*). In the word *śrāṇa* (*śrā*) the Vignāl is retained, while *śrāṇ* (*śrā*) and *śrāṇ* (*śrā*) have *śrāṇ* and *śrāṇ* with dental *ś*.

GRAMMAR OF THE PILLAR-EDICTS

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

gihitha (= *grihastha*), *nisijitu* (from *nisrijati*), *pit[i]su* (= *pitṛishu*), *simala* (= *ṣṛimara*), *hedisa* (= *īdrīśa*); (3) *e* in *dekhati*, &c.

i corresponds to Skt. *e* in *ika* (Sāmāth, ll. 6, 7, 8), i.e. **ikka* = Prākṛit *ekka* and Skt. *eka*. Cf. Ardhamāgadhī *ikkārasa* = Skt. *ekādāsa*; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 443.

ai becomes *e* in *kevaṭa* (= Skt. *kaivarta*), and *au* becomes *o* in *-opagāni*, *Kosambiyāni*, *putū-papotike*, *mokhya*.

Initial *a* is lengthened in *ānāvāsasi* (Sāmāth) = *anā[ā]sasi* (Kauśāmbī and Sāmichī). Final *a* is lengthened frequently; see *eva*, *yeva*, *va* and *evā*, *yevā*, *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *cha* and *chā*, *na* and *nā* (in *nāsantam*), *hetā*, *āha* and *āhā* or *ahā*, *vaḍhithā*, *huthā*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, [*sa*] *innamdhāpayiyā*, *nāma* and *nāmā* (in *nāmā ti*), *mama* and *mamā*, *asvasa* and *asvasā*, *gonasa* and *gonasā*, *jānapadasa* and *jānapadasā*, *Devānampiyashū*, *lokasa* and *lokasā*, *usāhena* and *usāhenā*, *bhayena* and *bhayenā*, *ṛ[a]chanenā*. Interconsonantal *i* and *u* are sometimes lengthened; see *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4), *-thitika* and *-thitika* (also *-thituka* and *-thitika*), *tilita* (thus Allahabad-Kōsam; *tilita* in the other versions), *devīye* (Queen's edict, l. 2; *devīye*, id., ll. 4, 5), *parajitānam*, *lājiki* (instr. plur. of Skt. *rājan*), *anupaṭipajamitū*, *anupaṭipajamitu* (also *anupaṭi°*), *anupaṭipajisati*, *anupaṭipati* (also *anupaṭi°*), *samupaṭipati*, *paṭipati*, *paṭibhega* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭivisitham* (also *paṭi°*), *paṭi[vedayamiti°]*, *niṭhūliye*, *pachūpagamane* (*pachupa°* Allahabad-Kōsam), *bahūsu* (but *gulusu*). Final *i* and *u* may be lengthened before *ti* (= *iti*) or without it; see *anuvīdhīyamti*, *āvahāmi ti*, *kachhati ti*, *khādiyati ti*, *ti ti* (Delhi-Tōprā, II, l. 16), [*ha*] *pūtrivāni*, *anupaṭipajamitū*, *hotū ti*. Final *i* and *u*, which stand for original *is* and *us* or *ur*, are treated in the same way; see [*gut*] *i* and *goti ti*, *lipi* and *lipi*, *bhikhu* and [*bhikk*] *ū*, *Sakyamuni ti*, *sādhu* and *sādhu*, *ālūdhayevu* and *ālūdhayevū ti*, *upadahevu* and *upadahevū*, *ṛvatayevū ti*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *āvahāmi* and *ava°* (Delhi-Tōprā) = *āvahāmi* and *āva* or *āvā* (in the other versions). Interconsonantal *ā* is shortened in the Queen's edict in *ālama* (= Skt. *ārāma*) and *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*). Final *ā* is often shortened; see *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *tathā* and *tatha*, *vā* and *va* (= Skt. *vā*), *apakaṭi* and *apakaṭi*, *lājū* and *lāja*, *atanā* and *atana*, *lājina*, *Piyadasina*, *anusathiyā* and *anusathiya*, and the nom. sing. fem. *esa* (pillar edict I, section D), *apekhā* and *apekka*, &c. Also final *i* is sometimes shortened; see *Piyadasi* (Allahabad-Kōsam) and *Piyadasi*, *duḍi* and *duḍi*, *dhāti* (= Skt. *dhātri*), *aṭhami-pakha* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *aṭhami-pakha*, *chātumāsī-pakha*, *devi-kumālānam*, *bhikkhuni*, *Luhmini-gāme*. Interconsonantal *i* is shortened in *dutiya* = *dutiya°* (Queen's edict, l. 5), and *ū* in *anulupāyā*, *thube*, *bhutānam*, *susūsā* (also *susūsā*).

Initial vowels are dropped in *ṛi* (= Skt. *arī*), *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), *kakan* (for *ahakam* = *aham*), *ti* (for *iti*) and *kiinti*, *ṛesatha* (for *uparvasatha*), *va* and *vā* (for *ēva*).

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

As at Kālsī, palatal *ñ* and lingual *ṇ* are replaced by dental *n* throughout.

The guttural *k* is palatalized in *aḍha-[kes]ikyāni* and *vaḍikyā*;² cf. above, p. lxxi. It is represented by *y* in *aṭha-bhāgiye* (Rummindei, l. 5), *ata-patiye* (Delhi-Tōprā, IV, ll. 4, 14), *niṃsi-[dha]yā* (= Skt. **niślishṭakā*), and perhaps in *geṇayā*; see Text, p. 120, n. 4. *gh* is preserved in *laghamti* (for **alaghamti* = Skt. *arhanti*), but has become *h* in *lahu*.

The palatal *ch* is softened in *samkuja*, which is probably connected with Skt. *sāṃkuchi*, 'a skate-fish.' It is aspirated in *kichhi* (Queen's edict, l. 4) = *kichhi* at Kālsī, &c.

Lingual *ḍ* may become *ḷ*; see *eḍake* and *eḷake*, *eḍakā* and *eḷakā*, *duḍi* and *duḷi*.

Dentals are lingualized after *ṛi* in *kaṭa*, *bhaṭakesu*, *vaḍhi*, *viyāpaṭa*, *vaḍikā* and *vaḍikyā* (= **ṛitikā*), in which the *t* (for *t*) is softened, and after *ra* in *nigamitha* (= Skt. *nirgrantha*) and in the preposition *paṭi*, but not in *pachupagamana* (= *pratyupagamana*), *patyāsaimna* and *patiyāsaimna* (= *pratyāsaimna*). *t* is elided, *a* lengthened,³ and *v* developed from *u* in *chāvūdasā* (= Skt. *chaturdaśī*), while *āi* is contracted to *o* in *chodasa* (= *chaturdaśa*). *d* becomes *ḍ* or *ḷ* in *duvāḍasa* and *duvāḷ[la]-s[a]*, *paṇṇaḍasā* and *paṇṇaḷasā* (= Skt. *pañchadaśī*). The original *dh* of the root **nadh* (= Skt. *nah*)

¹ Cf. *ava*, *avā*, *avan* at Kālsī. Michelson (IF, 23, 236) compares Avestan *yavat* (= Skt. *yāvat*).

² Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 82) derived Prākṛit *duḍi*, &c., from a supposed Skt. form **dvitya*.

³ In *ambā-vaḍikyā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 23) = *ambā-vaḍikā* (Queen's edict, l. 3).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 78 and 443.

is preserved in [sa]ninaidhāpāyiyā and sanaidhāpāyitu.¹ *dh* becomes *h* in *nigoha* (= *nyaprōdha*), *vidahāmi* and *upadahevu* (from *dadhāti*). For *hida* (= *idha* at Girnār) see above, p. 132ff.

p is softened in *thuba* (= *stūpa*, Nigāli Sāgar, l. 2) and *libi*² (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 31, 32) = *lipi* (passim). It becomes *k* through dissimilation in *kīpilikā* and *kapilikā* = Skt. *kīpīlikā*³ *bh* becomes *h* in *l[a]kiye*, *hoti*, *hotu*, *huvāti*, *hosanti*, *hohanti*, *kuthā*, *husu*, and in the instr. plur. in *-hi* (for *-bhil*). *m* becomes *p*, and the aspiration changes place, in *kaphaṭa* = Skt. *kamphaṭa*; cf. *aphē* and *tuphe* (= Prākṛit *amhe* and *tumhe*) at Dhaulī and Jaugarā, and *[ta]phā* (= Skt. *taṁmāt*) at Kālsī.

y is represented by *h* in *abhyūnāmayehaṇi*, and by *v* in *āvuti* (= **āyukti*), *vizhava* (= Skt. *viśhaya*), *sochava* for *sochaya* (= **śauchya*), *pāpovā* (= **prāpnā + yāt*), *yāvu*, *anugalinenu*, *ālādhaṇnu*, *upādhacnu*, *paṇatayevū*. It is prefixed to *e* in *yeva* and *jevā* (also *eva* and *evā*), but is dropped at the beginning of *ata* (= Skt. *yatra*), *athā* and *atha* (= Skt. *yathā*), *āva* (also *yāva*, = Skt. *yāvat*), *āvate*, *e* (also *ye*), *ena* (also *jena*). At the end of *etad-athā* (Delhi-Tōpā, VII, l. 24) the syllable *ya* seems to be dropped; cf. above, p. lvii. It becomes *i* in *niḥoha* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*), *paṭivēkkāmi*, *dupaṭivēkhe*, and *ayi* becomes *e* in *jhāpetaviye* (also *jhāpayitaviye*).

r has become *l* throughout, except in *cham[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke* (Sāinchi, l. 4).

ra becomes *u* in *anuvāṣṭhānā*; *vā* becomes the same in the absolutes in -*tu* (= Skt. *tvā*); *ara* and *ari* become *o* in *cdāta*, *clodhana*, *poṣaṭha*, *paṭiyovadāṭha*, *paṭiyovadisaṃti*, *niyovadisāṃti*, *piyāhā*, *hoṭi*, *hotu*, *hoṇāṃti*, *bhaṇāṃti*.

The two sibilants *ś* and *ṣ* have become *s* throughout. But *ś* is used in *nishama* (= *śira*, *śiṣya*, *Sāmāth*, l. 10), *Devānamīyāṣā* and *śre* (*Queen's edict*, ll. 1 and 4). In *chayhatt*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, p. 41.

It is prefixed in *kida*, *kidate*, *kidina*, *kawan*. For *katā* (Queen's edict, l. 2) see *edict*, p. 127.

Final consonants are dropped. A preceding vowel may be shortened; see *mīnā* ā' vs. *mīna* (= Skt. *manātē*), *pāroḥ* and *pārō*, *sijā* and *sija*, *aśimanā* and *aśimana*, *abhūtā* and *abhūta*, etc. (below, p. cxvii). Conversely, a preceding short vowel may be lengthened; see *āna* and *ānā* (= *jānā*), *kīṭi* and *kīṭi*, *cāḍin* and *cāḍiṇ*, etc. (above, p. cxi). First *a* is generally stressed; see *hi*, *nūc* (= Sans. *dhya*), *līṭina*, *siṅgapaṭra*, *jara*, etc. But it becomes *o* in *agga*; *a* in *chandaṁma* and *era* (nom. sing. masc. and nom.; and *ā* in *eṭā* (nom. sing. masc.).

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1. *Handwritten musical notation on a staff.*
 2. *Handwritten musical notation on a staff.*
 3. *Handwritten musical notation on a staff.*

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are written in a more formal, printed style. The list is organized into two columns, with names on the left and addresses on the right.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them.

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dhañmānusathi, dhañmāpadāna, dhañmāpekhā, apāsinave. The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *sañghaṭṭhasi* and *-apadānāthāye* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25 and 28). The nasal vowel *aiu* of *tuphākaiu* and *upāsakānaiu* is treated in the same manner before *antikañ* in *tuphāk-antikañ* and *upāsakān-antikañ* (Sārñāth, ll. 6 and 7). In *ikike* (= Skt. *ēkaikaḥ*), *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ch-cva*, and *chhāy-opagāni*, final *a* and *ā* are elided before the initial *i, u, e*, and *o* of the next following word.

IV. GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only Sanskrit groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky, khy, ty, dhy, dhr, bhy, rshy* (which becomes *sy*), *śv* (which becomes *sv*), *shy* (which becomes *sy*). For the group *ky* see also above, p. cxii and n. 3.

A long vowel preceding a group is generally shortened; see *ata-* (= Skt. *ātman*), *asvatha* (= *āsvasta*), *anusathi* (= *anuśāsti*), *ālādha* (= **ārāddha*), *kinasu* (for **kinā + ssu* = Skt. *svīd*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *maga* (= *mārga*), *madava* (= *mārdava*), *mahamata* (= *mahāmātra*, Queen's edict, l. 1), *Sakyamunī, isyā* (= *īrshyā*), *-suliya* ¹ (for **sūryika*), *dusa* (= *dūshya*), *puñnamāsiyañ*. But the length remains in *ānapayati, pāpovā* (from *prāpnōti*), *mahāmāta* (for **mātra*), *palikhā* (for *parīkshā*). While long *ī* is preserved before *n* in *-gāmīni* and *bhī[khun]īnañ*, it is shortened, and the following nasal is doubled, in *tiñni* (= *trīṇi*). Similarly, *anusathini* and *devinañ* are perhaps defective spellings for *anusathiniñi* and *deviniñnañ*. Before *y* and *l* the length is preserved in *anuvidhiyanti, sukhīyanā, kapilikā*, but it is shortened (and probably the following consonant is doubled) in *anuvidhiyanti, sukhīyanā, bluye, kipilikā*; cf. above, p. cii. A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *āgācha* (= *āgāya*), *dākhinā* (also *dakhinā*, i. e. *dakṣhinā*), *putāpapotike* ² (for *putrapra*), *puñnavasune* (for *puñnarva*), *kichhi* (for **kid + chid*, Queen's edict, l. 4), *nīlakhīyati* (for *nīrla*), *nīlakhitaviye* (also *nīla* at Rāmpurvā, V, l. 9), *vaḍhīsati* (also *vaḍhīsati*, i. e. *vaḍḍhīsati*), *sañpaṭipajīsati* (also **jīsati*), *anupaṭipajīsati, anūp[a]ṭipāñne* (for *anuprat*).

A long nasal vowel is shortened before consonants in *aiñbā* (= Skt. *āmra*), *atikantaiñ, Kosaiñbiyañ* (= *Kausāmbiyāñ*), *Devānaniya*, ³ while the nasal is dropped, and the length is retained, in *bābhana* (= *bāmhana* at Gīrñār). Anusvāra is lost after a short vowel in *thabha* (Rummindē, l. 3) = *thanibha* (Delhi-Tōprā), in *sayame* and *savibhāge* (also *saiyame* and *saiñvibhāge*), in *vihisāye* (but not in *avihisāye*), and in *satavisati*. The nasal vowel *iñ* is replaced by a length in *vīsati, pañnavīsati, and saḍuvīsati*. Similarly, *aiñ* seems to be replaced by *ā* in *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhañkshyati*). In *visvañsayitave* (Sārñāth, ll. 8, 9) the nasal vowel *aiñ* corresponds to Skt. *ā*.

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before *v* in *duveli, duvāḍasa, saḍuvīsati, suve*; *a* in *dusañpaṭipādaye, laghañti* (for **alaghañti*), *sochaye* and *sochave*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the pillar-edicts. It is unnecessary to quote examples of the groups *kr, gr, tr, pr, br, śr, sr*, which have become *k, g, t, p, b, s, r*, respectively.

kkh becomes *kh* (i. e. *kkh*) in *dukhīyanaiñ*.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita, yuta, vataviya, viyata*.

ky remains in *Sakyamunī* (Rummindē, l. 2).

ksh becomes *jli* in *jhāpayitaviye*, ⁴ but *kh* everywhere else.

kshy becomes *khiy* in *nīlakhīyati*; *kh* in *dupaṭivekke* and *bh[ā]khati*; *gh* in *chaghati*.

khy is preserved in *mukhya* and *mokhya*, but is assimilated in *mukhā* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 27).

¹ This word presupposes an intermediate form with short *u*: **suryika*; cf. above, p. cii, n. 1. In the Māgadha dialect the affix *-ika* does not, as in Sanskrit, necessarily involve Vṛiddhi of the first syllable; see *putāpapotika* and *hidatika*, but *ānugalika*. In *amatalika, adha[kos]ikya, chañdamasuliyika* we cannot say whether the *a* preceding the group of consonants in the first syllable was originally long and subsequently shortened. The same applies to the first *a* of *chañḍiya*, which was formed from Skt. *chaṇḍa* with the affix *-ya*. In *niñhūliya* and *puñnamāsiyañ* the first vowel has remained unchanged, while the corresponding Skt. forms are *naishṭhurya* and *paurñamāsyām*, with Vṛiddhi of the first vowel.

² The Sāmchī pillar (section C) has *putāpapotike*.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted in *Devāna[pi]yena* (Rummindē, l. 1).

⁴ Cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 326.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khala*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

chy becomes *chay* or *char* in *sochaye* and *sochare*.¹

jñ becomes *jñ* in *ñijñā*; *ññ* in *chhāññadāññāni* and *ñññapayitāññe*; *n* in *ññapayati*, *ññapita*, *ññikā*, *ññāñ*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*, but remains in *[ññ]ññāññāññi* (Allahabad-Kōsam).

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ññāññi* (= Skt. *ññāññi*).

ññ remains in *ñññāññāññi*, but becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (Delhi-Tōprā), and *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, &c.; *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*; *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*, but *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ remains in *ñññāññāññi*, but becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, and *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ remains in *ñññāññāññi* (Delhi-Mirath), but becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi* (pillar-edict V, D).

ññ becomes *ññ* or *n* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi* (pillar-edict III, H).

ññ becomes *ñ* in *[ññ]ññāññāññi* (= Skt. **ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi* (= *ñññāññāññi*), *ñññāññāññi* (= *ñññāññāññi*), Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31).

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ remains in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*, but becomes *ññ* in *[ññ]ññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (Rumindā, l. 4).

ññ becomes *ññ* (for *ññ*) in *ñññāññāññi* (= Skt. *ñññāññāññi*).

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *[ññ]ññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (for **ñññāññāññi*).

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (pillar-edict V, B) and *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, but *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, W and OO), but *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* (passim).

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi* (spelt *ñññāññāññi* at Lauryā-Ararāj, II, l. 3).

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 31), but *ññ* in *[ññ]ññāññāññi* (Sāññi, l. 4).

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ññ* in *ñññāññāññi*.

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi* (pillar-edict II, C).

ññ becomes *ñ* in *ñññāññāññi*, *ñññāññāññi* and *ñññāññāññi* (= Skt. *ñññāññāññi*).

¹ Three versions of the pillar-edict II, C, read *socheye*, which Michelson (IF, 23, 241) identifies with Pāli *socheyya* (= Skt. **sañcheyya*).

vy becomes *viy* in *viyañjanena*, *viyata*, *viyāpāṭa*, *viyovadisanti*, *viyohāla*, and in the gerundives in *-taviya*.

vr becomes *v* in *pavajitānañ*.

śy becomes *s* in *palibhasayisañ* (future of the causative of Skt. *bhṛaśyati*).

śl becomes *nīs* in *nīnīs[ḍha]yā* (= Skt. **nīślishṭakā*); cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 74.

śv becomes *sv* in *asva*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *visvañsayitave* (infinitive of *viśvāsayati*); *su* in *suve* (= *śvaḥ*); *s* in *seta*.

shṭ becomes *th* in *vadhithā* and *huthā*; *ṭh* in *aṭha-bhāgiye*, *aṭhami*, *apakāṭhesu*, *tuthāyatan[ā]ni*, *paṭivisithaṇ*; *ḍh* in *aḍha-[kos]ikyāni* and *nīnīs[ḍha]yā*.

shṭh becomes *ṭh* in *nīṭhūliye*.

shp becomes *p* in *chatupada*.

shpr becomes *p* in *dupaṭivekhe*.

shy becomes *sy* in *tisiyañ*; *siy* in *tisiyañ*; *s* in *tisāyañ* and *tisāye*, *dusāni*, *pusitaviya* (from Skt. *pushyati*), *munisa* (= *manushya*), *hosanti* and other futures; *h* in *hohanti*.

st becomes *th* in *athi*, *anusathi*, *asvatha* (= Skt. *āśvasta*), *thambhāni*, *thuba* (= *stūpa*), *pavitha-lisanti*.

sth becomes *th* in *gihitha* (= Skt. *grihastha*) and *-thitika* or *-thitika*; ¹ *ṭh* in *anaṭhika* and *-ṭhitika* or *-ṭhitika*.²

sn becomes *sin* in *āsinava* (from *ā-snu*).

sm becomes *s* in the locative singular in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the genitive singular in *-asa*; *h* in *dāhaniti*.

hṇ becomes *hin* in *anugahinevu*.

hm becomes *bh* in *bābhana*.

B.—DECLENSION

I. BASES IN *-a*.

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>jane</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dāne</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>pulisā</i> , &c. } neut. <i>sāvanāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>janam</i> , &c.; neut. <i>dānam</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>pulisāni</i> } |
| Instr. <i>dhanimena</i> , &c. | <i>ākālehi</i> , <i>pulimehi</i> . ³ |
| Dat. <i>aṭhāye</i> , &c. | |
| Gen. <i>janasa</i> , &c. | <i>pānānañ</i> , &c. |
| Loc. <i>janasī</i> , &c. | <i>aṭhesu</i> , &c. |

Nom. sing. neut.—In *[ḍā]nā* (Delhi-Mirath, II, l. 2) the termination is *-ā*.

Instr. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *usāhenā*, *bhayenā*, *v[a]chanenā*.

Gen. sing.—The final *a* is lengthened in *asvasā*, *gonasā*, *jānapadasā*, *Devānañpiyashā*, *lokasā*.

Nom. plur. masc.—The final *ā* is shortened in *abhīta*, *asvatha*, *āyata*, *kaṭa*, *pūjita*, *mahām[ā]ta* (Kauśāmbī edict, l. 1), *lajūka*. The Vedic termination *-āsah* is preserved in *viyāpāṭase* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, ll. 25, 27).

Nom. plur. neut.—The final *i* is lengthened in *[ha]ntaviyāni* (Delhi-Mirath, V, l. 8). The following Sanskrit masculines have the termination of the neuter: *thambhāni*, *nikāyāni*, *nigohāni*, *nīyamāni*, *mokhāni*, *tiñni divasāni* and *etāni divasāni* (acc.).

¹ With the compound *chilañ-thitika* or *chilañ-thitika* cf. Skt. *chirañjīvin* and *chirantana*.

² In *chila-ṭhitike* (Delhi-Tōprā, VII, l. 32) and *chila-ṭhitikā* (Allahabad-Kōsam, II, l. 3).

³ From *pulima* = Pāli *purima*.

(2) Feminines in -ā.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|-----------------------|
| Nom. <i>icchā</i> , &c. | <i>vaḍḍikya</i> , &c. |
| Acc. <i>paṇṇā</i> , &c. | |
| Instr. <i>pūjāyā</i> and <i>pūjāya</i> , &c. | |
| Dat. <i>aviśāyā</i> , <i>aviśāya</i> . | |
| Abl. <i>dakṣiṇāyā</i> , <i>dakṣiṇāya</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>duṭṭiyāyā</i> , <i>duṭṭiyāya</i> . | |
| Loc. <i>tiṣāyaṇi</i> , <i>tiṣāyā</i> , <i>chārūdasāyā</i> , <i>paṇṇaḍasāyā</i> ,
<i>paṭṭipadāyā</i> [<i>r</i>]. ¹ | <i>disāsu</i> . |

Nom. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *apekha*, *avadhya*, *isya*, *kapilika*, *kālāpita*, *jatūka*, *daya*, *pālana*, *likhāpita*, *vaḍḍita*, *viyata*, *sālika*, *sukhīyana*.

Acc. sing.—The termination is -ā in *p[a]ṭṭipadā* (Delhi-Mirāṭh, V, l. 6).

Instr. sing.—The termination is -āyā in *agāyā*, *anulupāyā*, *kāmatāyā*, *palikhāyā*, *vividhāyā*, *sukhāyanāyā*, *susūsāyā*, while the final *ā* is shortened, as at Gīrnār, Dhauli, and Jaugaḍa, in *agāya*, *kāmatāya*, *palikhāya*, *vividhāya*, *susūsāya*.

II. BASES IN -i.

(1) Masculines and neuters in -i.

Nom. sing. masc. *vidhi*, *Sakyamuni*; acc. plur. neut. *tiṇṇi*; loc. plur. *nātisu*.

The feminine base *anusathi* forms the nom. and acc. plur. *anusathini* with the termination of the neuter.

(2) Feminines in -i and -ī.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|--|
| Nom. <i>vaḍḍi</i> , <i>dhātī</i> , &c. | |
| Acc. <i>līṭṭi</i> , <i>vaḍḍi</i> (pillar-edict VI, B), <i>anupaṭṭipati</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>vaḍḍiyā</i> , <i>anupaṭṭipatiyā</i> , &c. | |
| Dat. <i>anupaṭṭipatiyā</i> , <i>dhātīyā</i> , <i>devīyā</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>Kālucākiyā</i> , <i>devīyā</i> and <i>devīyā</i> . | |
| Loc. <i>tiṣāyaṇi</i> , <i>tiṣāyā</i> , <i>Kesariyāyaṇi</i> , <i>paṇṇamāsiyāyaṇi</i> , <i>chātumāsiyāyaṇi</i> . | <i>bhī[khun]īnaṇi</i> , <i>devīnaṇi</i> ,
<i>chātumāsiṇu</i> , <i>tiṣu</i> . ² |

Nom. sing.—The final vowel is long in *gabhinī*, *sūkālī*, *duḍḍī* (also *duḍḍi*), *līṭṭī* (also *līṭṭi*).

Instr. sing.—The final *ā* is shortened in *anusathiya* (also *anusathiyā*).

III. MASCULINES AND NEUTERS IN -u.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>bhikkhu</i> and <i>[bhikk]ū</i> , <i>sādhū</i> and <i>sādhū</i> , <i>lahu</i> ; neut. <i>baku</i> . | Neut. <i>bakūni</i> . |
| Gen. <i>paṇṇārasane</i> , <i>bakune</i> . | <i>[bhi*]khūna[ṇi]</i> ,
<i>gulusu</i> , <i>bakūsu</i> . |

The loc. sing. is formed from a base in -na.

IV. MASCULINES AND FEMININES IN -ī.

Nom. sing. *apahaḍā* and *apahaḍa*, *nijhapayitā*.

Gen. sing. *mātu*.

Loc. plur. *pitisu*.

¹ As in Pāli, the Skt. feminine *pratipad* has assumed the form *paṭṭipadā*. Cf. Hēmachandra, I, 15.

² In Sanskrit the corresponding form is *tiṣṭiṣhu*.

V. BASES IN CONSONANTS.

(1) Present participles in *-at*.

Nom. sing. masc. *sañtaviñ*, *anupaṭṭipajavāñtaviñ*; cf. above, p. cx.

(2) Masculines in *-yat* and *-vat*.

Nom. sing. masc. *kiyañ* and *kiya* (Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh), *Bhagavāñ*. The base *yāvat* follows the *a*-declension: nom. sing. masc. *āvate* (Sārnāth, l. 9).

(3) Masculines and neuters in *-an*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>lājā</i> , <i>lāja</i> . | <i>lājāñc</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>nāma</i> . | <i>kañmāñi</i> . |
| Instr. <i>atanā</i> , <i>atana</i> , <i>lājina</i> . | <i>lājīhi</i> . |

The instr. plur. follows the *i*-declension.

(4) Masculines and neuters in *-in*.

Nom. sing. masc. *Piyadasī*; instr. sing. *Piyadasina*; nom. plur. neut. *-gāmīni*.

The final *i* of the nom. sing. masc. is preserved only in the Allahabad-Kōsam version, while all others read *Piyadasī*.

(5) Masculines and neuters in *-as*.

Acc. sing. neut. *bhuye*.

The masculine *chandrāma-* (= Skt. *chandrāmas*) and the neuter *ṛayo-* occur as first members of compounds. The base *avīmanas* follows the *a*-declension: nom. plur. masc. *avīmanā* and (with shortening of the final *ā*) *avīmana*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakañi*.

Acc. sing. *mañi*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā* and *mamiyā*, *mama* and *mamañ*, *me*.

Gen. sing. *mama*, *me*.

(2) Pronoun of the second person.

Nom. plur. *tuphe*; gen. plur. *tuphākañi*.

(3) Base *ta*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. and neut. <i>se</i> . ¹ | Masc. <i>te</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>tañi</i> , <i>se</i> . | Neut. <i>tāñi</i> . |
| Instr. <i>tena</i> . | |
| Gen. | <i>tesañ</i> , <i>tānañ</i> . |
| Loc. | <i>tesu</i> . |

Acc. sing. fem. *tañi*.

Dat. sing. fem. *tāye*.

(4) Base *na*.

Nom. plur. neut. *nāñi*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10.

¹ Moreover, the nom. sing. neut. *she* occurs in the Queen's edict, l. 4.

(5) Base *ēta*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|----------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>esa</i> ; neut. <i>esā, esā</i> . | Masc. <i>ete</i> . |
| Acc. neut. <i>etāni</i> . | Neut. <i>etāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>etena</i> . | |
| Dat. <i>etāye</i> . | |
| Loc. | <i>etesu</i> . |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>esa</i> . | |

(6) Demonstrative *idam*.

Nom. sing. neut. *idam*; nom. plur. masc. *īde*, neut. *imāni*; nom. sing. fem. *iyam*, acc. *imam*.

(7) Interrogative pronoun.

The base *kī* forms the acc. sing. neut. *kīni* (in *kīṇi*), *kimam* or *kīmmam* (see Text, p. 129, n. 5) and the instrumental **kīni*¹ (in *kīnassu*, i.e. **kīnassu* = Pāli *kīnassu* and Skt. *kīnassit*). The base *ka* is used as demonstrative: nom. plur. neut. *kāni* (in *paṭake cha kāni*; see Text, p. 127, n. 10) and acc. plur. masc. *kāni* (four times). The indefinite pronoun is formed with *pi* (= Skt. *api*) or *chi* (= Skt. *cid*): instr. sing. *kenapi*; nom. plur. neut. [*k*]*ānichi*.

(8) Relative pronoun.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Nom. masc. and neut. <i>ja, e</i> . | Masc. <i>je</i> ; neut. <i>jāni</i> . |
| Instr. <i>jaṇa, eṇa</i> . | |
| Nom. sing. fem. <i>jā</i> . | |

(9) Base *anya*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>anya</i> ; neut. [<i>a</i>] <i>ṇa, ana</i> . | Masc. <i>ānane</i> ; neut. <i>ānāni</i> . |
| Gen. | <i>ānānāni</i> . |
| Loc. | <i>ānānassu</i> . |

The group *ānānāni* follow the analogy of the nouns in *-a* (above, p. cxvi); cf. *tānani* for *tanāni* (above, p. 127, between and exhibit, *tānani*) at Mānchrā, and the dat. sing. fem. *tāye* (above, preceding *raṇa* and *raṇi*) at Gaṇḍi, Kāṭi, and Dhauḍi, *raṇye* at Mānchrā.

(10) Base *sassa*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>sassa</i> . | |
| Loc. <i>sassan</i> . | <i>sassesu</i> . |

D.—NUMERALS

One.

Nom. sing. neut. *ikā* (= Skt. *Ekāśā*), fem. *ikā*; acc. sing. fem. *ikam*.

Two.

Instr. masc. *duchi* (from the base *du*). The base *dvī* appears as *du* in the ordinal *duṭṭiya* or *duṭṭya*, and in the compound *dupāḍa*.

¹ Cf. *Liṅgā*, Hēmachandra, III, 69, and Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 428.

INTRODUCTION

Three, four, six.

Acc. neut. *tiñni*; loc. fem. *tīsu*. The bases *chatur* and *shash* form part of the compounds *chatupada* and *āsañmāsika*.

Twelve, fourteen, fifteen.

duvāḍasa and *duvā[la]s[a]*; *chodasa*. The ordinals *chāvudasā* and [*pa*]*ncha[dasā]* (Allahabad-Kōsam), *pañnaḍasā*, *pañnaḷasā* correspond to Skt. *chaturdaśī* and *pañchadaśī*.

Twenty, &c.

vīsati, *pañnavīsati*, *saḍvīsati*, *satavisati*.

Hundred thousand.

Loc. plur. *sata-sahasasu*.

E.—CONJUGATION

I. PRESENT.

(1) Bases.

First Sanskrit class.

Root **argh* (= Skt. *arh*): *laghanti* for **alaghanti*; cf. Skt. *argha* and Pāli *agghati*, and see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 993.

Root *īksh*: *pativekhāmi*, *anuvekhamānc*.

Root *drīś*: *dekhati*.

Root *bhū*: *hoti*, *huvāti* (sixth class).

Root *vad*: *palivyovadātha*.

Root *val*: *āvahāmi*.

Root *vridh*: *vaḍhati*.

Second Sanskrit class.

Root *as*: *athi*.

Root *i*: *eti*.

Root *yā*: *yāti*.

Root *śās*: *anus[ā]sāmi* (subjunctive).

Third Sanskrit class.

Root *dhā*: *vidahāmi*, *upadahevu* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

Fourth Sanskrit class.

Root *pad*: *anupaṭipajānitu*, &c.

Root *push*. The gerundive *pusitaviya* is formed from the Sanskrit present *pushyati*.

Fifth Sanskrit class.

Root *āp*: *pāpovā*.

Sixth Sanskrit class.

Root *ish*. The aorist *ichhisu* and the gerundive *ichhitaviye* are formed from the Sanskrit present *ichchhati*.

Root *kslīp*: *niklīpātha*.

Root *srīj*: absolutive *nīsijitu* (from the Sanskrit present *nīsrijati*).

Ninth Sanskrit class.

Root *grah* follows the *a*-conjugation : *anugahinevu*.

Root *jñā*. The future *jānisanti* and the infinitive *ājānitave* are formed from the present *jānāti*.

Tenth Sanskrit class.

(a) With *aya* : *abhyunināmayehani*, *saṃpaṭipādayanti*, *pāyamīnā* (from *pāyati* = *pāyati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *pivati*), *palibhasayisanti* (future of the causative of Pāli *bhassati* = Skt. *bhras̥yati*; see Michelson, IF, 23. 263), *ālādhayevu*, *āvāsayaṃ*, *vivāsayaṃ*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*, *pavatayevu*, *visvaṃsayitave*.

(b) With *paya* : *jhāpayitaviye* and *jhāpetaviye* (from root *kshai*). The long vowel of the roots *jñā*, *dā*, *dhyai* is shortened in *ānapayati*, *vinnapayitaviye*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayisanti*, *nijhapayitā*, *nijhapayitave*.

(c) With *āpaya* : *kālāpita*, *[sa]ninaṃdhāpayiā* and *sanādhāpayitu* (from root **nadk* = Skt. *nah*), *likhāpita*, *vā[sā]petaviy[c]*, *vivāsāpayāthā*, *sāvāpayāmi*.

(d) With *pāpaya* : *lopāpita*, *usapāpita*; cf. Ardhamāgadhi *ūsaviya* (= **uchchhrapita*) in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 64, and Skt. *uchchhrāpayati*. Similar forms are *viññāpāpeti* in E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 122, *ṭhapāpeti* in Geiger's *Pāli*, § 182, and *davāve* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 552.

(e) With *āpāpaya* : *khānāpāpitāni*, *likhāpāpitā*.

(f) Denominatives : *tilita* and *tilita* (from Skt. *tīrayati*), *sukhayite*, *sukhāyanā*, *sukhīyanā*, *dukkhīyan[ā]*, *mahīyite*.

(2) Moods.

(a) Indicative.

1. sing. *paṭivekkhāmi*, *vidahāmi*.
3. sing. *dekkhati*, *hoti*, *vaḍḍhati*, *atthi*, *eti*, *yāti*, *ānapayati*.
3. plur. *laghaniṃ*, *dekkhanti*, *saṃpaṭipādayanti*, *paṭi[vedayaṃti*]*.

(b) Subjunctive.

1. sing. *āvaḥāmī*, *anus[ā]sāmi*, *sāvāpayāmi*.
3. sing. *huvāti* (Sārnāth, l. 6).
2. plur. *nikkhipātha*, *palipovadātha*, *vivāsayaṃ*, *vivāsāpayāthā*.

(c) Optative.

1. sing. *abhyunināmayehani*; cf. above, pp. lxxxii, cix.
3. sing. *siyā* and *siya*, *anu[pa]ṭipajeyā*, *pāpovā* and *pāpova* (from the strong base *prāpnū-*), *vaḍḍheyā*.
3. plur. *yāvū*, *upadahevu*, *anugahinevu*, *ālādhayevu*, *pavatayevu*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*; 3. plur. *anupaṭipajantū*.

II. AORIST.

3. sing. middle : *huthā*, *vaḍḍhithā*.
3. plur. active : *husu*, *ichhisu*.

III. PERFECT.

3. sing. *āha*, *āhā*, *ahā*, the last of which is unreduplicated; see Michelson, IF, 23. 244.

IV. FUTURE.

1. sing. *palibhasayisaṃ*. Cf. *likhāpayisaṃ* at Girnār.
 3. sing. *abhyūñnamisati*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhīṣati*, *anupaṭipajīsati* (from the present **pajjati* = Skt. *padyatē*), *saṃpaṭipajīsati* and **pajīsati*, *chaghati* (from root *chak* = Skt. *śak*), *bh[ā]khati* (= Skt. *bhaṅkshyati*), *kachhati* (see above, p. lxxxiii, n. 1).
 3. plur. *paṭichalisanti*, *vaḍhisanti*, *hosanti* and *hohanti*, *palīyovadisanti*, *viyovadisanti*, *pavithalisanti* (from root *styī*), *dāhanti*, *chaghanti*, *kachhanti*, *jānisanti* (from the present *jānāti*), *nijhapayisanti*.

V. PASSIVE.

3. sing. indicative *khādiyati*, *nīlakhiyati*, *ganīyati* (Queen's edict, l. 4).
 3. plur. indicative *anurvidhīyanti* and **dhiyanti*.

VI. PARTICIPLES.

(1) Present participle.

Active: *saṃtanti*, *anupaṭipajāntam*.
 Middle: *anurvekhamāne*, *pāyamānā*.

(2) Past passive participle.

- (a) In *-ta*: *mata* (Delhi-Tōprā) and *muta* (= Skt. *mata*), *kaṭa*, *viyāpāṭa*, *tilita* and *tilīta*, *maḥiyita*, *sukkhayita*,¹ *ānapita*, *kālāpita*, *sāvāpita*, *lopāpita*, *khānāpāpita*, *likhāpita*, *likhāpāpita*, *atikanīta*, *āyata* (i. e. *āyatta*), *nikhita* (= *nikshipta*), *viyata* (= *vyakta*), *yuta* (= *yukta*), *badha* (i. e. *baddha*), *niludha* (= *niruddha*), *ālādha* (= **ārāddha*), *pata* (= *prāpta*), *apakāṭha* (= *apakarishṭa*), *asvatha* (= *āśvasta*), &c.
 (b) In *-na*: *anūp[a]ṭipāṇna*, *patyāsaṇna* and *patiyāsaṇna*, *diṇna* (for **didna*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, p. 386).

(3) Future passive participle.

- (a) In *-tava*: *haṇitaviya*, *viketaviya*, *vataviya*, *kaṭaviya*, *ichhitaviya* (from the present *ichchhati*), *pusitaviya* (from *pushyati*), *viñnapayitaviya*, *jhāpayitaviya* and *jhāpetaviya* (from the causative of *kshati*), *vā[sā]petaviya*. In *nīlakhitaviya* (= **nīrlakshayitaviya*) the causative character *aya* is neglected.
 (b) In *-ya*: *dekhiya* (from the present *dekhati*), *l[a]hiya* (from root *labh*), *avadhya* and *avadhiya*, *dupaṭivekha*, *dusamṭipāḍaya*, *āvāsaviya* (for **āvāsavya*).²

VII. INFINITIVE.

bhetave (from root *bhid*), *palikaṭave*, *paṭichalitave*, *ājānitave*, *ālādhayitave*, *visvaṇisayitave*, *samādapayitave*, *nijhapayitave*.

VIII. ABSOLUTIVE.

- (a) In *-tvā*: *sutu* (= Skt. *śrutvā*), *nīsijitu* (from the present *nīsrijati*), *sanamdhāpayitu*.
 (b) In *-ya*: *āgācha* (= *āgatya*), *[sa]ṇnamdhāpayiā*.³

¹ In this form the causative character *aya* of the present *sukkhayati* is retained, as in *ānapayite* at Kālsī, [*anapayit*]e at Mānsehrā, and *ānāp[ay]i[ta]* at Dhauli.

² The correct Sanskrit form would be *āvāsya*; cf. the preceding note.

³ Cf. the two last notes and Pāṇini, VI, 4, 57, who allows both *prāpayya* and *prāpya* to be formed from *prāpayati*.

CHAPTER XI

GRAMMAR OF THE MINOR ROCK-INSRIPTIONS

THE language of most of these inscriptions strongly resembles the Māgadha dialect of the pillar-edicts and of the Dhāuli and Jaugada rock-edicts. But, for practical reasons, it appears more convenient to treat the grammar of the minor rock-inscriptions in a separate chapter. The three Mysore edicts (Brahmagiri, Śiddhāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) exhibit a number of dialectical peculiarities and are therefore considered in a special sub-division.

I. THE FIVE ROCK-INSRIPTIONS AT RUPNATH, ETC., AND THE THREE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSRIPTIONS

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

The vowel *a* becomes *u* after *m* in *munisā*, and *i* after *y* in the future *vaḍhisiti* (Rūpnāth and Maski) = *vaḍhisati* (Sahasrām and Bairāt); cf. Śaurasēnī *bhaviṣṣidi*, &c., in Hēmachandra, IV, 275, and in the southern manuscripts of Indian dramas. For the *e* of *hetā* (Sahasrām) and for the *i* of *munisā* see above, p. lxx. The abstract *gālava* (= Prākṛit and Pāli *gārava*) presupposes the adjective *galu* (= Skt. *guru*), in which *a* corresponds to Skt. *u*; see above, p. lvi. For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see *ibid.* and n. 2. The diphthong *au* becomes *o* in *moneya*.

ri becomes (1) *a* in *kaṭā*, *dakḥitaviye*, *vaḍhi*; (2) *u* in *musā* (= Skt. *mṛishā*), *sun[e]yu*; (3) *i* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*), *diseyā* (optative of *dṛiṣyatē*). In *aḍhati[y]a* (= Pāli *aḍḍhatiya* and Skt. *ardhatritiya*) the syllable *tri* is lost, as in Ardhamāgadhi *aḍḍhāijja*; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 65, 2, and cf. Pāli *aḍḍhuḍḍha* = Skt. *ardhachaturtha*.

Interconsonantal *a* and *i* are lengthened in *-[a]thāta* (?) and *chila-ṭhitike*. Final *a* is lengthened in *evā* and *vā* (= Skt. *ēva*), *chā*, *hetā*, *āhā*, *[ikhāpa]yāthā*, *h[a]mā*, *etenī(nā)*, *apaladhiyenā*, &c. (below, p. cxxvi). Final *i* and *u* are lengthened before *iti* in *saṅghasī ti*, *hosatī ti*, *jānanitū ti*, and final *u* which stands for *ur* in *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

Initial *ā* is shortened in *ahāle* (Rūpnāth); interconsonantal *ī* and *ū* in *misibhūtā* (Maski), *Jambudīpasi* (= *°dīpasi* at Sahasrām), *pa[ka]mam[i]menā* (cf. *palakamamīnenā* at Sahasrām), *ekunavīsati* (Barābar); final *ā* and *ī* in *lāja* (Barābar) = *lājā* (Calcutta-Bairāt), *sata* (Rūpnāth) = *satā* (Sahasrām), *Pr[i]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt) = *Piyadasī* (Barābar).

Initial vowels are dropped in *pi* (= Skt. *api*), *sumi* (for **smi* = Skt. *asmi*), *hakanī* (for *ahakam* = *ahan*), *ti* (= *iti*), *kiṇiti* and *kiti*, *dāni* (= *idānīm*), *va* and *vā* (= *ēva*).

(2) SIMPLE CONSONANTS.

Intervocalic *k* is softened in *adhigichya* (Skt. = *adhikṛitya*) and appears to have become *y* in *diyaḍhiya* (= **dvikārdhya*).¹ *gh* is preserved in *Lāghula* (= *Rāhula*) and suggests that this name of Buddha's son is derived from the ancient hero *Raghu*. In *kubhā* (Barābar) = Skt. *guhā*, 'a cave', *k* and *bh* at first sight appear to correspond to Skt. *g* and *h*. But each of the two words may have a distinct origin. While *guhā* is connected with the root *guh*, 'to hide', *kubhā* may be related to *kumbha*, 'a pot' (originally 'a cavity'), and Greek *κύμην*, 'a (hollow) boat'.²

Lingual *ṇ* is replaced by dental *n* throughout, but is improperly used at Calcutta-Bairāt in *Aliya-vasāni* (= Skt. *Ārya-vaṇśālī*).

¹ Cf. *diyaḍha* and *diadha*, above, pp. lxxi and lxxxv.

² The same root has assumed the slightly different meaning of 'a round projection' in Ancient Persian *kaufa*, 'a mountain', Avestan *kaofa*, 'a mountain, the hump of a camel', and Skt. *kakubh*, 'a peak'; cf. *kakud*, 'a peak, a hump'.

Dentals are lingualized in *uḍāla* (= Pāli *uḍāra* and Skt. *udāra*), *duvūḍasa*, and after *ṛi* in *kaḍā*, *ṛadhi*. *t* is palatalized in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*). *dh* seems to be preserved in *ha(hi)dha* (= *idha* at Gīrnār?), but has become *h* in *[niḡoha]* (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

Intervocalic *p* becomes *v* in *pāṛ[a]t[a]re* (Sahasrām), the infinitive of **prāpati* (= Skt. *prāpnōti*). *bh* becomes *h* in *hotu*, *hosati*, *husu*, *devchi*, *[āḡiv]kehi*.

y is dropped at the beginning of *āvatake* (from Skt. *yāvat*), *aṃ* and *e* (= *yat*). The syllable *ya* becomes *i* in *[niḡoha]* (= *nyagrōdha*). *aya* and *ayi* become *e* in *lekhāpetā*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *ārodhere* (read *ārādhetaṛe*) and *[ā]lādheta[ṛ]*, *abhivāde[tū]naṃ*.

As in the Māgadhā dialect, *r* becomes *l*; but it is preserved at Rūpnāth in *ārodhere* (read *ārādhetaṛe*), *chira-ṭhitike*, *chha(sa)ṛachhare*, *sāti[ra]kekāni* (read *sātirēkāni*), and at Maski in *pure*, *[sār]ire[kṛ]*.

v becomes *p* in *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth) = *aval[a]dhiyenā* (Sahasrām). It is developed out of *u* in *ṛivuttha* (Sahasrām) = *ṛy[u]ṭtha* (Rūpnāth). *ava* and *avi* become *o* in *-ovāde*, *hotu*, *hosati*.

ś and *ṣh* have generally become *s*. But *ś* is preserved at Maski in *Śake* (= Skt. *Śākya*) and is improperly used at Bairāt in *śage* (= *śage* at Rūpnāth); *ṣh* is preserved at Maski in *vaśā[ni]*. In *[cha]kye* and *chakiye*, *ś* is represented by *ch*; cf. above, pp. ci and cxiii.

h is prefixed in *ha(hi)dha* (?), *hetā*, *hevaṃ*.

Final consonants are dropped. *ā* (for *ās*) is shortened in *sānta* and *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 2 f.). *as* becomes *e*; see *pure*¹ (= Skt. *purā*), *ṛe* (= *vas*), *bhikhuniye* (nom. plur.), *aṭhe*, &c. It is represented by *ā* in *esā* (nom. sing. neut.), and by *a* in *-[a]thāta* (?), *esa* (nom. sing. neut.), *yāvataka* and *vāta* (Rūpnāth).

Final *a* is nasalized in *chaṃ* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 2), while final Anusvāra is omitted in *ima*, *iya*, *tupaka* (for *tupākani*), *diyadhiya* (Rūpnāth), *prakāsa*, *[tū]dha*, *ṛadhi* (acc.), *ṛipula*, *saḡh[a]* (acc.). The nom. sing. of neuters in *-a* generally follows the analogy of the masculine and ends in *-e*; see *phale*, &c. The termination *-aṃ* is replaced by *-i* in *būḍhi* (Rūpnāth, ll. 1, 2); cf. *ayi* for *ayan* at Shāhbāzgarh.² The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened in the termination (*-aṃ*) of the acc. sing. of feminines in *-ā* (below, p. cxxvi), and *im* becomes *i* in *dāni* (= Skt. *idānim*).

(3) SANDHI.

Final *m* is preserved and doubled in *hevaṃmerā* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 8).

a + ā becomes *ā* in *-ṛasābhisita*, *sātileke*, *sādhi[kṛ]*, *ap[ā]bādhatan*, *ja[lagh]o[sāḡama]* (?). The *ā* which results from the contraction is shortened before a group of consonants in *-[āḡama]thāta* (?), *apaladhiyenā* and *aval[a]dhiyenā*, *diyadhiyaṃ*, but the length is preserved in *diyādhiyaṃ* (Sahasrām). Final *ā* is elided before *u*, *e*, *o* in *chu* (= *cha + u*), *ekunavīsati*, *ma[ha]tanzeva*, *Lūghul-ovāde*.

(4) GROUPS OF CONSONANTS.

The only groups which occasionally remain unassimilated are *ky*, *ty* (which becomes *chy*), *ṣr*, *ṛṛ*, *ṛy*, *sv*.

A long vowel preceding a group is shortened in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*), *pa[la]kamaṃtu* (= *parākra*³), *palakamamīnenā*, *[palaka]m[ṭ]e*, *mahata* (= *mahātman*), *Śake* and *[Sa]k[ṛ]* (= *Śākya*), *abhikkhināṃ* (= *abhikkshṇam*). But the length remains in *p[a]l[ā]kame* (Sahasrām), *p[ā]ṛotave* (from *prāpnōti*), *lāti* (= *rātri*), *sūte* (= *sūtram*). A short vowel preceding a group is lengthened in *ṛ[ā]tave* (infinitive of *ṛach*).

The long nasal vowel *āṃ* is shortened before consonants in *[palaka]m[ṭ]e*⁴ and *Devānaniḡiya* (Rūpnāth and Maski), but remains in *Devānāṃḡiya* (Sahasrām and Bairāt). In *bhaṃte*, a Buddhist term of address which stands perhaps for *bhaddaṃte*⁵ = Skt. *bhadraṃ te*, 'happiness to you', the syllable *dda* is elided. The nasal vowel *iṃ* is replaced by a length in *ekunavīsati*. Anusvāra is sometimes omitted after *a*; see the infinitive *adhigataṛe* (Maski), *atā* (Rūpnāth) = *amitā* (Sahasrām and

¹ The same form is used in Ardhamāgadhī and Pāli. Cf. also *[p]ule* at Kālsī, I, l. 3.

² Also Pāli *saddhiṃ* = Skt. *sārdham*, &c.; see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 22.

³ The Anusvāra is omitted at the same time in *pakale* (= Skt. *prakrāntaḡ*).

⁴ See Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bhadanto*. According to Hēmachandra, IV, 287, *bhaṃte* is the Māgadhī voc. sing. of *bhadanta*.

Bairāt), *ṭh[abh]e* (but *ṭha[m]bhāsi* and *ṭham[bh]ā*), *ṭakamatu* (3. plur.), [*ṭala*]*kamatu* (Bairāt) = *ṭa[la]kamaitu* (Sahasrām), *vayajanenā* (= Skt. *vyāñjanēna*), *Alīya-vasāñi* (= *Ārya-vamśāḥ*), *saghe* (= *saṃghaḥ*), *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhale* (= *saṃvatsaraḥ*). The final *a* of the first member of a compound is nasalized at Sahasrām in [*m*]*isañ-deva* and *amūisañ-[de]vā* (read *ami*^o).

The auxiliary vowel which is developed within some groups is *u* before labials in *duve*, *duvādasa*, *s[n]ag[ē]*, *sumi*; *a* in *alahāmi*, *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vayajanenā*; and frequently *i*, as will appear from the subjoined list of Sanskrit groups and of their equivalents in the rock-inscriptions at Rūpnāth, &c.

kt becomes *t* in *abhisita*, &c.

ky remains in [*cha*]*kye* (Bairāt), but becomes *kiy* in *chakiye*, *sakiye*, and *k* in *sake* (= Skt. *śakyah*), *Śake* and [*Ṣa*]*k[ē]* (= *Śākyah*).

kr becomes *k* in *ṭakamasi*, *ṭa[la]kamaitu*, &c.

ksh becomes *kh* in *khudaka*, *bhikhu*, *bhikhuniye*, *dakṣitaviye*.¹

kshy becomes *khin* in *abhiṭṭhinān*.

khl becomes *kh* in *kho* = Skt. *khalu*; see above, p. lvi and n. 2.

gr becomes *g* in [*nigoha*] (= Skt. *nyagrōdha*).

jñ becomes *jīn* in *lājīnā*.

ñch becomes *ñin* in *sapañnā* = Skt. *śatpāñchāsat*; cf. *pañnādasa*, &c., in the pillar-edict V.

ṭp becomes *p* in *sapañnā*.

tk becomes *k* in *samukase*.

tm becomes *t* in *mahata* (= Skt. *mahātman*).

ty becomes *chy* in *adhigichya* (= Skt. *adhikṛitya*).

tr becomes *t* in *tata*, *lāti*, *sūte*, *hetā*.

tv becomes *t* in *mahatatā* (= Skt. *mahātmatvāt*).

ts becomes *chh* in *chha(sa)vachhare* and *sav[a]chhal*.

tsth becomes *ṭh* in [*uṭhānān*].²

dr becomes *d* in *khudaka*, *bha[dak]e*.

dv becomes *duv* in *duve*, *duvādasa*; *d* in *ṭambudīpasi*, *diyadhīyañ*.

pn becomes *p* in *p[ā]ṭaṭe* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*).

pr remains in *prakāsa* (Rūpnāth) and in *abhiṭpretan*, *prasāde*, *Pr[ṭ]yadas[i]* (Calcutta-Bairāt), but becomes *p* in *Piyadasī*, &c., and perhaps *ph* in *phāsu* = Vedic *prāśu* (?); see Geiger's *Pāli*, § 62, 1.

rg becomes *g* in *svage*.

rth becomes *ṭh* in *aṭha*, and perhaps *th* in [*a*]*thāta* (?).

rdh becomes *ḍh* in *aḍhatī[ṣ]āni*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*.

rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *apaladhiyenā* and *avaḥ[a]dhiyenā*; *dhiy* in *diyadhīyañ*.

rm becomes *ñin* in *dhañma* (spelt *dhama* at Maski, l. 5).

ry becomes *liy* in *aliya* (= Skt. *ārya*) and *paliyāya*.

rv remains in *sarve* (Calcutta-Bairāt, l. 3), but becomes *v* in *pavata* and *pavatis[n]*.

śf becomes *s* in *Piyadasī*.

śkh becomes *śk* in *vashā[ni]* (Maski, l. 2); *s* in *vasa* and *samukase*.

rh becomes *lah* in *alahāmi*.

lp becomes *p* in *ap[ā]bādhatañ*.

vy remains in *vy[ṭ]thenā*, but becomes *viy* in *dakṣitaviye*, *vataviyā*, *vivasetaṭa(vi)[ya]*, and *vay* in *lā(li)khāpetavaya* and *vayajanenā*.

śn becomes *sin* in *pasine* (= Skt. *praśnāḥ*).

śy becomes *s* in the optative passive *dīscyā*.

śr becomes *s* in *mīsa* and *sāvane*.

śh becomes *ṭh* in *vy[ṭ]ṭha* (Rūpnāth); *th* in *vivutha* (Sahasrām).

śhm becomes *ph* in *tupaka* (read perhaps *tuphākan*, as at Sārṇāth).

śhy becomes *s* in *Upatisa*, *munisā*, *vaḍhisati* and *vaḍhisiti*, *hosatī*.

st becomes *th* in *athi* and *ṭam[ḥ]a* (Sahasrām); *ṭh* in *ṭha[m]bha* (Rūpnāth).

sth becomes *ṭh* in *chira-ṭhitike* and *chila-ṭhitike*.

¹ See above, p. lxxiv, n. 5.

² Cf. above, p. ciii.

sm becomes *sum* in *sumi* (= Skt. *asmī*); *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.

sy becomes *siy* in *siyā* (= Skt. *syāt*); *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.

sv remains in *svage* (spelt *svage* at Bairāt), but becomes *su* in *s[u]ag[ε]* (Sahasrām).

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|---|
| Nom. masc. <i>athe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>devā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>bhayāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>saṅghaṇi</i> , &c.; neut. <i>vipulaṇi</i> , &c. | |
| Instr. <i>Budhena</i> , &c. | <i>devēhi</i> . |
| Dat. <i>kālāya</i> , <i>aṭhāya</i> , <i>aṭh[ā]ye</i> . | <i>[ājīvi]kehi</i> . |
| Abl. <i>mahatātā</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>Asok[a]sa</i> , <i>Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa</i> . | |
| Loc. <i>Budhasi</i> , &c. | <i>parvatesu</i> . |

In the nom. sing. masc. *yāvataka* and the nom. sing. neut. *lā(li)khāpetavaya*, *vīvasetavā(vi)[ya]* at Rūpnāth, *-a* is perhaps only a clerical error for *-e*.

In the acc. sing. masc. *sagha[a]* (for *saṅghaṇi*) and the acc. sing. neut. *vipula* at Rūpnāth, the final Anusvāra is omitted.

The final *a* of the instr. sing. is lengthened in *apaladhiyenā*, *ava[a]dhiyenā*, *-abhisitenā*, *pa[ka]mam[i]nenā*, *palakamamīnenā*, *vayajanenā*, *vy[u]thenā*.

At Barābar we seem to have a loc. sing. in *-e*: *su[p]i[y]e*.

The final *ā* of the nom. plur. masc. is shortened in *-deva* (Sahasrām, l. 3).

The Sanskrit masculines *pariyāya*, *vaṇṣa*, *saṁvatsara* form the nom. and acc. plur. *pariyāyāni*, *vaṇṣāni*, [*saṁvakhālāni*], with the termination of the neuter. The nom. plur. neut. has the ending *-ā* at Sahasrām (l. 6 f.) in *lāti-satā vīvuthā*; at Rūpnāth (l. 5 f.) we have *sata* instead of *satā*.

(2) Feminines in *-ā*.

Nom. sing. *kubhā*, *dinā*; acc. sing. *ap[ā]bādhatāṇi*, *phāsu-vikālatāṇi*; nom. plur. *upāsikā*, *gāthā*.

(3) Feminines in *-i* and *-ī*.

Acc. sing. *vaḍhi*; nom. plur. *bhikkuniye*; loc. plur. *parvatis[u]*.¹

(4) Masculines in *-at*.

Nom. sing. *kalaṁtāṇi*; instr. sing. *bhagavatā*; nom. plur. *saṁta* (for either *saṁtā* or *saṁte*).

(5) Masculines in *-an*.

Nom. sing. *lājā*, *lāja*; instr. sing. *lājīnā*, *ma[ha]tan[ā]*.

(6) Masculine in *-in*.

Nom. sing. *Piyadasi*, *Pr[i]yadas[i]*; instr. sing. *Piyadasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakani*.

Instr. sing. *mamayā*, *hamiyāye*, [*me*].

Gen. sing. *h[ā]mā*, *me*.

¹ The feminine *parvatī* (= *par-*
Wörterbuch, s. v.

the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*; see Böhtlingk's

(c) Optative.

3. sing. *adhigachhi[c]yā, siyā, discyā* (passive).
 3. plur. *sun[c]yu* (= *shunc[y]u* at Kālsī), *upadhāl[a]yeyū*.

(d) Imperative.

3. sing. *hotu*.
 2. plur. *lekhāpeta, [likhāpayatha]*.
 3. plur. *pakamatu* (for °*manitu*), *palakamanitu, jānanitu*.

(2) AORIST: 3. plur. *husu*.(3) PERFECT: 3. sing. *āhā*.

(4) FUTURE.

3. sing. *hosatī, vadhisati* and *vadhisiti*.

(5) PARTICIPLES.

(a) Present Participle.

- Active: *kalanītanī, sanīta* (nom. plur.).
 Middle: *pa[ka]man[i]na, palakamanīna*.

(b) Past passive participle.

- In -*ta*: *kaṭa, pakata* (= Skt. *prakrānta*), *vy[u]ṭha* and *viṇuṭha* (from *vi-vas*), &c.
 In -*na*: *dīna* (i. e. *dinna*); see above, p. cxxii.

(c) Future passive participle.

- In -*tavya*: *dakṣitaviya, vataviya, lā(li)khāpetavaya, vivasetavā(vi)[ya]*.
 In -*ya*: *sakiya* and *saka, [cha]kya* and *chakiya*.

(6) INFINITIVE.

- adhigatave, v[ā]tave* (from root *vach*), *p[ā]patave* (from Skt. *prāpnōti*), *pāv[a]t[a]ve* (from **prāpati*; see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 504), *ārodheve* (read *ārādhetave*) and *[ā]lādhetav[e]*.

(7) ABSOLUTIVE.

- abhivāde[tū]nanī*; cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 585.

II. THE THREE ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MYSORE STATE

A.—PHONETICS

(1) VOWELS.

For *vadhisiti* and *munisā*, see above, p. cxxiii. Skt. *u* is represented by *a* in *garu* (= *guru*). For *o* = Skt. *u* in *kho*, see above, p. lvi and n. 2. *ṛi* becomes (1) *i* in *pakīṭi* (= *prakṛitī*), *pītisu* (= *pīṭishu*); (2) *u* in *pītusu*; (3) *ra* in *drāhyitavyanī* (from *drīhyati*). *au* becomes *o* in *porāṇā*.

Interconsonantal *a* or *i* are lengthened in *adhātīya* (= Ardhmāgadhī *addhāijja*; see above, p. cxxiii), *upayīta* (= Skt. *upēta*), *chira-ṭhītike, Suvamīnagīṛite*, and final *i*, which stands for *is*, in *pakīṭi*. Initial *a* and *i* are lost in *pi, lakam, ti*.

- rdh* becomes *dh* in *adhātīyāni* and *radhisiti*.
rdhy becomes *dhiy* in *avaradhiyā*; *dhiy* in *diyadhiyam*.
rm becomes *m* in *dhamma*.
ry becomes *riy* in *āchariya*; *y* in *ayaṇṭasa*.
rsh becomes *s* in *rasāni*.
rh becomes *rah* in *yathārahāni*.
ry remains in *ryūthēna* and *drakhyitāryam*, but becomes *riy* in the remaining gerunds in *-tariya* (= Skt. *-tariya*).
sr becomes *s* in *misa*, *sāvare*, *sāvite*, *sāvāpīte*, *sushtis[i]tariye*.
sh becomes *th* in *ryūthēna*.
shy becomes *s* in *munisā* and *radhisiti*.
sth becomes *th* in *chira-thittke*.
sm becomes *s* in the loc. sing. in *-asi*.
sy becomes *s* in the gen. sing. in *-asa*.
sv remains in *svage*.
hy remains in *drakhyitāryam*.

B.—DECLENSION

(1) Masculines and neuters in *-a*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|--|
| Nom. masc. <i>atthe</i> , &c.; neut. <i>phale</i> , &c. | Masc. <i>ñātikā</i> , &c.; neut. <i>rasāni</i> , &c. |
| Acc. masc. <i>ekam</i> , <i>savachkaram</i> ; neut. <i>āregi-</i>
<i>yam</i> , &c. | |
| Instr. <i>kālena</i> , &c. | <i>devaki</i> . |
| Dat. <i>atthāya</i> . | |
| Abl. <i>avaradhiyā</i> . | |
| Gen. <i>ayaṇṭasa</i> , <i>ṣakamasā</i> . | <i>mahāmātānam</i> . |
| Loc. <i>Isilasi</i> , <i>Jambudīpasi</i> . | <i>ñātikesu</i> , <i>prāṇesu</i> . |

The termination of the nom. sing. neut. is *-am* in [*likhita*]*m* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara) = *likhite* (Brahmagiri), *vatariyam*, *sacham*.

- (2) Feminine in *-ā*: nom. sing. *forāṇā*.
 (3) Feminine in *-i*: nom. sing. *ṣakiti*.
 (4) Masculine in *-u*: loc. plur. *garu[su]*.
 (5) Masculine in *-ri*: loc. plur. *ṣītisu* (Brahmagiri) and *ṣītusu* (Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara).
 (6) Masculine in *-an*. The Sanskrit base *mahātman* follows the *a*-declension: instr. sing. *mahātman[a]*; nom. plur. *mahātpā*.
 (7) Masculine in *-in*: instr. sing. *amitevasinā*.

C.—PRONOUNS

(1) Pronoun of the first person.

Nom. sing. *hakam*; instr. *mayā*, *me*; gen. *mai* (read *me*).

(2) Base *ta*.

Acc. sing. neut. *se*; nom. plur. masc. *se*.

(3) Base *ēta*.

Nom. sing. neut. *esa*; dat. sing. *e[i]āya*; nom. sing. fem. *esā*.

(4) Demonstrative *idam*.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|--|--------------------|
| Nom. masc. <i>maḥā</i> ; neut. <i>yaḥā</i> , <i>ma</i> . | Masc. <i>maḥ</i> . |
| Acc. masc. <i>maḥā</i> . | |
| Instr. <i>maḥā</i> . | |

(5) Relative pronoun.

Acc. sing. neut. *yaḥā*.

D. CONJUGATION

(1) Present.

(a) Indicatives: 1. sing. *daṁ*, *daṁyāṁ*.

(b) Optatives: 1. plur. *paṭamāṁsa*, *daṁsa* (which follows the *a*-conjugation).

(c) Aorist: 1. sing. *daṁāḥ*.

(d) Perfect: 3. sing. *daṁā*.

(e) Future: 3. sing. *daṁāma*.

(f) Participles:

(a) Present active participle: *paḥāṁ* [i. e. *ma* (read *paḥamāṁga*), *maḥā* (from root *at*)].

(b) Past passive participles: *paṭāḥā* (from *paṭ*), *paṭāḥita* and *paḥita* (cf. Skt. *paṭāḥita*), *paḥita* (from root *at*), etc.

(c) Future passive participles: *daṁāma*, *daṁāma*, *daṁāma* (from the present *daṁyāṁ*), *daṁāma*, *paṭāḥita*, *paḥita* (from the derivative of *daṁ*).

(2) Infinitive.

paṭāḥita or *maḥā*, *paṭāḥita*, *paḥita*.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

FIRST PART: THE ROCK-EDICTS

I. THE GIRNAR ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपी देवानंप्रियेन
- 2 प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता (B) इध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभित्पा प्रजूहितव्यं
- 4 (C) न च समाजो कतव्यो (D) बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजग्हि पसति देवानंप्रियो प्रियदसि राजा
- 6 (E) अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं-
- 7 प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो (F) पुरा महानसम्हि
- 8 देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-
- 9 हूनि प्राणसतसहस्रानि आरभिसु सृपायाय
- 10 (G) से अज यदा अयं धम्मलिपी लिखिता ती एव प्रा-
- 11 णा आरभरे सृपायाय दो मोरा एको मगो सो पि
- 12 मगो न धुवो (H) एते पि ची प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरं

- 1 (A) iy[am] dhamma-lipī Devānaṃpriyena
- 2 Priyadasinā rājā lekh[ā]pitā (B) [i]dha na kiṃ-
- 3 chi jīvaṃ ārabhitpā prajūhitavyaṃ
- 4 (C) na cha samājo katavyo (D) bahukaṃ hi doṣaṃ
- 5 samājamhi pasati Devānaṃpriyo Priyadaśi rājā¹
- 6 (E) asti pi tu ekachā samājā sādhumaṭā Devānaṃ-
- 7 priyasa Priyadasino rājño (F) purā mahānaśamhi²
- 8 Devānaṃpriyasa Priy[a]dasino rājño anudivasam lo-

¹ Before *rājā* a superfluous *ra* seems to have been struck out by the writer.

² The first syllable of *mahānaś* looks almost like *me*, and *sa* like *se*. Originally *mahānaś* may have been written, to which *mhi* was added subsequently without converting the *se* into *sa*. As noted by Bühler (EI, 2, 449, n. 10), a second *mhi* was added at the very end of the line.

- 9 hñni prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni ārabhisu sūpāthāya
 10 (G) se aja yadā ayaṁ dha[n̄]ma-lip[i] likhitā tī eva prā-
 11 ṇā ārabhare sūpāthāya dvo morā eko mago so pi
 12 mago na dhruvo¹ (H) etc pi trī prāṇā pachhā na ārabhisare

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality² has been caused to be written by king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(B) Here³ no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And no festival meeting⁴ must be held.

(D) For king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.⁵

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.⁶

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily) for the sake of curry,⁷ (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो
 2 एवमपि प्रचंतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो आ तंव-
 3 पंखी अंतियको योनराजा ये वा पि तस अंतियकंस सामीपं
 4 राजानो सर्वत्र देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राज्ञो द्वे चिकीछ कता

¹ *dhruvo* Senart and Bühler. There are two distinct strokes at the bottom of the *dh*, one of which is *u*, while the upper one is probably *r*. Cf. the *r* of [A] *śudhira* in the Girnār edict XIII, l. 9, and of *aparakaraṇamihī* in edict XII, l. 3.

² The literal meaning of *dharmma-lipi* (or *dhrama-dipi* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions) is 'a writing on morality'. To retain the sense of 'writing', I use the translation 'rescript on morality' instead of 'religious edict' as the term was rendered by Bühler.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. the rock-edict XIII, Q and R, and the Rūpnāth rock-inscription, K.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 93 f.), D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 395 ff.; IA, 42. 255 ff.), and Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 392 ff.) have shown by quotations that this is the actual meaning of the word *samāja*, which Pischel (GGA, 1881. 1324 f.) had translated by 'battue'.

⁵ This remark seems to refer to the representations mentioned in the rock-edict IV, B.

⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 42. 257) quotes *Mahābhārata*, III, 208, 8-10, where 'we are told that 2,000 animals and 2,000 kine were slain every day in the kitchen (*mahānasa*) of king Rantidēva, and that by doling out meat to his people he attained to incomparable fame.' Cf. also XII, 29, 127 f., and VII, 67, 16-18: 'On the nights which guests spent with Rantidēva, the son of Saṁkṛiti, 21,000 kine were killed. Then the cooks, who wore ear-rings of bright jewels, were shouting: "Eat ye a lot of curry (*sūpa*)! There is not so much meat to-day, as formerly!"'

⁷ Evidently on behalf of some members of the royal household who refused to turn strict vegetarians.

- 5 मनुसचिकीछा च पसुचिकीछा च (B) ओसुढानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
 6 पसोपगानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत्रा हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 7 (C) मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत्र नास्ति सर्वत्र हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च
 8 (D) पंथेसू कूपा च खानापिता ब्रह्मा च रोपापिता परिभोगाय पसुमनुसानं

- 1 (A) sarvata vijitamhi Devānaṃpriyasa Piyadasino¹ rāño
 2 evamapi prachantesu yathā Chodā Pādā Satiyaputo Ketalaputo ā Tamba-
 3 paṃṇi Aṃtiyako Yona-rājā ye vā pi tasa Aṃtiy[a]kas[a]² sāmip[am]³
 4 rājāno sarvatra Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāño dve chikichha katā
 5 manusa - chikichhā cha pasu - chikichhā cha (B) osuḍhāni cha yāni
 m[a]nusopagān[i] cha
 6 paso[pa]gāni cha yata yata nāsti sarvatrā⁴ hārāpitāni cha ropāpitāni cha
 7 (C) mūlāni cha phalāni cha yata yatra⁵ nāsti sarvata⁶ hārāpitāni cha
 rop[ā]pitāni cha
 8 (D) paṃthesū kūpā cha khānāpitā vrachhā cha ropāpit[ā] paribhogāya pasu-
 manusānam

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and likewise among (his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa,⁷ the Kētalaputa,⁸ even⁹ Tāmraparṇī,¹⁰ the Yōna king Antiyaka,¹¹ and also the

¹ Priya° Bühler.

² Thus Senart and Bühler, EI, 2. 449; *Aṃtiyokasā* Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 95.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 95) would read *sāmīnam*, which he considered to be a clerical error for *sāmanitā*, the reading of the other versions of this edict. It is quite possible that *sāmanitā* was the original reading of the rock, and that it was subsequently changed by the writer into *sāmīpani* (or *sāmīpā*?).

⁴ *sarvatā* Senart, *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁵ *yata* Bühler.

⁶ *sarvatra* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 98 ff.) rejected Kern's identification of this term with the Sātpurā range, and explained it by 'the king of the Satvats', whom he located in Western India. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398) compares Satiyaputa, for which the Kālsī version reads Sātiyaputa, with Sātputē, a surname current among the present Marāṭhās. Lüders (ZDMG, 58. 693 f.) has shown that the Pāli *putta* (= Skt. *putra*) at the end of compounds frequently means 'belonging to a tribe'. He quotes as examples *Andhakaveṇḥuputta*, *Videhaputta*, *Bhojaputta*, *Milāchaputta*, *devaputta* (cf. the feminine *devadhītā*), and Skt. *rājaputra*.

⁸ Kētalaputa is perhaps a mistake for the reading of the Mānsehrā version: Kēralaputra, i.e. the king of Kērala or Malabar, the *Κηρόβοθπος* of Ptolemy; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 188, note, and vol. III, p. 193.

⁹ The syllable *ā* cannot be the preposition *ā*, 'as far as', because the latter would require after it the ablative *Tambapaṇṇiyā*, as at Mānsehrā, XIII, Q. Lüders therefore explains it as an Ardhamāgadhī form of the Skt. relative *yā*; see SPAW, 1914. 831.

¹⁰ Tāmraparṇī (*Tambapaṇṇī* in Pāli) is one of the ancient names of the island of Ceylon. It occurs in the *Dīpavanīsa*, and was known already to Megasthenes in the form *Ταμποβάνη*; see IA, 6. 129 and 348. Besides, Tāmraparṇī is the name of a river in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay edition, IV, 41, 17).

¹¹ Kālsī and Mānsehrā read *Aṃtiyoga*, the remaining versions *Aṃtiyoka*. Antiochus II Theos

kings who are the neighbours¹ of this Antlyaka,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical treatment² were established by king Dōvānāhpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) And wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन मया इदं आजपितं
2 (C) सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राज्ञे च प्रादेशिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
3 यानं नियातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसस्तिय यथा अजा-
4 य पि कंमाय (D) साधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसृसा मित्रसंस्तुतजातीनं चाम्हेण-
5 समणानं साधु दानं प्राणानं साधु अनारंभो अपव्ययता अपभाडता साधु
6 (E) परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च व्यंजनतो च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo² Piyadasi r[ā]jā evaṃ āha (B) dvādasava-sābhisitena mayā
idam āh[a]pitam
2 (C) sarvata vijite mama yutā cha rājñe cha prādesike cha pañchasu pañchasu
vāsesu anusam-
3 y[ā]na[m] n[ī]yātu etāyeva athāya imāya dhammānusaṣṭiya yathā āhā-
4 ya pi kaṃmāy[a] (D) [s]ādhu mātari cha pitari cha susr[ā]sā mitra-saṃstuta-jātīnaṃ⁴
bāmhāṇa-
5 samaṇānaṃ sādhu d[ā]naṃ prāṇānaṃ sādhu anāraṃbho apa-vyayatā apa-bhādatā⁵
sādhu
6 (E) parisā pi yute āhāpayisati gaṇanāyaṃ hetuto cha vyamjanato cha

of Syria (261-246 B.C.) is probably meant; see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II (sec. ed.), p. 255. and Senart, *IA*, 20. 242.

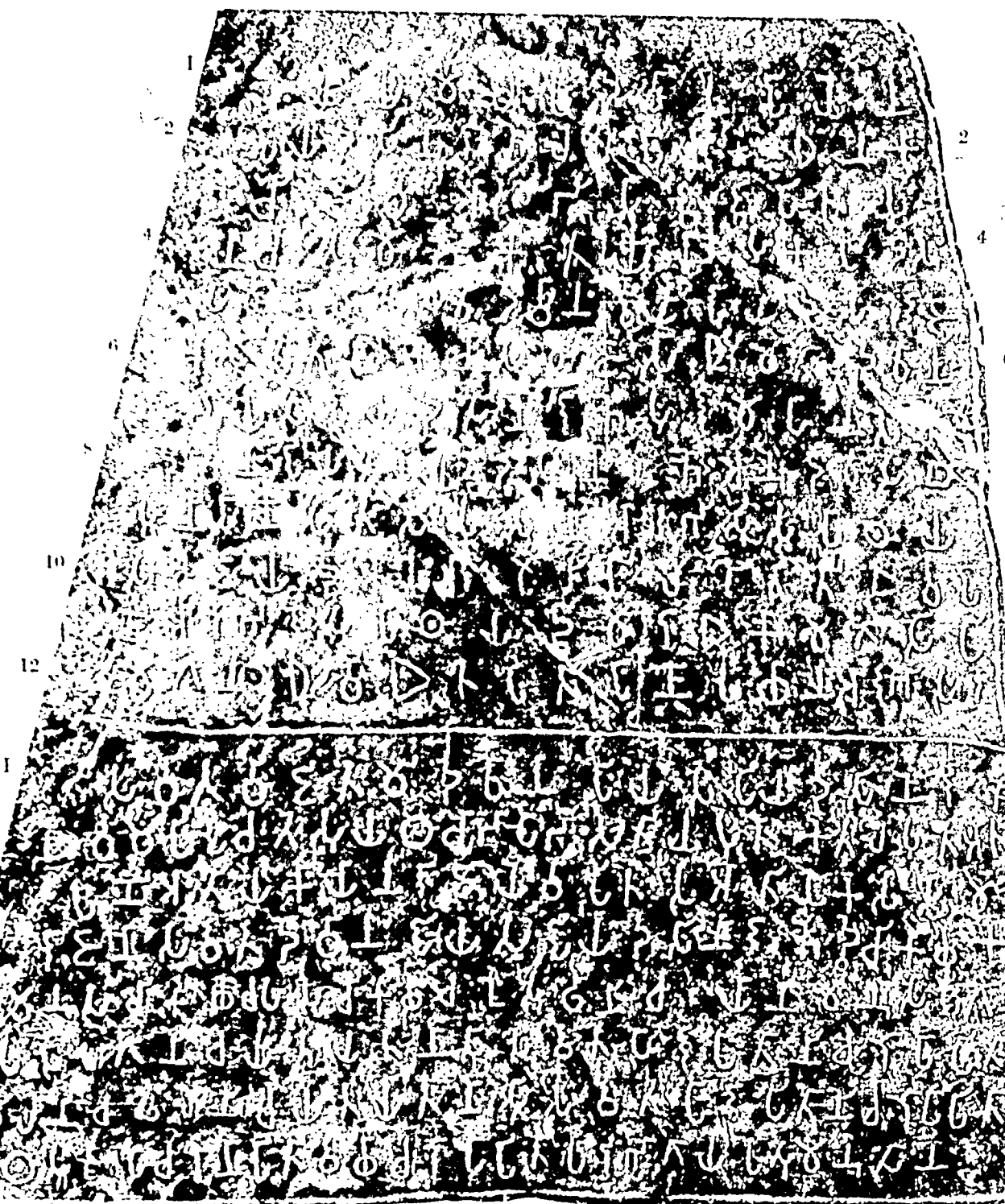
¹ For *sāmañitā*, 'neighbours', and its equivalent *sāmañi*, literally 'neighbourhood', see JBBRAS, 21. 398, *IA*, 34. 245, and *AJP*, 30. 183 ff. The 'neighbours' of Antiochus II were probably the four kings named in the Kālsī edict XIII, Q.

² D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, 21. 398, f.) remarks that *chikitsā* means neither 'hospitals' (Bühler) nor 'remedies' (Senart); he translates it by 'provision or provident arrangement'.

³ *°priyo* Bühler.

⁴ *mitra*- looks almost like *mitā*-; see *EI*, 2. 450, n. 47.

⁵ *apabhinādatā* Senart, *apabhāṃdatā* Bühler.



TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*,¹ the *Rājūka*,² and the *Prādēśika*³ shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges)⁴ every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.⁵

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'⁶

(E) The council (of *Mahāmātras*)⁷ also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.⁸

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- 1 (A) अतिक्रान्तं अन्तरं बहूनि वाससत्तानि वदितो एव प्राणारंभो विहिंसा च भूतानं
जातीसु
- 2 असंप्रतिपती ब्राह्मणसमणानं असंप्रतीपती (B) त अज देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो
राजो
- 3 धमचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धमघोसो विमानदर्शणा च हस्तिदसणा च

¹ For *yuta* = Sanskrit *yukta*, 'an officer', which occurs in the *Kautiliya*, see Thomas in IA, 37. 21, JRAS, 1909. 467, and 1914. 387 ff., and cf. the terms *āyuktaka* and *vinīyuktaka* in the Valabhi inscriptions (Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 169, notes 4 and 5).

² Bühler (ZDMG, 47. 466 ff.) showed that this term means originally 'a field-measurer' (from *rajju*, 'a rope'), and is the designation of a revenue settlement officer. In the *Kautiliya*, the two terms *chōra-rajju* (p. 60) and *chōra-rajjuka* (p. 232) seem to mean something like 'police' and 'police officer', respectively. Cf. I. J. Sorabji, *Notes on the Arthasāstram*, p. 10 f., and Jolly in ZDMG, 71. 228.

³ Thomas (JRAS, 1914. 383 ff., and 1915. 112) compares this term with *pradēśhtri* in the *Kautiliya*, which is, however, a *nomen agentis* of the verb *pradiśati*, 'to direct', while *prādēśika* is derived from the substantive *pradēśa*. Kern (JRAS, 1880. 393) translated *prādēśika* by 'a provincial governor'. In Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV, 126) *prādēśikēśvara* means 'a provincial chief'. A reference to the first separate edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD) suggests that the *Prādēśika* of the third rock-edict may have belonged to the class of the *Mahāmātras*, and that *Prādēśika-mahāmātra* would mean 'a provincial high officer'.

⁴ Cf. Fleet in JRAS, 1908. 821.

⁵ Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, CC.

⁶ This sentence has been successfully explained by Thomas, IA, 37. 20.

⁷ Bühler translated *parisā* by 'school', and in edict VI by 'committee'. K. Jayaswal (IA, 42. 283) has drawn attention to the occurrence of the term *mantri-parishad*, 'the council of ministers', in the *Kautiliya*. This meaning fits admirably both here and in the rock-edict VI, F.

⁸ I follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 839) in the translation of the difficult words *gaccheyān hetuto cha vyañjanato cha*. For *vyañjana* cf. my note on the translation of the Sārnāth pillar-edict, section I.

- 4 अगिखंधानि च अजानि च दिव्यानि रूपानि दसयित्वा जनं (C) यारिसे बहूहि
वाससतेहि
- 5 न भूतपुवे तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंप्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो धंमानुसस्ठिया अनारं-
- 6 भो प्राणानं अविहीसा भूतानं जातीनं संपटिपती ब्रह्मणसमणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 सुसुसा थेरसुसुसा (D) एस अजे च बहुविधे धंमचरणे वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव
देवानंप्रियो
- 8 प्रियदसि राजा धंमचरणं इदं (F) पुचा च पोचा च प्रपोचा च देवानंप्रियस
प्रियदसिनो राजो
- 9 प्रवधयिसंति इदं धंमचरणं आव सवटकपा धंमहि सीलमहि तिस्टंती धंमं
अनुसासिसंति
- 10 (G) एस हि सेस्ते कंमे य धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस
(I) त इममहि अयमहि
- 11 वधी च अहीनी च साधु (J) एताय अथाय इदं लेखापितं इमस अयस वधि
युजंतु हीनि च
- 12 नो लोचेतया (K) द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदसिना राजा इदं
लेखापितं

- 1 (A) atikātaṃ aṃt[a]raṃ bahūni vāsa-satāni vaḍhito eva prāṇāraṃbho vihiṃsā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisu
- 2 a[s]aṃpratipatī brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānaṃ asaṃpratipatī¹ (B) ta² aja Devānaṃ-
priyasa Priyadasino³ rāṇo
- 3 dhamma-charaṇena [bhe]rī-ghoso aho dhamma-ghoso vimāna-darsaṇā⁴ cha hasti-
da[sa]ṇā cha
- 4 agi-kh[a]ṃdhāni cha [a]ṇāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ (C) yārise bahuhi
v[āsa]-satehi
- 5 na bhūta-puve tārise aja vaḍhite Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo
dhammānusasīyā anāraṃ-
- 6 [bh]o prāṇānaṃ avihīsā⁵ bhūtānaṃ nātīnaṃ saṃpaṭipatī brahmaṇa-samaṇānaṃ
saṃpaṭipatī mātari pitari
- 7 [s]usrusā thaira-susrusā (D) esa aṇe cha bahuvidhe [dha]mma-charaṇe va[ḍhi]te
(E) vaḍhayisati cheva Devānaṃpriyo
- 8 [Pri*]ya[da]si⁶ rājā dhamma-[cha]raṇaṃ idaṃ (F) putrā cha [p]otrā cha prapotrā
cha Devānaṃpriyasa Priyadasino rāṇo

¹ The syllable *pa* was inserted subsequently.

² This syllable was inserted subsequently.

³ The syllable *da* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ -*dasāṇā* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ The syllable *hi* was inserted subsequently.

⁶ The first syllable of lines 8 and 9 (*pri* and *pri*) is invisible on my materials and is taken from the plate facing ASWI, 2. 102.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKA

piyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother (and) father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will promote this practice of morality until the æon of destruction (of the world),¹ (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality (and) by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been caused to be written, (viz. in order that) they² should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that the neglect (of it) should not be approved (by them).³

(K) This was caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: GIRNAR

- (A) देवानंप्रियो पियदसि राजा एवं आह (B) कलाणं दुकरं (C) यो आदिकरो
कलाणस सो दुकरं करोति
- (D) त मया बहु कलाणं कतं (E) त मम पुता च पोता च परं च तेन य मे अपचं
आव संवटकपा अनुवत्तिसरे तथा
- (F) यो तु एत देसं पि हापेसति सो दुक्तं कासति (G) सुकरं
हि पापं (H) अतिकातं अंतरं
- (I) त मया चैदसवासाभिसितेन धम्ममहामाता
कता (J) ते सवपासंडेसु व्यापता धामधिस्तानाय
- धम्मयुत्तस च योणकंबोजगंधारानं रिस्तिकपेतेणिकानं ये वा
पि अंजे आपराता (K) भतमयेसु व

¹ See Fleet's remarks in JRAS, 1911. 485, n. 1. Böhtlingk's Abridged Dictionary (vol. VII, Indenda) quotes *saṃvarta-kalpa* from the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* (§ 253, No. 62).

² Hereby the successors of Aśoka appear to be meant; cf. section F, above.

³ In the rock-edict XIII, section X, *lochetu* at Kālsī corresponds to *rochetu* (from Skt. *rōchayati*) Shāhbāzgarhī. Here, however, we find forms of the verb *locheti* in all versions. Probably these are pure Māgadhisms at Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, where forms of *rocheti* would have been expected. The same applies to section E of the rock-edict XIV, where [a]*lochetpā* at Gīrnār and *alocheti* at Shāhbāzgarhī correspond to *alochayitu* at Kālsī.

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- 6 सुखाय धंमसुत्तानं अपरिगोधाय व्यापता ते (L) वंधनवधसं
पटिविधानाय
7 प्रजा कताभीकारेसु वा थेरेसु वा व्यापता ते (M) पाटलिपुते
च बाहिरसु च
8 ये वा पि मे अजे जातिका सर्वत व्यापता ते (N) यो अयं
धंमनिसितो ति व
9 ते धंममहामाता (O) एताय अथाय अयं धंमलिपी लिखिता
10

- 1 (A) D[o]vānampriyo Piyadasi rājā¹ evaṃ āha (B) kalāṇaṃ dukaraṃ (C) y[o]
ādikaro] kalāṇ[a]sa² so dukaraṃ karoti
2 (D) ta mayā bahu kalāṇaṃ kataṃ (E) t[a] mama putā cha potā³ cha paraṃ cha
tena y[a] me [a]pachaṃ āva samvaṭṭa-kapā anuvatisare tathā
3 so sukataṃ kāsati⁴ (F) yo tu eta desaṃ pi hāpesati so [du]kataṃ kāsati
(G) sukaraṃ hi pāpa[m] (H) atikātaṃ añtaraṃ
4 na bhūta - pravaṃ⁵ dhamma - mahāmātā nāma (I) ta m[a]yā traidasa-
vāsābhi[s]i[te]na dhamm[a]-mahāmātā katā (J) te sava-pāsāṇḍesu vyāpatā
dhāmadhiṭṭhāyā⁶
5 [dha]mma-yutasa cha Yona-K[a]mbo[ja]-Garudhārānaṃ⁷ Ristika-
P[o]topikānaṃ ye vā pi a[m]h[ā]c[ā]parātā⁸ (K) bhatamayesu va
6 [su]khā[ya] dhamma - yutānaṃ apar[i]godhāya vyāpatā te
(L) ba[m]dhana-badhasa⁹ paṭividdhāyā
7 [p]rajā¹⁰ katābhikāresu vā thairesu vā vyāpatā te (M) Pāṭalipute
cha bāhiraṃ¹¹ cha
8 [y]e vā pi me aṇe nātikā sarvata vyāpatā te (N) yo ayaṃ dhamma-
nisrito ti va
9 [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā (O) etāya¹² athāya ayaṃ dhamma-
10

¹ There is a vacant space before and after the syllable *rā*.

² *ye a* *kalāṇesa* Senart and Bühler.

³ *potā* Bühler.

⁴ The Kālsi and Dhauḷi versions read correctly *so sukataṃ karoti*. Dr. Bühler (AJP, 32. 441) suggests, the Gīrnār reading may be a corruption due to the omission of the next sentence.

⁵ Read *-pruvam*, which is Senart's reading; *-pruvam* Bühler.

⁶ The other versions read *dhammādhī*.

⁷ *Yona*-Bühler.

⁸ *parātā* Bühler.

⁹ The *na* of *bandhana*- was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ [p]rajā looks exactly like [p]ājā. Cf. the *r* of *traidasa*- in the next sentence.

¹¹ Read *bāhiresu*, which is Senart's and Bühler's reading.

¹² The syllable *ya* was inserted subsequently.

TRANSLATION

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon of destruction (of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin is easily committed.
 (H) In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality (*Dharma-mahāmātra*) did not exist before.
 (I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) **anointed thirteen years**.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōṇas, Kambōjas, and Gandhāras,¹ the Ristikas and Pētēnikas,² and whatever other western borderers³ (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters⁴ for the happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).⁵
 (L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners⁶ (with money)⁷ (if one has) children, or with those who are bewitched (i. e. incurably ill?),⁸ or with the aged.

¹ i. e. the Greeks, Kābulis, and north-western Panjābis; see ASSI, I. 123, n. 1, and, for the Kambōjas, Weber, *Indische Streifen*, 3. 353 f., and JRAS, 1911. 801 f., 1912. 255 ff., 1915. 171.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 261) identified the Ristikas with the Rishṭikas of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But *Ristika* is probably a clerical mistake for *Rāstika*; see my note on the translation of the Shāhbāzgarhī edict V, J. According to Michelson (IF, 24. 52 ff.), *Petenika* stands for **Paitrayanika*. Dhauī reads *Pitenika*, and the two Kharōshthī versions read *Pitīnika*. The same tribe is mentioned in the rock-edict XIII, R; see my note on the translation of the Kālsī version of that passage.

³ In Senart's and Bühler's translations the word *apara*, 'western', is disregarded; but it is noticed by Senart in IA, 20. 240. For *anṭa* see the Kālsī edict II, l. 1, and XIII, l. 6; Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Bairāt, H; Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura, I; and the second separate edict at Dhauī and Jaugaḍa. Later on Aparānta became the designation of a tract of land on the western coast, the capital of which was Sōpārā; cf. EI, II. 220.

⁴ The *m* between *bhata* (Sanskrit *bhṛta*) and *aya* (Sanskrit *ārya*) is euphonic; see Franke in GN, 1895. 533 f., and cf. Kuhn's *Pāli-Grammatik*, p. 63 f., and Windisch, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1893. 240 f.

⁵ Instead of *aparigodha* other versions read *apalibodha*, for which see my note on the translation of the corresponding passage at Kālsī. Thomas has traced the substantive *paligodha*, 'desire', and the participle *paliguddha* (= *parigiddha*), 'desirous', in Buddhist Sanskrit works; see his valuable article in JRAS, 1915. 99 ff.

⁶ Cf. *baṇḍhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict IV, L, which renders Bühler's translation of this passage very improbable.

⁷ Cf. *hiranṇa-paṭividdhāno* in the Girnār edict VIII, E, and Lüders in SPAW, 1914. 840.

⁸ With *katābhikāra* Senart compares *abhikṛitvarīḥ*, '(female demons who are) bewitchers', and *abhinishkārin*, 'devising (against others)', in the *Atharvaveda*. Bühler (EI, 2. 468) translated 'overwhelmed by misfortune'; cf. his remarks in ZDMG, 48. 55.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 13 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा अहा (B) कयाने दुकले। (C) ए आदिकले कयानसा से दुकलं कलेति (D) से ममया बहु कयाने कटे (E) ता ममा पुता चा नताले चा
- 14 पलं चा तेहि ये अपत्तिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवटिसंति से सुकटं कळंति (F) ए चु हेता देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कळति (G) पापे हि नामा सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुव धंममहामता नामा (I) तेदस-वसाभिसितेना ममया धंममहामता कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु वियापटा
- 15 धंमाधिधानाये चा धंमवढिया हिदसुखाये वा धंमयुतसा योनकंवीजगंधालानं ए वा पि अंने अपलंता (K) भटमयेसु वंभनिभेसु अनथेसु बुधेसु हिदसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिवोधाये वियापटा ते (L) वंधनवधसा पटिविधानाये अपलिवोधाये मोखाये चा एयं अनुवधा पजाव ति वा
- 16 कटाभिकाले ति वा महालके ति वा वियापटा ते (M) हिदा वाहिलेसु चा नगलेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु भातिनं च ने भगिनिना ए वा पि अंने नातिक्ये सवता वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति वा दानसुयुते ति वा सवता विजितसि ममा धंमयुतसि वियापटा ते धंममहामता (O) एताये अठाये
- 17 इयं धंमलिपि लेखिता चिलथितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु
- 13 (A) Devānampiye Piyadasi lājā ahā (B) kayāne dukale।¹ (C) e ādikale kay[ā]nasā se dukalaṃ kaleti (D) se mamayā bahu kayāne kaṭ[e] (E) t[ā ma]m[ā]² putā ch[ā] nat[ā]le chā
- 14 palam chā tehi [ye] apatiye [m]e āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvaṭisa[m]ti s[e] s[u]kaṭam kachham[t]i (F) e chu het[ā] desaṃ pi hāpa[y]i[sat]i³ s[e] dukaṭam kachhati (G) p[ā]pe hi nāmā⁴ supadālaye (H) se atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no huta-puluva⁵ dham[ma]-mahāmata⁶ nāmā⁷ (I) t[e]dasa-vasābh[i]sitenā mamayā dhamma-mahāmāt[ā] kaṭa (J) [te] sav[a]-pāsam[de]su viyā[pa]ṭā
- 15 dham[m]ādhihā[nā]ye chā dhamma-vadhiyā hi[da]-sukhāye vā⁸ dhamm[a]-yuta[sā] Yona-Kaṃb[o]ja-Gaṃdhālānaṃ e vā [pi] aṃne apalaṃtā (K) bhaṭamayesu baṃbhanibhesu anathesu [v]udhesu hida-sukhāye dhamma-yutāye apalibodhāye viyapaṭā⁹ te (L) baṃdha[na-badha]sā paṭividhānāy[e] apalibodhāye mokh[ā]ye chā eyam anubadh[ā]¹⁰ pajāva ti v[ā]
- 16 [kaṭābhikā]le ti vā m[ah]ā[la]ke ti v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā te (M) hid[ā] bā[h]ilesu chā naga[l]esu s[a]ves[u] olotha[n]esu bhā[tina]m cha ne bh[agi]ni[nā] e vā [pi] aṃn[e] nātikye savatā viyā[pa]ṭā (N) e iyaṃ dhamma-nisite ti vā dāna-suyute¹¹

¹ Senart and Bühler omit this sign, which marks the end of the section.

² mama Bühler.

³ °santi Bühler.

⁴ nāma Senart and Bühler.

⁵ -puluva Senart and Bühler.

⁶ -mahāmātā Senart and Bühler.

⁷ nāma Bühler.

⁸ vi Senart, chā Bühler.

⁹ viyāpaṭā Bühler.

¹⁰ anubandha Senart, anub[dham] Bühler.

¹¹ -sayute Senart, -sanyute Bühler.

ti [v]ā sav[a]tā v[i]jitas[i] mamā [dha]mma-yutasi viyāpaṭā te dhamma-
m[a]hām[a]tā¹ (O) etāye aṭṭhāye

17 [i]yaṃ dhamma-lipi lekhitā chi[la]-thitikyā hotu [tathā] cha me [pa]jā [a]nuva[ta]tu²

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin indeed steps fast.³

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness⁴ of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōjas, and Gandhālas,⁵ and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,⁶ with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,⁷ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).⁸

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.⁹

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here¹⁰ and in all the outlying towns, in the harems¹¹ of our brothers, of (our) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

¹ *mātā Senart and Bühler.

² *anuvatinu* Senart and Bühler.

³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 267) explained *supadālaye* (for which Mānsehrā reads *supadarave*) by *supradāryam*. Gīrnār and Shāhbāzgarhī read instead of it *sukarām*, 'easily committed'. Perhaps *padālaya* is formed from *pada*, 'a step', as *mahālakā* (l. 16) = Prākṛit *mahālaya* from *mahat*.

⁴ Here and in K the Dhauī version reads *kita-* instead of *hida-*.

⁵ Here the remaining versions insert the names of two other tribes.

⁶ i.e. Vaiśyas; see Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 269. The readings of the Dhauī and Mānsehrā versions, *ibhiya* and *ibhya*, show that *ibha* at Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī is meant for *ibbha*. The same follows from the *Jātaka*, No. 544, where, as noted by Bühler (VOJ, 12. 76), the compound *brāhmaṇ-ibbha* occurs several times.

⁷ The reading *dhamma-yutāye* seems to be a mere corruption of that of the Gīrnār version, *dhamma-yutānān*.

⁸ According to Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, *paṭibodha* means 'obstacle, hindrance, drawback, impediment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841) has shown that its original meaning was 'fetters, to be fettered'. As its equivalent at Gīrnār (*parigodha*), the word seems to be used here in a metaphorical sense, while it has its original meaning in the next section.

⁹ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 269) took *eyam anubadhā* = Skt. *etam anubandham* in the sense of *etad-artham*. But *eyam* may stand for *e ayam* (cf. *e iyaṃ* in section N = *yo ayam* at Gīrnār), and *anubadhā* for the ablative *anubandhāt*, 'in succession, respectively'.

¹⁰ Instead of 'here' the Gīrnār version reads 'both in Pāṭaliputra'.

¹¹ The Dhauī version inserts 'of myself'.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions¹ with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality² or properly devoted to charity.³

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants⁴ may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुतपुलुवे
सवं कलं अठकमे वा पटिवेदना वा (C) से ममया हेवं कटे (D) सवं कालं
अदमानसा मे
- 18 ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उयानसि सवता पटिवेदका अठं
जनसा वेदेतु मे (E) सवता चा जनसा अठं कछामि हकं (F) यं पि
चा किछि मुखते आनपयामि हकं दापकं वा सावकं वा ये वा पुना
महामतेहि
- 19 अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तायेठाये विवादे निमृति वा संतं पलिसाये
अनंतलियेना पटि विये मे सवता सवं कालं (G) हेवं आनपयिते
ममया (H) नपि हि मे दोसे उठानसा अठसंतिलनाये चा (I) कटवियमुते
हि मे सवलोकहिते (J) तसा चा पुना एसे मुले उठाने
- 20 अठसंतिलना चा (K) नपि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेना (L) यं च किछि
पलकमामि हकं किति भुतानं अननियं येहं हिद च कानि सुखायामि पलत
चा स्वगं आलाधयितु (M) से एतायेठाये इयं धमलिपि लेखिता चिल-
टितिक्या होतु तथा च मे पुतदाले पलकमातु सवलोकहिताये
- 21 (N) दुकाले चु इयं अनता अगेना पलकमेना

- 17 (A) Dev[ā]nāmpī[y]o Piyadas[i] lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no
huta-puluv[e] sav[a]ṃ kalam⁵ aṭha-k[aṃ]me [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā vā (C) s[e]
ma[ma]yā hevaṃ kaṭe (D) s[a]vaṃ kālaṃ adamānas[ā]⁶ me
- 18 olodhanasī gabhāgālas[i] va[chas]i vin[itasi] u[y]ānāsī sava[t]ā paṭive[dakā] aṭha[m]
janasā vedetu⁷ [m]e (E) sa[va]tā [ch]ā⁸ ja[nas]ā aṭhaṃ kachhāmi hakaṃ
(F) yaṃ pi ch[ā] k[i]chhi m[u]kha[t]e ānapayāmi [ha]kaṃ dā[pakaṃ] v[ā]
sāvakaṃ] vā ye vā punā mahāmat[ē]hi⁹

¹ The Dhauī version reads 'on the whole earth'.

² Other versions insert 'or established in morality'.

³ In the translation of this sentence I differ from Bühler and follow on the whole Senart. Instead of *dāna-suyute* the Mānśrā version reads *dana-saṃyute*, which might mean 'furnished with gifts'. The distribution of gifts was one of the duties of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras*; see the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, CC and DD.

⁴ See Lüders in SPAW, 1914, 841 f.

⁵ *kālam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *adam[a]nasā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *paṭivedantu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁸ Senart and Bühler omit *chā*.

⁹ *mātehi* Bühler.

- 19 a[tiyāyike ālōpīte¹ h]o[t]i tā[yēṭh]ā[yē] vivāde n[i]jhati v[ā] saṁtaṁ palis[ā]ye
 anam[ta]l[i]yenā paṭ[i] viye² me sav[a]t[ā] savaṁ kālaṁ (G) hevaṁ
 ānapayite m[a]mayā (H) nathi hi me dose³ uṭhān[a]sā aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye chā
 (I) kaṭ[a]viya-mute hi me s[a]va-loka-hi[te] (J) t[asā] ch[ā]⁴ [p]u[n]ā es[e] mule
 uṭh[āne]
- 20 [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā chā (K) [na]thi hi kaṁ[ma]talā sava-lo[ka]-hitenā (L) yaṁ cha
 kichhi⁵ palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhutānaṁ [a]naniyaṁ ye[haṁ hi]da cha [kā]ni
 sukhāyāmi palata chā svagaṁ ālādhayitu⁶ (M) s[e] etā[y]eṭhāye iyaṁ dhama-lipi
 lekhitā chila-ṭhityā hotu tathā cha me puta-dāle palakamātu sava-loka-hitā[yē]
- 21 (N) dukale ch[u]⁷ iyaṁ anat[ā]⁸ agenā palakam[e]nā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānaṁpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I shall dispose of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises,⁹ or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty¹⁰ (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.¹¹

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them¹² happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

¹ *pitam* Bühler.

² Restore *paṭivedetaviye*.

³ Jaugada reads *tose*; Bühler adds *va*.

⁴ Bühler omits *chā*.

⁵ *kichi* Bühler.

⁶ Read *ālādhayantu*.

⁷ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *aninata* Senart, *anata* Bühler.

⁹ The form *saṁtaṁ* corresponds to *saṁto* at Gīrnār, and must be a nominative singular, just as in the Kālsī edict VIII, C, and as *kalasīntaṁ* in XII, H; see also *kala[ṁ]ta*, XI, E, and *kalata*, XII, F and G, and cf. my note on the translation of the Dhauli separate edict I, X.

¹⁰ *muta* for *mata* occurs also in the Kālsī edict XIII, E (*vedaniya-mute gulu-mute chā*). The change of *a* to *u* is due to the preceding labial, as in *uchāvucha* (Kālsī, VII, C, and IX, B) for *uchāvacha* (Gīrnār).

¹¹ For the use of the instrumental with the comparative see above, p. 17, n. 3.

¹² As *kāni* corresponds to *nāni* at Gīrnār, and to *sha* or *she* in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, it seems to be used as a demonstrative. The same meaning fits in the pillar-edict IV, H and M; V, C; VI, C; and VII, H. The singular *kaṁ* occurs in the Jaugada separate edict I C, and II, C.

(M) Now, for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been caused to be written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons and wives¹ may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

21 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सवता इच्छति सवपासंड वसेवु (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधि चा इच्छति (C) जने चु उचावुचाछंदे उचावुचलागे (D) ते सवं एकदेसं पि कछंति (E) विपुले पि चु दाने असा नथि

22 सयमे भावसुधि किटनाता दिढभतिता चा निचे वाढं

21 (A) *Dovānāṃpiyo Piyadasi lājā [savat]ā [i]chhati sava-[pāsa]mḍa vas[ē]vu* (B) *[sa]ve hi te sayama[m] bhāva-sudhi chā ichhamti* (C) *jane [ch]u uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde uchāvucha-lā[gr]e* (D) *te savam eka-des[a]m pi k[a]chham[t]i* (E) *vīpule pi chu dān[ē]² asā nathi*

22 *sayame bhā[va]-sudh[i] kiṭanā[ā³ d]iḍha-bhatitā chā nī[che] bādham*

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil (either) the whole (or) only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, and firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

22 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) हिदा मिगविया अन्नानि चा हेडिसाना अभिलामानि हुसु (C) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा दसवसाभिसिते संतं निखमिषा संबोधि

23 (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) हेता इयं होति समनवंभनानं दसने चा दाने च वुधानं दसने च हिलंनपटिविधाने चा जानपदसा जनसा दसने धंमनुसथि चा धम-पलिपुछा चा ततोपया (F) एसे भुये लाति होति देवानंपियसा पियदसि लाजिने भागे अंने

22 (A) *atikaṃtaṃ a[m]talaṃ Devānāṃpiyā [vihāla-yātaṃ nāma] nikhamisu* (B) *hidā migaviyā aṃnāni chā heḍisānā⁴ abhilāmān[i] husu* (C) *Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lājā das[a]-vasābhisite saṃtaṃ nikhamithā⁵ Saṃbodhi*

23 (D) *tenatā dhamma-yātā* (E) *[h]etā iyaṃ hoti samana-baṃbhanānaṃ dasane chā*

¹ The other versions render it probable that *-dāle* is a clerical mistake for *-natāle*, 'grandsons'.

² *dān[āni]* Bühler.

³ Read **natā*.

⁴ Read **sāni*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

⁵ **mithā* Senart and Bühler.

dāne cha vudh[ā]nam dasa[n]e ch[a] hilaṁna-paṭi[v]idhāne chā [jā]napadasā
[ja]n[a]sā das[a]ne dhaṁmanusathi chā dhama-palipuchhā chā¹ tatopa[yā]
(F) [e]se bh[u]jye lāti² hoti Devānāmpiyasā Piyadas[i]sā lājine bh[ā]g[e] amne

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Devānāmpriyas*³ used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
(C) When king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years,⁴ he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.⁵
(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
(F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 24 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा आहा (B) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आवाधसि
अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाने पवाससि एताये अनाये चा एदिसाये जने
बहु मंगलं कलेति (C) हेतुं अकजिनियो बहु चा बहुविधं चा खुदा चा
निलयिया चा मंगलं कलंति
- 25 (D) से कटवि चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एसे (F) इयं चु खो महाफले
ये धंममंगले (G) हेता इयं दासभट्टकसि सम्यापटिपति गुलुना अपचिति
पानानं संयमे समनवभनानं दाने एसे अने चा हेडिसे । धंममंगले नामा
(H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि सुवामिकेन पि मित-
संयुतेना अव पटिवेसियेना पि
- 26 इयं साधु इयं कटविये मंगले आव तसा अथसा निवुत्तिया इमं कळामि ति
(I) ए हि इतले मंगले संसयिक्ये से (J) सिया व तं अठं निवटेया सिया पुना
नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से (L) इयं पुना धंममंगले अकालिक्ये (M) हंचे
पि तं अठं नो निटेति हिद अठं पलत अनंतं पुना पवसति (N) हंचे पुन तं
अठं निवतेति हिदा ततो उभयेसं
- 27 लधे होति हिद चा से अठे पलत चा अनंतं पुना पवसति तेना धंममंगलेना

¹ cha Bühler.² Read lāti.³ Instead of this title of Aśoka's predecessors the *Girnār* and *Dhauli* versions have the word 'kings'.⁴ For the form *samitaṁ* see above, p. 35, n. 9.⁵ viz. 'in my territory'; cf. above, p. 2, n. 3. The *Girnār* version reads *tenesā*, but *Shāh-bāzgarhī* and *Mānsehrā* read *tenada*, which seems to stand for *tenatra*. Therefore Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 426) was probably right in explaining *tenatā* at *Kālsī* and *Dhauli* by *tena atā*.

- 24 (A) *Devānāmpīye Piy[ā]da[s]i lā[jā] āhā* (B) *jan[c] uch[āv]uchaṁ maṁgalaṁ ka[l]eti ābādhasi av[āha]si vivāhasi pajopadāne¹ pavāsasi e[tā]ye amnāye chā edisāye jane bahu magala[m] k[a]leti* (C) *heta [ch]u abaka-jani[yo] bahu chā bahuvidhaṁ chā khudā [ch]ā nilathiyā² chā magalaṁ ka[lā]mīti*
- 25 (D) *se kaṭavi³ cheva kho maṁgale* (E) *apa-phale [ch]u⁴ kho [c]s[e]* (F) *[i]yaṁ chu kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le ye dhamma-magale* (G) *he[tā] iyaṁ dāsa-bhaṭakasi s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti⁵ gulunā apachiti [p]ā[n]ān[am] saṁyame⁶ s[a]man[a]-bamhānānaṁ dāne ese amne chā heḍise⁷ dhamma-magale nāmā* (H) *se vata[v]iye pitinā pi putena pi bh[ā]tinā pi suvāmiken[a]⁸ pi mita-saṁthuten[ā] ava⁹ paṭivesiyenā [p]i*
- 26 *iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [ma]g[a]le āva [ta]sā athasā ni[v]utiyā imaṁ kachhāmi ti¹⁰* (I) *e hi i[ta]le¹¹ magale sa[m]sayikye se¹²* (J) *siyā va taṁ aṭhaṁ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no* (K) *hi[da]lokike chev[a] se¹³* (L) *iyaṁ punā dhamma-magale akāliky[e]* (M) *haṁche pi taṁ aṭhaṁ¹⁴ no niṭeti¹⁵ hida aṭhaṁ¹⁶ palata anamtaṁ punā pavasati¹⁷* (N) *haṁche puna¹⁸ taṁ aṭhaṁ nivateti hidā¹⁹ tato ubhaye[sa]m*
- 27 *ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata²⁰ chā anamtaṁ punā²¹ pasavati tenā dhamma-magalen[ā]*

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks (thus).

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,²² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) mothers and wives²³ are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other such (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, or even a (mere) neighbour ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This

¹ This word cannot be correct, because in the Kālsī dialect the locative of *upadāna* would end in *-asi*. Read therefore (with Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa) *°dāye*, which is the actual reading of Senart and Bühler.

² *nilathiyāṁ* Senart, *nilathiyāṁ* Bühler.

³ Read *kaṭaviye*. ⁴ *vu* Bühler. ⁵ *-paṭipāti* Bühler. ⁶ *sāyaṁme* Senart, *sayame* Bühler.

⁷ Instead of this mark of punctuation Senart and Bühler read *taṁ*.

⁸ *°ken[ā]* Bühler.

⁹ *āva* Bühler.

¹⁰ *ka[tha]mīti* Bühler.

¹¹ *ivale* Bühler.

¹² Bühler adds [*hoti*].

¹³ *cha vase* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁴ *athāṁ* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read, as at Mānsehrā, *nivaṭeti*.

¹⁶ Read (with Shāhbāzgarhī) *atha*.

¹⁷ Read *puṇṇaṁ pasavati*.

¹⁸ *sukā* Senart, *punā* Bühler.

¹⁹ *hida* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *°tā* Senart and Bühler.

²¹ Read *puṇṇaṁ*, which is Bühler's reading.

²² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 43 f.) derived the locative *upadāye* from a supposed Skt. feminine **utpad*. Shāhbāzgarhī reads *upadane*, which either corresponds to Skt. *utpādanē*, or is a mistake for the Mānsehrā reading, *upadāye*.

²³ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 433) proposed translating ‘nurses and mothers’. Cf. *ambika-mādukehiṁ* in the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, act VIII, verse 19.

practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking):¹ I shall observe this'.

(I) For other² ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).

(J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).

(K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.

(L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.

(M) Even if one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).³

(N) But if one attains (by it) his object in this (world), the gain⁴ of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSĪ

27 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषा लजा यषो वा किति वा नो महथावा मनति अनता
यं पि यसो वा किति वा इछति तदत्वाये अयतिये चा जने धंसुसुषा सुसुषातु
मे ति धंसवतं वा अनुविधियंतु ति (B) धतकाये देवानंपिये पियदसि

28 लाजा यषो वा किति वा इछ (C) अं चा किछि लकमति देवानंपिये पियदषि
लजा त षव पालंतिकाये वा किति सकले अपपलाषवे षियाति ति
(D) एषे चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (E) दुकले चु खो एषे खुदकेन वा वगेना उषुटेन
वा अनत अगेना पलकमेना षवं पलितिदिनु (F) हेत चु खो

29 उषटेन वा दुकले

27 (A) Devā[nam]piye Piy[a]dashā⁵ lajā⁶ y[a]sho vā kiti vā no [ma]hathāvā⁷
manati an[a]tā [ya]m pi yaso vā ki[t]i vā ichh[at]i tadatvāye ayatiye chā jane
dhamma-susushā susushātu me ti dhamma-vataṁ vā anuvi[dh]iya[m]tu⁸ ti
(B) dhata[k]āye⁹ Devāna[m]piye Piyadasi

28 lājā yasho vā kiti vā ichha¹⁰ (C) aṁ ch[ā] kichhi lakamati¹¹ Devanampiye¹²
Piyadashi lajā ta [sha]va¹³ pālaṁtikyāye¹⁴ vā kiti sakale apa-p[a]lāshave¹⁵
shiyāti ti (D) [e]she chu palisave e apune¹⁶ (E) dukale chu kho eshe
khudakena vā vagenā¹⁷ ushuṭena vā ana[ta] agen[ā pa]lakamenā shava[m]
palitiditu (F) [h]e[ta chu] kho

29 [u]shaṭe[na] vā dukale

¹ From this word to the end of the edict the Kālśī version differs completely from the Gīrnār one. Dhāuli and Jaugaḍa agree with Gīrnār, but the two Kharōshthī versions with Kālśī.

² i[ta]le is the regular equivalent of [i]tare at Mānsehrā. Shālbāzgarhī reads however etake.

³ The words *palata anantam punnam pasavati* occur again in N, and in the Kālśī edict XI, E. In these two cases *pasavati* is construed with an instrumental, and in the last case it corresponds to *bhavati* in the Gīrnār version. Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 580) was therefore right in explaining it by *pasavvati*=Sanskrit *prasāvyaṭi*.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 19, n. 16.

⁵ Read *Piyadashi*.

⁶ lāja Senart, lājā Bühler.

⁷ The Gīrnār version reads *mahāthāvah[ā]*.

⁸ yāta Senart, yatu Bühler.

⁹ Read *etakāye*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁰ Read *ichhati*.

¹¹ Read *palakamati*.

¹² *Devānam* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *savam* Senart, *shavam* Bühler.

¹⁴ *pāliti* Senart, *pāliti* Bühler.

¹⁵ Read *palishave*.

¹⁶ The syllable *ne* was entered subsequently; *apūne* Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ *vagena* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, or that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) And whatever effort king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.¹

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

(E) But it is indeed difficult either for a lowly person² or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) it is indeed (more) difficult to accomplish just for a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSİ

- 29 (A) देवानंपिये पियदषि लाजा हेवं हा (B) नथि हेडिषे दाने अदिष धंमदाने ।
धमषविभगे । धंमषंवधे । (C) तत एषे दापभटकषि । पम्यापटिपति माता-
पितिषु । सुषुषा । मितषंयुतनातिक्यानं समनावंभनाना दाने
- 30 पानानं अनालंभे (D) एषे वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
षवामिक्खेन पि मितशंयुताना अवा पटिवेषियेना इयं पाधु इयं कटविये
(E) शे तथा कलंत हिदलोकिक्खे च कं आलधे होति पलत चा अनत
पुना पशवति तेना धंमदानेना
- 29 (A) Devānaṃp[i]ye Piyadashi [l]ājā hevaṃ hā³ (B) nathi h[e]dishe dāne adisha⁴
dha[r̥]ma-dāne । dhama-shav[i]bhage⁵ । dhamma-sham̐badh[e] । (C) ta[ta] eshe
dāsha-bhaṭakashi । shamyā-paṭipati mātā-pitishu । shushushā । mita-sham̐thuta-
nātikyānaṃ samanā-[ba]r̥mbhanānā⁶ [dā]ne
- 30 pānānaṃ anāl[aṃ]bhe (D) eshe vatav[i]ye pi[t̥]inā pi pute[na]⁷ pi bhā[t̥]inā pi
sh[a]vām[i]kyena⁸ pi mita-śam̐thutānā⁹ avā p[a]ṭiveshiyen[ā]¹⁰ iy[a]ṃ shādhu¹¹
iyam̐ kaṭaviye (E) [ś]e tathā kala[r̥]nta hidalokikye cha kaṃ āladhe hoti palata
ch[ā]¹² anata¹³ punā¹⁴ paśavati tenā dhamma-dānenā

¹ The form *shiyāti* occurs again in the Kālsī edict XII, B, where it is spelt *siyāti*. Cf. also *siyati* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict XII, L, and in the Mānschrā edict X, C.

² In Sanskrit the word *varga* means 'a class'; but here and in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions it corresponds to *jana*, 'a person', at Gīrnār. The same is the case in the first separate rock-edict, where Dhāuli (K) reads *jane*, and Jaugaḍa (L) [va]ge. See also *hedisameva vagam̐*, 'a person of the same description', in section AA of the same edict at Dhāuli.

³ Read *ālā*.

⁴ *yādishaṃ* Senart, [ā]dishaṃ Bühler.

⁵ *dhamma-sham̐vibhage* Bühler.

⁶ *samana-* and **nānaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *pute* Senart and Bühler; the syllable *na* seems to be entered below the line.

⁸ Read *shuvāmī*.

⁹ The *ta* of *mita-* stands below the line; read **tenā*.

¹⁰ *paṭivesi* Bühler.

¹¹ *sādhu* Bühler.

¹² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹³ *aninatanam̐* Senart, *ananita* Bühler.

¹⁴ *puninā* Bühler; read *ananitanam̐ puninam̐*.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say:—'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus,¹ (happiness) in this world is attained,² and endless merit is produced³ in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

30 (A) देवानापिये पियदधि

31 लाजा षावापाषंडानि पवजितानि गहयानि वा पुजेति दानेन विविधये च ।
पुजाये (B) नो चु तथा दाने वा पुजा वा देवानंपिये मनति अथा कित
शालावढि शियाति शवपाशडान (C) शालावढि ना बहुविधा (D) तश् चु
इनं मुले अ वचगुति किति ति अतपशड वा पुजा वा पलपाशडंगलहा व
नो शया

32 अपकलनशि लहका वा शिया तगि तशि पकलनशि (E) पुजेतविय चु
पलपाशडा तेन तेन अकालन (F) हेव कलत अतपाशडा वढं वढियति
पलपाशड पि वा उपकलेति (G) तदा अनथ कलत अतपाशड च छनति
पलपाशड पि वा अपकलेति (H) ये हि केछ अतपाशड पुनाति

33 पलपाशड वा । गलहति । षवे अतपाशडभतिया वा किति । अतपाशड । दिपयेम
षे च पुना तथा । कलंतं । वाढतले । उपहंति । अतपाशडधि । (I) षमवाये वु
षाधु किति । अंनमनषा धमं । पुनेयु चा । पुषुषेयु चा ति । (J) हेवं हि
देवानंपियषा इछा किंति

34 सवपाशड । बहुषुता चा कयानागा च । हुवेयु ति । (K) ए च तत तत । पषंना ।
तेहि वतविये । (L) देवानापिये नो तथा । दानं वा । पुजा वा । मनंति ।
अथा किति षालावढि शिया । षवपाशडतिं । (M) बहुका चा । एतायाठाये ।
वियापटा । धंममहामाता । इथिधियखमहामाता । वचभुमिक्या । अने वा
निक्याया

35 (N) इयं च एतिषा । फले । यं अतपाशडवढि चा । होति धंमष चा दिपना ।

¹ For the form *kalanitani* see above, p. 35, n. 9.

² For *cha kam* see above, p. 31, n. 6.

³ See above, p. 39, n. 3.

- 30 (A) [D]evānāpiye [P]iyadash[i]
 31 lājā shāvā-pāshaṁ[dān]i¹ pav[a]jitā[n]i gahathāni vā pujeti dānena vividh[aye]²
 cha³ pu[ā]ye (B) n[o] ch[u] tathā dāne vā puja vā Devāna[m]piye m[a]nati
 athā k[i]ta⁴ ś[ā]lā-v[a]dhi⁵ śiyāti ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna⁶ (C) śālā-vadhi⁷ nā⁸
 bahuvidhā⁹ (D) taśa chu inam¹⁰ mule a va[cha]-guti kiti t[i]¹¹ ata-pāśaḍa-¹²
 [v]ā¹³ puja vā pala-pāśaṁḍa-galahā va¹⁴ no [śa]yā¹⁵
 32 ap[a]k[a]l[a]naś[i] lahakā¹⁶ vā śiyā [ta]gi¹⁷ taśi pakalan[a]ś[i] (E) pujetav[i]ya chu
 p[a]la-pā[śa]ḍā tena tena akālana¹⁸ (F) heva¹⁹ kalata ata-pāśaḍā²⁰ bādham²¹
 vadhiyati pala-pāśaḍa pi²² vā upakaleti (G) tadā²³ anatha²⁴ kalata ata-pāśaḍa
 cha chhanati pala-pāśaḍa²⁵ pi vā apakaleti (H) ye [h]i kechha [a]ta-pāśaḍa
 punāti²⁶
 33 pala-pāśaḍa vā | ga[la]hati | shave ata-pāshaṁ[ḍa]-bhatiyā vā kiti | ata-pāshaṁḍa²⁷ |
 [d]ipayema she cha punā tathā | kalaṁtaṁ | bādhatale | up[a]hamt[i] | ata-
 pāshaṁdashi | (I) shamavāye²⁸ vu²⁹ shādhu kiti | amnamanashā dhammam |
 shune[y]u chā | shushusheyu chā ti | (J) hevaṁ hi Devānaṁpiyashā ichhā
 kintī³⁰
 34 sava-pāshaṁḍa | baha-shutā³¹ chā kayānāgā³² cha | huveyu ti | (K) e [cha]³³ tata
 t[a]t[a]³⁴ | p[a]sh[am]nā³⁵ | te[hi] va[taviye] | (L) Devānāpiye no tathā | dānam
 vā | puja vā | maṁnat[i] | athā kiti sh[ā]lā-v[a]dhi³⁶ śiyā | shava-pāshaṁḍatim³⁷ |

¹ Read *shava-*; *shavā pāshaṁḍani* Bühler.

² *vividhaya* Senart, *vividhena* Bühler.

³ Bühler omits this sign.

⁴ Read *kiti*.

⁵ *śāla-* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ The syllable *na* (*nam* Bühler) was inserted subsequently.

⁷ *śāla-* Bühler.

⁸ The other versions read *tu*.

⁹ The syllable *vi* was inserted subsequently.

¹⁰ Read *iyani*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ *ta* Senart and Bühler.

¹² The syllable *ta* of *ata-* is entered above the line; *-pāśaḍa* Senart, *-pāśaṁḍa* Bühler.

¹³ Cancel *vā*.

¹⁴ The words *pala-pāśaṁḍa-galahā va* are entered above the line; below them the words *ti apāśalahā vā* are struck out.

¹⁵ Read *śiyā*.

¹⁶ Read *lahukā*.

¹⁷ Read *taśi*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

¹⁸ Read *ākālana*.

¹⁹ *hevaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ *-pāśaḍā* Bühler.

²¹ *bādham* Senart and Bühler.

²² *pi* is entered above the line.

²³ The syllable *dā* is entered above the line.

²⁴ *anathā* Bühler; read *tad-anatha*.

²⁵ The syllable *pā* is entered above the line; *-pāśaḍa* Bühler.

²⁶ *pujāti* Senart, *punati* Bühler; read probably *pujeti*.

²⁷ One feels tempted to read *-pāshaṁḍam*. But the point after *ḍa* stands much lower than an Anusvāra, and a similar point occurs quite below the *ḍa* in three other cases: *ata-pāśaḍa* in G, *sava-pāshaṁḍa* in J, and *shava-pāshaṁḍatim* in L.

²⁸ *samā* Bühler.

²⁹ Read *chu*; *va* Senart and Bühler.

³⁰ *kiti* Bühler.

³¹ Read *bahu-*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

³² Read *°nāgamā*.

³³ *va* Senart and Bühler.

³⁴ *tatā* Senart and Bühler.

³⁵ *pashamna* Bühler.

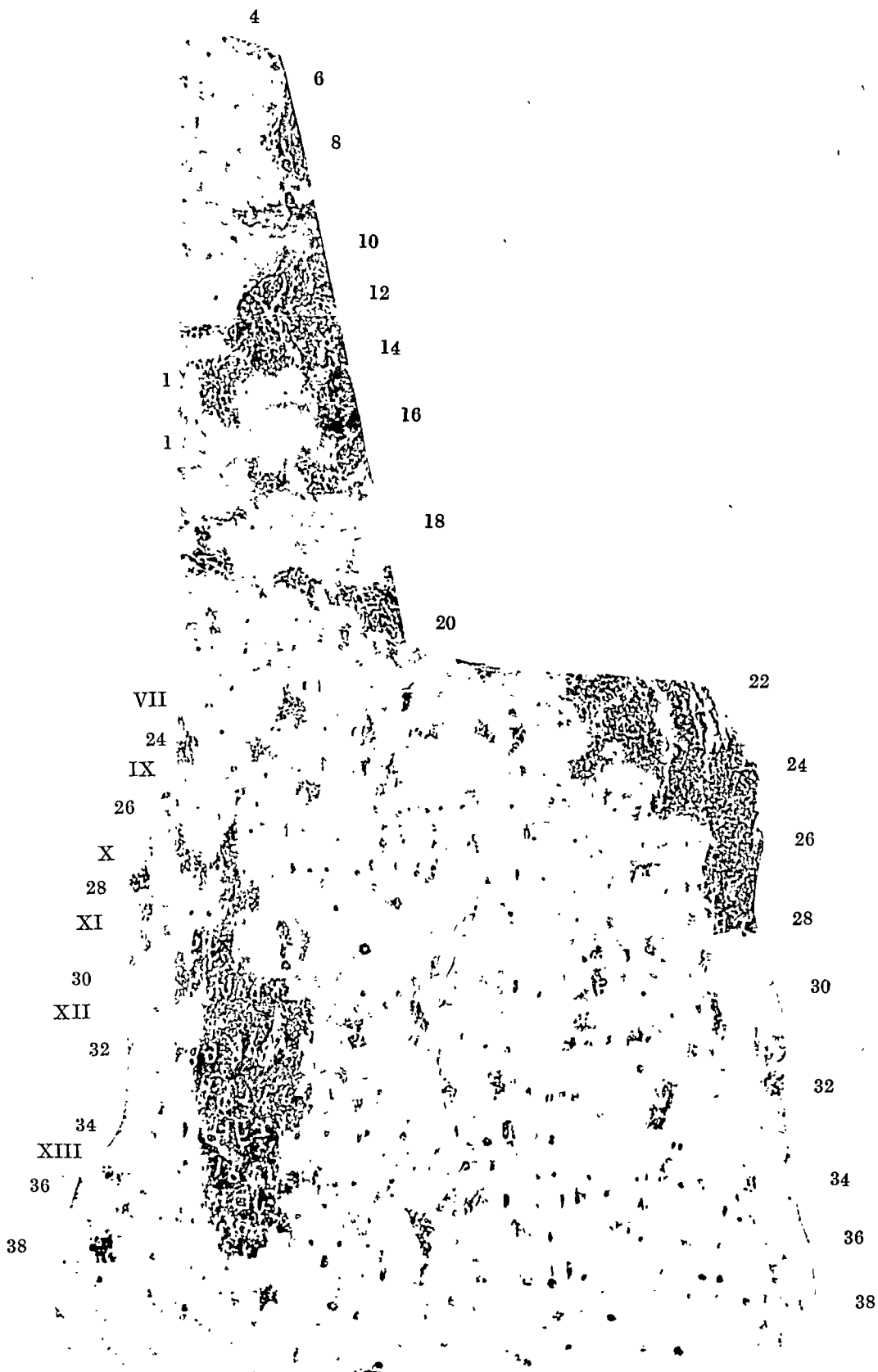
³⁶ *śāla-* Bühler.

³⁷ Read *°dānam ti*.

- 36 धंमकामता । धंमानुषधि चा । देवानंपियषा । (D) षे अथि अनुषये । देवानं-
पियषा । विजिनिनु । कलिग्यानि । (E) अविजितं हि । विजिनमने । ए
तता । वध वा । मलने वा । अपवहे वा । जनषा । षे बाढ । वेदनियमुते ।
गुलुमुते चा । देवानंपियषा । (F) इयं पि चु । ततो । गलुमतंतले ।
देवानंपियषा
- 37 (G) य तता वषति बाभना व षम वा अने वा पाशंड गिहिया वा येषु विहिता
एष अगभुतिषुषा मातापितिषुषा गलुषुषा मितषंथुतषहायनातिकेषु
दाशभटकषि षम्यापटिपति दिढभतिता तेषं तता होति उपघाते वा वधे वा
अभिलतानं वा विनिखमने
- 38 (H) येषं वा पि षुविहितानं षिनेहे अविपहिने ए तानं मितशंथुतषहायनातिक्य
वियषनं पापुनात तता षे पि तानमेवा उपघाते होति (I) पटिभागे चा
एष षवमनुषानं गुलुमते चा देवानंपियषा (J) नथि चा षे जनपदे यता
नथि इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु
- 39 बंझने चा षमने चा नथि चा कुवापि जनपदषि यता नथि मनुषान । एकतलषि
पि । पाषडषि । नो नाम षषादे । (K) षे अवतके जने । तदा कलिंगेषु ।
लधेषु हते चा मटे चा । अपवुढे चा । ततो षते भागे वा । षहषभागे वा ।
अज गुलुमते वा । देवानंपियषा

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
2
3 नेयु (O) इह
4 षवभु षयम षमचलियं मदव ति (P) इयं वु मु
5 देवानंपियेषा ये धंमविजये (Q) षे च पुना 'लधे देवानंपि च
6 षवेषु च अतेषु अ षषु पि योजनषतेषु अत अतियोगे नाम योनला .. पलं
चा तेना
7 अंतियोगेना चतालि ४ लजाने तुलमये नाम अंतेकिने नाम मका ना-
8 म अलिक्यषुदले नाम निचं चोडपंडिया अवं तंबपंनिया हेवमेवा (R) हेवमेवा
9 हिदा लाजविशवषि योनकंबोजेषु नाभकनाभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिक्केषु
10 अधपालदेषु षवता देवानंपियषा धंमानुषधि अनुवर्तन्ति (S) यत पि दुता
11 देवानंपियसा नो यंति ते पि सुतु देवानंपिनंय धंमवुतं विधनं
12 धंमानुसथि धंमं अनुविधियंअ अनुविधियिसंअ चा (T) ये से लधे
13 एतकेना होति सवता विजये पितिलसे से (U) गधा सा होति पिति पिति
धंमविजय-



14 षि (V) लहुका वु खो सा पिति (W) पालंतिक्कमेवे महफला मंनंति देवेनंपिने
 15 (X) एताये चा अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता किति पुता पपोता मे असु
 16 नवं विजय म विजयतविय मनिषु षयक्कषि नो विजयषि खंति चा ल । हु-
 17 दंडता चा लोचेतु तमेव चा विजयं मनतु ये धंमविजये (Y) षे हिदल्लोक्किय
 पललो-

18 किये (Z) षवा च क निलति होतु उयामलति (AA) षा हि हिदल्लोक्किय
 पललोक्किया

- 35 (A) aṭha-[va]shā-¹ | bhishita-¹ | shā [De]vānaṃpiyasha Piyadashine | lājine |
 Kaligyā vijitā | (B) diyaḍha-mite² | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye [ta]phā apavudhe |
 śa[ta]-[sha]hasha-mite³ | tata hate | bahu-tāvatake⁴ | vā maṭe (C) tat[o⁵ pa]chhā |
 adhunā ladhessa⁶ | Kaligyesu | tive | dhamma[vāy]e
- 36 dhamma-k[ā]matā | dhammanushathi chā | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) sh[e] athi
 anushaye | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā | vijin[i]tu⁷ | Kaligyāni | (E) avijitaṃ hi |
 vijinamane | e tatā | vadha⁸ vā | malane vā | apavahe [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e
 bāḍha | vedaniya-mute | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] chā | Devānaṃ[pi]yashā | (F) iyaṃ pi
 chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānaṃpiyashā⁹
- 37 (G) [ya] tatā¹⁰ vashati b[ā]bhanā¹¹ va shama¹² vā ane vā pāsāṃḍa gih[i]thā vā
 yeṣu vihita[e]sh[a]a[gabhu]t[i]-shushushā¹³ m[ā]tā-piti-shushushā¹⁴ galu-shushā¹⁵
 mita-shamthuta-shahāya-nātikesu dāśa-bha[ta]kash[i]¹⁶ sha[m]yā-paṭipati diḍha-
 bhatitā tesham tatā hoti [upa]ghāte vā vadhe vā abbilatānaṃ vā vinikhamane
- 38 (H) yesham vā pi shuvihi[t]ānaṃ¹⁷ shinehe avipahine e tānaṃ mita-samth[u]ta-
 sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya¹⁸ viyashanaṃ¹⁹ pāpunāta²⁰ tatā²¹ she [p]i t[ā]namev[ā]²²
 upaghāt[e] hoti (I) paṭibhāge chā esh[a] sh[a]va-manu[shāna]m gul[u]-m[a]te
 chā Devāna[m]piyashā (J) n[a]thi chā she jan[a]pade yatā nathi ime nikāyā
 ānatā²³ Y[o]mesh[u]²⁴
- 39 baṃhmane ch[ā] shamane chā nathi chā kuvāpi jan[a]padashi [ya]tā n[a]thi
 m[a]nushān[a]²⁵ | ekatalash[i] p[i] | pāśaḍashi | no n[ā]ma pashāde | (K) she
 ava[ta]ke²⁶ jane | t[a]dā Kali[m]geshu |²⁷ [ladhessu ha]te ch[ā]²⁸ maṭ[e] chā |
 [apavudhe chā |] tato²⁹ shat[e] bhāge vā | shah[a]sha-bhāge vā | aja gulu-mate
 vā | Devāna[m]piyashā

¹ bhishita- Bühler. ² -m[ā]te Bühler. ³ -māte Bühler. ⁴ -tāvanitake Bühler.

⁵ tatā Senart and Bühler. ⁶ Read ladhessu, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ This word may be read also vijinīti, as both an i and a u are affixed to the last consonant.

⁸ vadham Bühler. ⁹ Bühler adds i.

¹⁰ Read ye tatā in accordance with the Shāhbāzgarhi version, which reads ye tatra; savatā Senart and Bühler, who adds i.

¹¹ baṃbhanā Senart and Bühler.

¹² Read shamanā.

¹³ ag[a]bh[uta]- Bühler.

¹⁴ matā- Bühler.

¹⁵ -shusha Bühler; read -shushushā.

¹⁶ -bha[ta]kashi Bühler.

¹⁷ [sha]nivihitānaṃ Bühler.

¹⁸ The syllable nā seems to be entered above the line.

¹⁹ viyashane Bühler.

²⁰ Read pāpunāti, which is Bühler's reading.

²¹ tata Bühler.

²² meva Bühler.

²³ ānatā Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ yenesha Bühler.

²⁵ shānaṃ Bühler.

²⁶ āvatake Bühler.

²⁷ Bühler omits i.

²⁸ cha | Bühler.

²⁹ tatā Senart and Bühler.

B.—South Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1
 2
 3 [ney]u (O) ichha¹
 4 sha[va-bhu]² [shayama shamacha]liya[m] madava ti (P) iya[m] vu³
 mu
 5 Dovāna[m]piyoshā⁴ ye dha[m]ma-vijaye (Q) sh[e] cha punā ladhe Dovāna[m]-
 pi cha⁵
 6 shaveshu cha ateshu a shashu pi [yo]jana-shateshu⁶ at[a] Atiyogo nām[a] Yo[na-
 lā] . . .⁷ [pa]lām chā tenā
 7 A[m]tiyogonā ohatāli⁸ 4 lajūno Tulamayo [nā]m[a] Am̐toki[no nā]ma Makū nā-
 8 ma Alīkyaśhudalo nāma nicham̐ Choḍa-Paṇḍiyā avam̐ Tam̐bapaṇḍiyā
 hevamev[ā]⁹ (R) hevamevā
 9 [hi]dā lā[ja]-viśavashi¹⁰ Yona-Kaṇhojoshu Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṇḍishu¹¹ Bhoja-
 Pitinikyē[sh]u
 10 [Adha]-P[ā]lādē[sh]u [sha]vatā [D]ovā[nā]m̐pi[ya]shā dham̐mānu[sha]thi
 anuvataṇṭi (S) y[a]ta pi dutā
 11 Dovāna[m]piyasā no yaṇṭi t[e] pi sutu Dov[āna]m̐pi[nā]m̐ya¹² dh[am̐ma]-vutaṇṭi
 v[i]dh[a]nā[m]i
 12 dham̐mānusa[th]i dha[m]ma[m] anuviddhiyaṇṭi¹³ [a]nuvidhiyaṇṭi¹⁴ [ch]i (T) ye
 se [la]dhe
 13 etakenā hoti savatā vi[ja]ye¹⁵ piti-lase se (U) gadhā sā hoti piti piti dham̐m[a]-
 vijaya-
 14 shi (V) lahukā v[u]¹⁶ kho sā piti (W) pāṇṭikiyameve maha-phalā maṇṇam̐[ti]
 Dov[o]nām̐pi[no]¹⁷
 15 (X) etāye chā aṭhāye iyaṇṭi dha[m]ma-lipi likhitā kiti putā papotā¹⁸ me a[su]
 16 nava[m] vijay[a] ma vijayataviya¹⁹ manishu shayakashī no²⁰ vi[ja]yashi khaṇṭi²¹
 chā la i hu-²²
 17 daṇḍatā [chā] lochetu tameva chā vijayaṇṭi manatu ye dham̐ma-vijaye (Y) she
 hidalokikya palalo-
 18 kiye²³ (Z) shavā cha ka²⁴ nilati hot[u] uyāma-lati (AA) shā hi hi[da]lokika
 pa[la]lokikyā

¹ Restore *ichhati*.² Restore *-bhutānām*.³ Read *chu*.⁴ Read **piyashā*.⁵ Restore **piyasa hida cha*.⁶ There is a fissure in the rock between *yojana* and *shateshu*.⁷ Restore *-lājā*.⁸ *hevameva* Bühler.⁹ *[Hi]da-lājā Viśa-Vaji* Bühler.¹⁰ *Nābhaku* Senart, *Nābhake* Bühler.¹¹ **piniya* Senart, **piyaṇṭiya* Bühler; read **piyasa*.¹² Read **yaṇṭi*, which is Bühler's reading.¹³ Read **saṇṭi*, which is Bühler's reading.¹⁴ This word is entered above the line.¹⁵ Read *chu*.¹⁶ Read *pāṇṭikiyameva mahā-phalaṇṭi maṇṇam̐ Devāna[m]piye*.¹⁷ *pāpotā* Senart and Bühler.¹⁸ *vijayaṇṭi* Bühler.¹⁹ Read perhaps *yo* (= Prākṛit *yeva*), as at Shāhbāzgarhi.²⁰ There is a fissure in the rock here.²¹ Cancel the sign of punctuation and join *lahu*.²² *ki* . *ye* Bühler.²³ Bühler omits *ka*; read *kaṇ* and see above, p. 31, n. 6.

TRANSLATION

(A) When king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kaliṅgyas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgyas has been taken, Dōvānāmpriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Dōvānāmpriya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kaliṅgyas.

(E) For, this is considered¹ very painful and deplorable by Dōvānāmpriya, that, while one is conquering² an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dōvānāmpriya.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders,³ who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay,⁴ obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or if there are then incurring misfortune⁵ the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for,⁶ this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.⁷

(I) This is shared by all men⁸ and⁹ is considered deplorable by Dōvānāmpriya.

(J) There is no country where these (two) classes, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist, except among the Yōnas; and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.¹⁰

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people

¹ For *muta* = *mata* see above, p. 35, n. 10.

² *viñinamane* is a nominative singular absolute; see my note on the translation of the Dhauḷi separate edict I, S.

³ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A, and the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, Y.

⁴ Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 592 f.) took *agabhūti* = *agrajanman*, 'a member of a higher caste' or 'a Brāhmaṇa'; but the various reading in the two Kharōṣṭhī versions, *agrabhūti*, suggests that the second member of the compound is Skt. *bhṛiti*.

⁵ *pāpūnātī* is used in the same way in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, J, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, K.

⁶ For this meaning of *suviḥita* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *vidahati*.

⁷ The correct construction of this section is due to Lüders, who showed that *etānaṃ* must be divided into *e tānaṃ*; see SPAW, 1914. 850.

⁸ I. e. 'a share of this falls upon all men'; see Thomas in V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 1.

⁹ The *chā* after *gulu-mate* corresponds to the preceding *chā* after *paṭibhāge*. In the same way the double *nathī chā* in the next section co-ordinates the two sentences.

¹⁰ See above, p. 25, n. 2.

who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time when (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was taken, (would) now be considered very deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

(O) desires towards all beings self-control, impartiality, (and) kindness.

(P) But this by **Dēvānāmpriya**, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both [here]¹ and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna** king named **Antiyoga**² (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoga**, (where) four—4—kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Tulamaya**,³ (the king) named **Antekina**,⁴ (the king) named **Makā**,⁵ (and the king) named **Alikyashudala**,⁶ (and) likewise⁷ towards the south,⁸ (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōjas**,⁹ among the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**,¹⁰ among the **Bhōjas**¹¹ and **Pitinikyās**,¹² among the **Andhras**¹³ and **Pāladas**,¹⁴—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya**'s instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality,¹⁵ the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Firm¹⁶ becomes this satisfaction, (viz.) the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

¹ viz. 'in my territory'; see section R below, and cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

² The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antiyoka*. For Antiochus II of Syria see above, p. 3, n. 11.

³ The Gīrnār version reads *Turamāya*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Turamaya*.

⁴ The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads *Antikini*.

⁵ The Gīrnār version reads *Magā*.

⁶ The two Kharōshthī versions read *Alikasudara*. The four kings are Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (B.C. 285–247), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239), Magas of Cyrene (c. 300–250), and either Alexander of Epirus (272–c. 255) or, more probably, Alexander of Corinth (252–c. 244); see Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 255, and Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*, 3, 2, 105.

⁷ The two Kharōshthī versions omit this word.

⁸ This is Senart's rendering of *nichan* (i. e. *nichan*). Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 137) added that the *Ṛigvēda* uses its synonym *nyak* in the same sense.

⁹ See above, p. 10, n. 1.

¹⁰ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), Prākṛit *paṇti* = Skt. *paṅkti*.

¹¹ Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) connected the Bhōjas with the city of Bhōjakata in East Berar, which is mentioned in a Vākāṭaka grant (*Gupta Inscrs.*, p. 241) and in the Bharaut inscriptions (IA, 21. 240). But as, in the rock-edict V, J, the Pitinikas appear among Aśoka's western borderers, the Bhōjas, who are coupled with them here, will have to be looked for in the west as well.

¹² The Pitinikyās are identical with the Pētēṇikas in the Gīrnār edict V; see above, p. 10, n. 2. The Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā versions read *Pitinika*.

¹³ Andhra is the old name of the Telugu country and people.

¹⁴ The Gīrnār version seems to read *Pāriṇḍa*, and the Shāhbāzgarhī one *Palida*. Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138) identified this word with *Pulinda* and noted that the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned together already in the *Aitarēya-Brahmaṇa*, VII, 18. But the variants at Gīrnār and Kālsī render this identification very improbable. *Pāriṇḍa* reminds us of the Sanskrit *pārindra*, 'a lion'.

¹⁵ Cf. *dhanma-vutaṃ cha anuvīdhiyatāṃ* in the Gīrnār edict X, A.

¹⁶ As suggested by Bühler (ZDMG, 40. 138), *gadhdā* (instead of which two other versions read *ladhdā* or *ladha*) may represent **gāddhā*, from Pāli *gādhati*, 'to stand fast.'

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).¹

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; (that), if a conquest does please them,² they should take pleasure³ in mercy and light punishments; and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let all (their) pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.⁴

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

19 (A) इयं धमलिपि देवानंप्रियेना पियदसिना लजिना लिखापिता अथि
येवा सुखि-

20 तेना अथि मज्झिमेना अथि विथटेना (B) नो हि सवता सवे घटिते (C) महालके
हि वि-

21 जिते बहु च लिखिते लेखापेशामि चेव निकायं (D) अथि चा हेता पुन पुना
लपि-

22 ते तष तषा अथषा मधुलियाये येन जने तथा पटिपजेया (E) षे षाया अत
किञ्चि अ-

23 समति लिखिते दिषा वा षंखेये कालनं वा अलोचयितु लिपिकलपलाधेन वा

19 (A) *iyam dhama-lipi Dev[ānaṃp]i[y]e[n]ā [P]iyadasinā⁵ lajinā likhāpitā athi*
yevā sukhi-

20 *tenā⁶ [a]thi majhimenā athi vithaṭenā (B) no hi savatā save [gha]ṭite⁷ (C) mahālake*
hi vi-

21 *jite bahu cha likhite lekhāpeśāmi cheva nikayaṃ (D) athi chā hetā puna pun[ā]⁸ la[p]i-*

22 *t[e] tasha tashā athashā madhuliyāye yena jane tathā paṭipajeyā (E) she shāyā⁹*
ata k[i]chhi a-

23 *samati likhite dishā vā shaṃkheye¹⁰ kālanaṃ vā alochayitu li[p]ikalapalādhena vā*

¹ *mahā-phala* is perhaps a Karmadhāraya, while it may be a Bahuvrīhi in the rock-edict IX, F. Cf. the first separate rock-edict, where *mahā-apāye* (Dhauḷi, R) or *mahāpāy[e]* (Jaugada, S) must be a Karmadhāraya, as it forms the predicate of the feminine *asāṃpāṭipati*; the preceding word *mahā-phale* may be a Bahuvrīhi at Dhauḷi, but a Karmadhāraya at Jaugada.

² *shayaka* may be an adjective formed of *svayam*, and having the same meaning as *spa[kā]* (= Skt. *svaka*) at Shāhbāzgarhī, and as *sarasaka* at Gīrnār, for which see above, p. 25, n. 5.

³ For *lochetu* see above, p. 8, n. 3.

⁴ *uyāma* is synonymous with *utthāna* and *parākrama* in the rock-edicts VI and X.

⁵ *dashinā* Bühler. ⁶ Gīrnār reads *saṃklītena*.

⁷ The syllable *te* was entered subsequently.

⁸ *punam puna* Bühler.

⁹ Read *shiyā*, which is Bühler's reading. The syllable *shā* is entered above the line.

¹⁰ Read probably *shaṃkhāya* in accordance with the Gīrnār version (*sachhāya*) and the Shāhbāzgarhī one (*saṃkhay[a]*).

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written by king *Dēvānāṃ-priya Priyadarśin* either in an abridged (form), or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall constantly¹ cause still (more) to be written.

(D) And (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality,² or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer.

BELOW THE FIGURE OF AN ELEPHANT ON THE NORTH FACE
OF THE KALSI ROCK

गजतमे

gajatame

TRANSLATION

The best elephant.³

III. THE SHAHBAZGARHI ROCK.

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

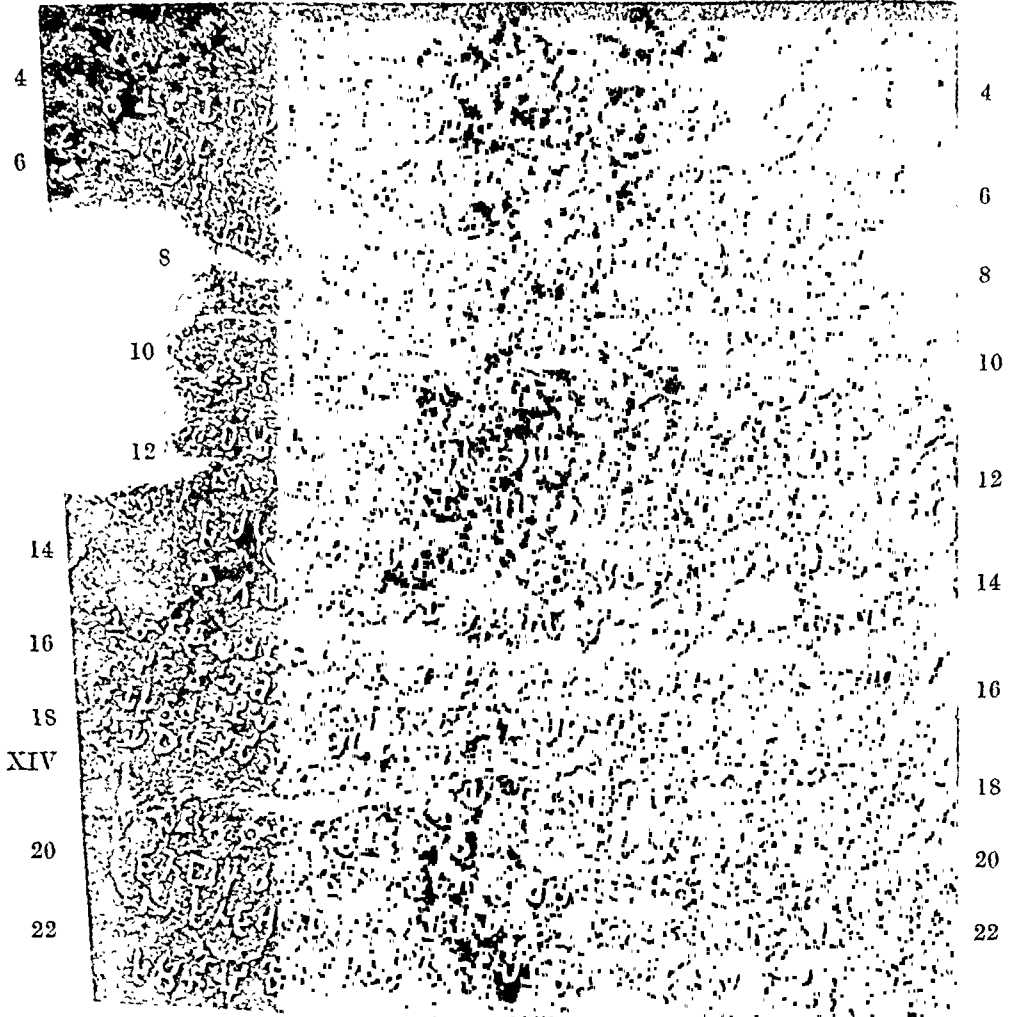
A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

- 1 (A) अय धम्मदिपि देवनप्रिअस रजो लिखपितु (B) हिद नो किचि जिवे अरभितु
प्रयुहोतवे (C) नो पि च समज कटव (D) बहुक हि दोष समयस्सि देवणप्रिये
प्रिअद्रशि रय दखति
- 2 (E) अस्ति पि चु एकत्तिअ समये ससुमते देवनपिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो (F) पुर
महनससि देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो अनुदिवसो बहुनि प्रणशतसहसनि
अरभियिमु सुपठये (G) सो इदनि यद अय
- 3 धम्मदिपि लिखित तद चयो वो प्रण हंजंति मज्जुर दुवि २ सुगो १ सो पि सुगो नो
धुवं (H) एत पि प्रण चयो पच न अरभिशंति

¹ Senart and Bühler consider *nikyaṃ* a dialectical variant of *nītyam*.

² *dīs* is used in the sense of *dēśa*, unless *dishā* is simply a clerical mistake for the Gīrnār reading *desaṃ*.

³ Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār (below edict XIII) and at Dhāuli (at the end of edict VI), and see above, p. 27, n. 2.



KALSI ROCK ; NORTH FACE



- 1 (A) [aya]¹ dhrama-dipi Devanapriasa raño likhapitu² (B) hida no kich[i] jive ara[bhita p]rayuhotave (C) no pi ch[a] sama[ja] kaṭava (D) ba[hu]ka [hi] dosha sa[maya]spi Devanapriy[o]³ Priadraśi ray[a da]khati
- 2 (E) [a]sti pi chu ekatia⁴ samaye sasu-mate⁵ Devanapriasa⁶ Priadraśisa raño (F) pura mahana[sas]i [Dovana]pr[i]asa⁷ Priadraśisa raño anudivaso bahuni pra[ṇa]-ṣata-sahasani⁸ [arabhi]yis[u] supaṭhay[e] (G) s[o i]dani yada aya
- 3 dhrama-dipi likhita tada trayo vo praṇa hamaññam[i] majura duv[i] 2 mrugo 1 so pi mrugo no dhruva[ni] (H) eta pi praṇa trayo pacha na arabhiññamti

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by king Dōvānāṃpriya.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meetings must be held.

(D) For king Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) But there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Dōvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two—two—peacocks (and) 1 deer, (but) even this deer not regularly.

(H) Even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 3 (A) सवच विजिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस ये च अंत यय चोड
4 पंडिय सतियपुत्रो केरडपुत्रो तंवपण्णि अंतियोको नम योनरज ये च अंजे तस
अंतियोक्स समंत रजनो सवच देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रगिस रजो दुवि २
चिकिस क्रिट मनुशचिकिस . . पगुचिकिस च

- 5 (B) ओपढनि मनुशोपकनि च पशोपकनि च यच यच नस्ति सवच हरपित च
वुत च (C) कुप च खनपित प्रतिभोगये पगुमनुगनं

- 3 (A) sav[r]atra vijite [Do]va[nam]priyasa Priyadraśisa y[e] cha [a]nta yatha [Choda]

- 4 Paṇḍiya Satiyaputro Keraḍaputro⁹ Tambapamni¹⁰ Aṃtiyo[k]o nama Yona-
raja ye cha amñe tasa Aṃtiyokasa samañta rajano savratra Devanaṃ-
priyasa Priyadraśisa raño du[vi] 2 chik[i]sa [kr]i[ta]¹¹ manuśa-chikisa . .
pa[śu-ch]ikisa [cha]

- 5 (B) [o]ṣha[dha]ni¹² manuśopakani cha paśopakani cha ya[r]a yatra nasti savatra
harapita¹³ cha vuta cha (C) kupa cha khanapita pratibh[o]gaye paśu-manuśanam

¹ [a]ya[ni] Buhler.

² Read probably *likhapita*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ *doshañt sama . . sa Devanapriy[o]* Buhler.

⁴ *cha ekatie* Buhler.

⁵ Read *sadhu-*; *sresta-mati* Buhler.

⁶ **priasa* Buhler.

⁷ *Devanāṃpri* Buhler.

⁸ *[-sa]has[r]ani* Buhler.

⁹ *Satiyaputra Keralaputra* Buhler.

¹⁰ **pamni* Buhler.

¹¹ *ki[tra]* Buhler.

¹² *[o]ṣudhāni* Buhler.

¹³ *kar[o]ṣita* Buhler.

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Kōra aputra, Tāmraparṇī, the Yōna king named Antiyoka, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere two—2—(kinds of) medical treatment were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and planted.

(C) And wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

5 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज अहति (B) वदयवषभिसितेन अणपितं
(C) सवत्र मञ्च

6 विजिते युत रजुको प्रदेशिक पंचषु पंचषु ५ वषेषु अनुसंयनं निक्रमतु एतिस वो
करण इमिस धंमनुशस्तिये थ अजये पि क्रमये (D) सधु मतपितुषु सुश्रुष
मिचसंस्तुतजतिकनं व्रमणथ्रमणनं प्रणनं अनरंभो सधु

7 अपवयत अपभंडत सधु (E) परि पि युतनि गणनसि अणपेशंति हेतुतो च
वञ्जनतो च

5 (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raja ahati (B) badaya-vashabh[i]si[tena]¹
[a]napi[tam]² (C) savatra ma[a]³

6 vijite yuta rajuko pradeśi[ka⁴ pañcha]shu pañchashu 5 vasheshu anusamyanam
nik[r]amatu etisa vo karaṇa imisa dhraṃmanuśastiye [tha]⁵ añaye pi
kramaye⁶ (D) sadhu mata-pitushu suśrusha mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam
bramaṇa-śra[maṇa[nam]] [pra]ṇanam [anaram]bho sadhu⁷

7 apa-vayata apa-bhaṃḍata sadhu (E) pari⁸ [pi] yutani [ga]ṇanasi⁹ aṇapeśamti hetuto
cha vaññanato¹⁰ cha

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks¹¹ (thus).

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, [the following] was ordered
[by me].

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Rajuka*, (and) the *Prādēsika*
shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five—5—years

¹ With Bühler and Johansson (§ 52) I believe that the writer wanted to write *badāśa*-. On the Wardak vase the symbols for *y* and *ś* are often confused; see Pargiter's remarks in EI, II, 203 f, and ZDMG, 73, 227.

² Bühler omitted this word.

³ Bühler omitted *maa*.

⁴ *pradeśik[e]* Bühler.

⁵ Read *yatha*; *dhraṃmanuśasti yatha* Bühler.

⁶ *kramaye* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted the end of this line.

⁸ Read *parisha*.

⁹ There is a vacant space between *ga* and *ṇa*.

¹⁰ *vaññanato* Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler wrote *aha ti* in two words. But the barbarous form *ahati* or *lahati* is guaranteed by the edicts V, &c., where it is preceded by *evam*, and where consequently *ti* cannot have the meaning 'thus'.

for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. [Liberality] to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas [is meritorious]. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) The councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 7 (A) अतिक्रतं अंतरं बहुनि वषशतनि वढितो वो प्रणरंभो विहिस च भुतनं
जतिन असंपटिपति अमणब्रमणनं असंपटिपति (B) सो अज देवनंप्रियस
प्रियद्रशिस रजो
- 8 ध्रमचरणेन भेरिघोष अहो ध्रमघोष विमननं द्रशनं अस्तिन जोतिकंधनि अजनि
च दिवनि रुपनि द्रशयितु जनस (C) यदिशं बहुहि वषशतेहि न भुतप्रुवे
तदिशे अज वढिते देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमनुशस्तिय अनरंभो
प्रणनं अविहिस भुतनं जतिनं संपटिपति ब्रमण-
- 9 अमणन संपटिपति मतपितुषु वुढनं सुश्रुष (D) एत अजं च बहुविधं ध्रमचरणं
वढितं (E) वढिशति च यो देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो ध्रमचरणं इमं
(F) पुत्र पि च कं नतरो च प्रनतिक च देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो
प्रवढेशंति यो ध्रमचरणं इमं अवकप ध्रमे शिले च
- 10 तिठिति ध्रमं अनुशशिशंति (G) एत हि सेठं क्रमं यं ध्रमनुशशनं (H) ध्रमचरणं
पि च न भोति अशिलस (I) सो इमिस अथूस वढि अहिनि च सधु
(J) एतये अठये इमं निपिस्तं इमिस अठस वढि युजंतु हिनि च म लोचेषु
(K) वदयवषभिसितेन देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिनि रज जनं हिद निपेसितं

- 7 (A) atikrataṃ aṃtaraṃ bahuni vasha-śatani vaḍhito, vo praṇaṇaṃbho vihisa cha
bhuta[na]ṃ ṇātina¹ asaṃpaṭipati śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] a[sam]paṭipati²
(B) [so aja Devana]ṃpriyasa Priyadraśisa [raṇo]
- 8 dhrama-charaṇena bheri-ghosha aho dhrama-ghosha vimaṇana[m] draśanaṃ
[a]stina³ joti-kamdhani añani cha divani rupani draśayitu janasa (C) yadiśaṃ
bahuhi vasha-śatehi na bhuta-pruve tadiśe aja vaḍhite Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadraśisa raṇo dhraṃmanuśa[sti]ya anaraṃbho praṇa[naṃ] avihisa
bhutaṇaṃ ṇātina[m] saṃpa[ṭi]pati⁴ [bra]maṇa-
- 9 śramaṇana⁵ saṃpaṭipati mata-pitushu vuḍhana[m] suśrusha (D) e[ta] añanaṃ cha
bahuvīdhaṃ dhrama-charaṇaṃ vaḍhitaṃ (E) vaḍhiśati cha yo Devanaṃpriyasa
Priyadraśisa raṇo dhrama-charaṇaṃ⁶ ima[m] (F) putra pi cha kaṃ⁷ nataro

¹ ṇātinaṃ Bühler.

⁴ sa[ṃ]paṭi² Bühler.

⁷ ku Bühler.

² [asaṃ]paṭi² Bühler.

⁵ śramaṇanaṃ Bühler.

³ [ḷa]stino Bühler.

⁶ -charaṇo Bühler.

cha pranatika cha Dovanāmpriya[sa] Priyadrasīsa rañño pra[va]dha[c]śanti¹
 [yo]² dhrama-charaṇaṁ ima[ṁ] ava]-kapa³ dhrame śīle cha
 10 tiṭṭhi⁴ dhramaṁ anuśāsīsaṁti (G) eta h[i] s]reṭhaṁ k[r]ama[m] yaṁ
 dhramaṁ[u]śāsana[m] (H) dhrama-charaṇa[m] pi cha na bhoti aśīlāsa (I) so
 imisa athrasa vaḍḍhi ahini cha sadhu (J) etaye aṭṭhaye ima[m] nipistaṁ⁵ imisa
 aṭṭhasa vaḍḍhi yujāntu hini cha ma lo[cha]e[sh]u (K) badaya-vashabhisitena⁶
 Dovanāmpriyena Priyadrasīna rañña nānaṁ hi[da] nipesitaṁ⁷

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of light, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And this practice of morality will be ever promoted by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin.

(F) And also the sons,⁸ grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written,⁹ (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve¹⁰ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This) conception (*jñāna*) was caused to be written here by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ ra[ñño vadhe]śanti Bühler.

² Bühler omitted *yo*.

³ -[kapaṁ] Bühler.

⁴ tiṭṭhi Bühler.

⁵ dipista Bühler.

⁶ Read *badāsa*-, and cf. above, p. 52, n. 1.

⁷ rañña [id]aṁ . . naṁ dipa[pi]taṁ Bühler. The *da* of *hida* looks like *daṁ*, as it does frequently at Mānsehrā.

⁸ For *cha kaṁ* see above, p. 31, n. 6. Mānsehrā has once *cha kaṁ* (XI, 14) and twice *cha ka* (IV, 16; XIII, 13).

⁹ The participles *nipistaṁ* and *nipesitaṁ* in J and K, which correspond to *likhite* and *lekhitā* at Kālsī, must be derived from *ni-pish*, 'to write', which is used in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings of Persia, and which is preserved in the modern Persian verb نوشتن. Cf. the Russian писать 'to write'.

¹⁰ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 11 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) कलणं दुकरं (C) यो अदिकरो कलणस सो दुकरं करोति (D) सो मय बहु कलं किट्ठं (E) तं मञ्ज पुत्र च नतरो च परं च तेन ये मे अपच व्रक्षंति अवकपं तथ ये अनुवटिंशंति ते सुकिटं कषंति (F) यो चु अतो . . कं पि हपेशदि सो दुकाटं कषति (G) पपं हि सुकरं (H) स अतिक्रतं अतर नो भुतप्रुव ध्रंममहमच नम (I) सो तोदशवषभिसितेन
- 12 मय ध्रममहमच किट (J) ते सवप्रषंडेषु वपट ध्रंमधिथनये च ध्रमवट्टिय हिदसुखये च ध्रमयुतस योनकंवोयगंधरनं रठिकनं पितिनिकनं ये व पि अपरंत (K) भटमयेषु व्रमणिभेषु अनयेषु वुडेषु हितसुखये ध्रंमयुतस अपलिगोध वपट ते
- 13 (L) वधनवधस पटिविधनये अपलिबोधये मोक्षये अयि अनुव . . प्रजव किटभिकरो व महलके व वियपट ते (M) इअ वहिरेषु च नगरेषु सव्रेषु ओरोधनेषु भतुन च मे स्पसन च ये व पि अंजे जतिक सवच वियपुट (N) ये अयं ध्रमनिशिते ति व ध्रमधिथने ति व दनसयुते ति व सवत विजिते मञ्ज ध्रमयुतसि वियपट ते ध्रममहमच (O) एतये अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे प्रज अनुवतनु

- 11 (A) Devanapriyo Priyadraśi raya eva[m] hahati¹ (B) ka[la]ṇa[m] dukara[m] (C) [yo] a[dikaro kala]ṇasa so du[ka]raṁ karoti (D) so maya bahu kalaṁ² ki[t]raṁ (E) taṁ maa³ putra cha nataro cha para[m] cha [tena y]e⁴ me apacha vṛakṣaṁti⁵ ava-kapaṁ tatha⁶ ye an[u]vaṭiśaṁti⁷ te s[u]kiṭa[m]⁸ kashaṁti (F) yo chu ato . . kaṁ⁹ pi hapeśadi¹⁰ so dukataṁ kashati (G) papaṁ h[i] sukaraṁ (H) sa atikrataṁ atara no¹¹ bhuta-pruva dhrama-ma[ha]ma[tra]¹² nama (I) so todaśa-vashabhisitena¹³
- 12 maya dhrama-mahamatra kiṭa¹⁴ (J) te savra-praśaṁdeśa[u] vapaṭa dhrama-madhithanaye¹⁵ cha dhrama-vaḍhiya¹⁶ hida-sukhaye cha dhrama-yutasa Yona-Kaṁboya-Gaṁdharanaṁ¹⁷ Raṭhikanam¹⁸ Pitinikanam ye

¹ *aha ti* Bühler.² Read *kalaṇaṁ*.³ *ma[ha]* Bühler.⁴ [*ya*] Bühler.⁵ [*a*]*chhaṁti* Bühler. In JA (10), 17. 422 ff. Boyer has shown that the Kharoṣṭhī uses a special form of *chh* in all those cases where it corresponds to Sanskrit *kṣh*. In order to distinguish this sign from the real *chh*, I transcribe it by *kṣh*, but do not want to imply thereby that it was actually pronounced like that.⁶ *tathaṁ* Bühler; but what he took for an Anusvāra is probably the horizontal bottom-line which is frequent at Mānsehrā.⁷ *vaṭiśaṁti* Bühler.⁸ *sukiṭ[r]aṁ* Bühler.⁹ Restore perhaps *ekaṁ*; the other versions read *desaṁ* or *deśa*.¹⁰ [*hapeśati*] Bühler.¹¹ *so atik[raṁ]taṁ aṁtaraṁ na* Bühler.¹² *dhrama-* Bühler.¹³ [*tidaśa*]- Bühler.¹⁴ *kiṭ[r]a* Bühler.¹⁵ *dhrama** Bühler.¹⁶ *-vaḍhiy[e]* Bühler.¹⁷ The rock has a hole here.¹⁸ *Raṭhikanam* Bühler. The *ṭh* is expressed by the first of the two different forms noted by Boyer in JA (10), 17. 429, note.

va pi aparaṁita (K) bhaṭamayeshu bramaṇibheshu anatheshu vuḍheshu [hita]-
sukhaye [dhrāṁ]ma-yutasa¹ apaliḡ[o]dha² vap[a]ṭa te

- 13 (L) badhana-badhasa³ paṭividhanay[e] apalibodhaye mo[kshaye] ayi anuba...⁴
prajava kiṭabhikaro va mahalake⁵ va viyapaṭa⁶ [t]e⁷ (M) ia bahireshu cha
nagareshu savreshu orodhaneshu bhratuna⁸ cha me spasana⁹ cha ye va pi
amñe ṇatika savatra viyapuṭa (N) y[e] ayaṁ¹⁰ dh[r]ama-niṣite¹¹ ti va
dhrama[dhitha]ne ti va dana-s[a]yute ti va savata¹² vijite maa¹³ dhrama-
yu[ta]si¹⁴ viyapaṭa te dhrama-mahamatra (O) etaye aṭhaye [a]yi¹⁵ dhrama-dipi
nipista¹⁶ ch[i]ra-thitika bhot[u] ta[tha]¹⁷ cha [m]e¹⁸ p[r]aja anuvatatū

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.

(C) He who starts performing virtuous deeds accomplishes something difficult.

(D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.

(E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants who
shall come¹⁹ after them until the æon (of destruction of the world), those who will
conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.

(F) But he who will neglect even one (portion) of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.

(G) For sin is easily committed.

(H) Now, in times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.

(I) But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been)
anointed thirteen years.

(J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting
morality, and for the welfare and happiness²⁰ of those who are devoted to morality
(even) among the Yōnas, Kambōyas, and Gandhāras, among the Raṭhikas, among
the Pitinikas,²¹ and whatever (other) western borderers (of mine there are).

¹ [dhra]ma- Bühler.

³ baṇdhana- Bühler.

⁵ mahalaka Bühler.

⁸ bhratunayāṁ Bühler.

¹⁰ y[am] i[ya]m Bühler.

¹³ ma[ha] Bühler.

¹⁵ ay[am] Bühler.

¹⁷ This and the last four words of the edict were entered above the line.

¹⁸ Bühler omitted me.

¹⁹ vrakṣati is the future of vrachati which occurs twice at Shāhbāzgarhī (VI, L, and XIII, S).

For Prakṛit vachchāi=Skt. vracati see Hēmachandra, IV, 225.

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 33, n. 4.

²¹ For Raṭhika and Pitinika Gīrnār reads Ristika and Petenika. As Laṭhika at Dhauli agrees with Raṭhika at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā, Ristika at Gīrnār may be a clerical mistake for Rāṣṭhika, just as parikamate for parākamate in X, l. 3, Devinaṁ for Devānaṁ in XI, l. 1, and dūtī for dūtā in XIII, l. 9. Conversely, astā is written for asti in IX, l. 7, pitarā for pitari in XI, l. 2, and vivādhāya for vividhāya in XII, l. 1. The Sanskrit original of Rāṣṭhika would be Rāṣṭrīka. The identifications of this name with Surāṣṭra (Senart, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. I, p. 126) or Lāṭa (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I (sec. ed.), p. 137, n. 4) are improbable because these two provinces were included in Aśoka's empire; cf. Bühler, ZDMG, 37. 261. Sir R. Bhandarkar (*Early History of the Dekkan*, sec. ed., p. 11 ff.) connects Rāṣṭrīka with Mahārāṣṭra, the Pāli form of which, Mahārattṭha, occurs in the *Dīpavamsa* and *Mahāvamsa*. Could the Rāṣṭrīkas be identical with the Āraṭṭas of the Panjāb (Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 76) and with the Ἀραττίοι who are mentioned in the *Periplus* (§ 47) together with the Ἀραχόσιοι and Ταυδάριοι?

² *b[odhe] Bühler; read *godhaye (=°godhāya at Gīrnār).

⁴ Restore anubadha; iyaṁ a[n]uba[dh]am Bühler.

⁶ viyapaṭra Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted te.

⁹ Read spasana; spasunam Bühler.

¹¹ -niṣrite Bühler.

¹² savatra Bühler.

¹⁴ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ dipist[a] Bühler.

(K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas, with the destitute, (and) with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality, (and) in freeing (them) from desire (for worldly life).¹

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, (and) in setting (them) free, (if) one has children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of my brothers, of (my) sisters, and (of) whatever other relatives (of mine there are).

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied everywhere in my dominions with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.²

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 14 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एव अहति (B) अतिक्रतं अंतर न भुतपुवं सवं कलं अठक्रमं व पटिवेदन व (C) तं मय एवं किटं (D) सवं कलं अशमनस मे ओरोधनसि यभगरसि व्रचसि विनितसि उयनसि सवत्र पटिवेदक अठं जनस पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सवत्र च जनस अठु करोमि (F) यं पि च किचि मुखतो अणपयमि अहं दपक व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचन अचयिक अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे निजति व सतं परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे
- 15 (E) सवत्र च अठं जनस करोमि अहं (F) यं च किचि मुखतो अणपेमि अहं दपकं व श्रवक व ये व पन महमचनं अचयिकं अरोपितं भोति तये अठये विवदे संतं निजति व परिषये अनंतरियेन पटिवेदेतवो मे सवत्र सवं कलं (G) एव अणपितं मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषो उठनसि अठसंतरिणये च (I) कठवमतं हि मे सवलोकहितं (J) तस च मुलं एव उयनं अठसंतरिण च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतं
- 16 सवलोकहितेन (L) यं च किचि परक्रममि किति भुतनं अनणियं व्रचेयं इञ्च च ष मुखयमि परच च स्पयं अरधेतु (M) एतये अठये अयि ध्रम निपिस्त चिरयितिक भोतु तथ च मे पुच नतरो परक्रमंतु सवलोकहितये (N) दुकर तु खो इमं अजच अये परक्रमेन

- 14 (A) Devanam̐priyo Priyadraśi raya eva³ ahati (B) atikratam̐ am̐tara⁴ na bhuta-pruṣam̐ sava[m̐]⁵ kala[m̐] aṭha-kramam̐⁶ va paṭivedana va (C) ta[m̐] maya eva[m̐] kiṭa[m̐] (D) savram̐ kalam̐ aśamanasa me orodhanaspi grabhagaraspi vrachaspi vinitaspi uyanaspi savatra paṭivedaka⁷ aṭham̐ janasa paṭivedetu⁸

¹ *paligodha* is a Māgadha form of *parigodha*, for which see above, p. 10, n. 5.

² See above, p. 34, n. 3.

³ *eva[m̐]* Bühler.

⁴ *am̐taram̐* Bühler.

⁵ *savram̐* Bühler.

⁶ *aṭha-* Bühler.

⁷ *savatra paṭri* Bühler.

⁸ *paṭ[r̥]* Bühler.

- me (E) savatra cha ja[na]sa aṭh[r]a karomi (F) ya[m̐] pi cha ki[chi] mukhato aṇapayami a[haṃ] dapa[ka]¹ va śravaka² va ye³ va p[a]na mahamatrana⁴ a[cha]yika⁵ a[ro]pitaṃ bhoti taye aṭhaye viva[de]⁶ nijha[t̐]i va sataṃ⁷ parishaye anantariyena paṭivedetavo me
- 15 (E)⁸ savatra cha aṭhaṃ⁹ janasa karomi a[haṃ] (F) yaṃ cha kichi¹⁰ mukhato aṇapemi ahaṃ dapaka[m̐] va śravaka va ye¹¹ va pana mahamatranaṃ achayi[k̐]aṃ aropita[m̐] bhoti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v̐]ivade sa[m̐]taṃ nijati¹² va parishaye anantariyena paṭivedetavo¹³ me savatra savaṃ¹⁴ kala[m̐] (G) eva¹⁵ aṇapita[m̐] maya (H) [na]sti hi me tosho uṭhanas[i] aṭha-sa[m̐]tiraṇaye [cha] (I) kaṭava-mataṃ¹⁶ hi me sava-loka-hitaṃ¹⁷ (J) ta[sa cha] mulaṃ etra uṭhanaṃ aṭha-saṃtiraṇa cha (K) na[sti] hi k[r̐]amatara[m̐]
- 16 sava-loka-hite[na]¹⁸ (L) yaṃ cha kichi parak[r̐]amami kiti bhutanaṃ anaṇiyaṃ v[r̐]acheyaṃ ia cha sha sukhayami paratra cha spagraṃ¹⁹ aradhetu (M) etaye aṭhaye ayi dhrama²⁰ nipista²¹ chira-thitika bhotu tatha cha me putra nataro parakramaṃtu sava-lo[ka-hita]ye (N) [du]kara²² tu [kh]o imaṃ aṇat[r̐]a²³ agre²⁴ parakramena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at any time did exist before.

(C) But I have made the following (arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am eating, in the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, (and) in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never content in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) And the root of that (consists) in this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge

¹ [da]pakaṃ Bühler.

² śravakaṃ Bühler.

³ yaṃ Bühler.

⁴ ṇanaṃ Bühler, who added v[o].

⁵ There is a fissure between a and cha.

⁶ Bühler added va.

⁷ saṃtaṃ Bühler.

⁸ E and F (besides the last three words of the latter) were repeated by mistake.

⁹ There is a vacant space between a and ṭhaṃ.

¹⁰ There is a fissure between ki and chi.

¹¹ ya Bühler.

¹² Read *nijhati*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹³ paṭi² Bühler.

¹⁴ sav[r̐]aṃ Bühler.

¹⁵ evaṃ Bühler.

¹⁶ There is a hole between ma and taṃ.

¹⁷ sav[r̐]a- Bühler.

¹⁸ s[r̐]ava- Bühler.

¹⁹ spagaṃ Bühler.

²⁰ Read *dhrama-dipi*.

²¹ dipista Bühler.

²² [a]ukara[m̐] Bühler.

²³ aṇātatra Bühler.

²⁴ Read *agrena*.

the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them ¹ happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this [rescript on] morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is indeed difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI ²

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियशि रज सवच इच्छति सव-
- 2 प्रषंड वसेयु (B) सवे हि ते सयमे भवशुधि च इच्छति
- 3 (C) जनो चु उचवुचछंदो उचवुचरगो (D) ते सव्रं व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कषंति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्ठजत द्रिढभतित निचे पढं

- 1 (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyaśi ³ raja savatra ichhati savra-⁴
- 2 [p]rashaṇḍa vaseyu (B) save ⁴ hi te sayame ⁵ bhava-śudhi cha ichhami
- 3 (C) jano chu uchavucha-chhaṇḍo uchavucha-rago (D) te savraṇi va eka-deśaṇi va
- 4 pi kashanti (E) vipule pi chu dane yasa nasti sayama bhava-
- 5 śudhi kiṭṭaṇata driḍha-bhatita ⁶ niche paḍham

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires (that) all sects may reside everywhere.

(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.

(C) But men possess various desires (and) various passions.

(D) They will fulfil either the whole or only a portion (of their duties).

(E) But even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control, purity of mind, gratitude, (and) firm devotion, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

A.—East Face of Shāhbāzgarhī Rock (continued).

- 17 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनंप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिषु (B) अच सुगय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि अभुवसु (C) सो देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज दशवषभिसितो सतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद धंमयच (E) अच इयं होति अमणवमणनं द्रशने दनं बुढनं दशन हिरजप्रटिविधने च जनपदस जनस द्रशन धमनुशस्ति धमपरिपुछ च ततोपयं (F) एषे भुये रति भोति देवनंप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजो भगो अंजि

¹ *sha* (*she* at Mānsēhrā) corresponds to, and must have the same meaning as, *nāni* at Gīrnār and *kāni* at Kālsī, Dhaulī, and Jaugaḍa. Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 149) derived it from Skt. *śśhām*, and translated it by '(some) of them'.

² This edict is engraved on the left of the east face, at the top of the rock. The lines are therefore numbered separately.

³ Read *Priyadrasi*.

⁴ *savre* Bühler.

⁵ *sayama* Bühler.

⁶ *diḍha-* Bühler.

- 17 (A) atikratam̐ ataram̐¹ Devanam̐priya vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) atra mrugaya añani cha ediśani² abhiramani abhuvasu³ (C) so Devanam̐priyo Priyadraśi raja daśa-vashabhisito sataṁ⁴ nikrami Sabodhi⁵ (D) tenada⁶ dhramma-yatra⁷ (E) atra iyaṁ hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ draśane danaṁ vuḍhana[m̐] daśana⁸ hiraña-p[r]aṭivīdhane⁹ cha [jana]padasa janasa draśana¹⁰ dhramanuśasti dhrama-pa[r]i[p]ru[ru]chha¹¹ cha tatopayaṁ (F) eshe¹² bhuy[e ra]ti bhoti¹³ Devanam̐priyasa Priyadraśisa raño bhago¹⁴ amñi

TRANSLATION

- (A) In times past the *Dēvānāmpriyas* used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.
 (B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).
 (C) But when king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed ten years, he went out to *Sambōdhi*.
 (D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.¹⁵
 (E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas (and) making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).
 (F) This second period (of the reign) of king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 18 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं अहति (B) जनो उचवुचं मंगलं करोति अबधे अवहे विवहे पजुपदने प्रवसे अतये अजये च एदिशिये जनो व मंगलं करोति (C) अत्र तु स्त्रियक बहु च बहुविधं च पुतिकं च निरटियं च मंगलं करोति (D) सो कटवो च व खो मंगल (E) अपफलं तु खो एत (F) इमं तु खो महफल ये ममंगल
- 19 (G) अत्र इम दसभटकस सम्मपटिपति गरुन अपचिति प्रणनं संयमो शमणब्रमणन दन एतं अजं च ध्रममंगलं नम (H) सो वतवो पितुन पि पुचेन पि भतन पि स्पमिकेन पि मित्रसस्तुतेन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो मंगलं यव तस अट्टस निवुटिय निवुटस्सि व पुन
- 20 इमं कषं (I) ये हि एतके मंगले सशयिके तं (J) सिय वो तं अठं निवटेयति सिय पुन नो (K) इअलोकं च वो तं (L) इद पुन ध्रममंगलं अकलिकं (M) यदि पुन तं अठं न निवटे इअ अथ परच अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति (N) हंचे पुन तं ठं निवटेति ततो उभयेस लधं भोति इअ च सो अठो परच च अनंतं पुजं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमंगलेन

¹ atikratnam̐ anitarām̐ Bühler.² [h]ediśani Bühler.³ abhavasū Bühler.⁴ sato Bühler.⁵ sabodhi[m̐] Bühler.⁶ tenam̐d[a] Bühler.⁷ dhrama- Bühler.⁸ draśane Bühler.⁹ -paṭivīdha[ne] Bühler.¹⁰ draśanam̐ Bühler.¹¹ -pa[r]i[p]uḥha Bühler.¹² eṣh[a] Bühler.¹³ hoti Bühler.¹⁴ bhag[ī] Bühler.¹⁵ See above, p. 37, n. 5.

- 18 (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyadrasī r[a]ya evaṃ ahati (B) jano uchavuchaṃ maṃgalaṃ karoti abadhe avahe vivahe pajupadane pravase ataye¹ añāye cha edīsiy[e]² jano ba³ maṃgalaṃ karoti (C) atra tu striyaka bahu cha bahuvidhaṃ cha putika⁴ cha niraṭhiyaṃ⁵ cha maṃgalaṃ karo[ti]⁶ (D) so kaṭavo cha [va]⁷ kho maṃgala (E) apa-phala[m] tu kho eta⁸ (F) imaṃ [t]u kho maha-phala ye ma-maṃgala⁹
- 19 (G) [a]tra ima dasa-bhaṭakasa samma-paṭipati¹⁰ garuna apachiti praṇaṇaṃ sa[m]jyamo¹¹ śamaṇa-bramaṇa¹² dana etaṃ añāṃ cha dhrama-maṃga[laṃ] nama (H) [s]o vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratana¹³ pi spamik[e]na pi mitra-sastutena¹⁴ ava prativeśiyena imaṃ sadhu [imaṃ]¹⁵ kaṭa[vo] maṃgala[m] yava tasa aṭhasa¹⁶ nivuṭṭiya nivuṭṭaspi va p[u]na¹⁷
- 20 imaṃ kashaṃ¹⁸ (I) ye hi etake¹⁹ magale saśayike²⁰ taṃ (J) siya vo taṃ aṭhaṃ nivaṭeyati siya puna²¹ no²² (K) ialoka cha²³ vo taṃ²⁴ (L) ida²⁵ puna dhrama-magalaṃ akalikaṃ (M) yadi puna taṃ aṭhaṃ na nivaṭ[e]²⁶ ia²⁷ atha paratra anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati (N) haṃche puna taṃ ṭhaṃ²⁸ nivaṭeti tato u[bha]y[e]sa²⁹ ladhaṃ bhota ia³⁰ cha so aṭho paratra cha anantaṃ puṇaṃ prasavati tena dhramaṃgalena³¹

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness, at the marriage of a son or a daughter, at the birth of a child,³² (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men are practising many ceremonies.

(C) But in such (cases) women are practising many and various offensive³³ and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now, ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But these (ceremonies) bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This practice should be observed until the (desired) object is attained, (thinking): After it is actually attained, I shall observe this again'.

¹ Read *etaye*, which is Bühler's reading.

² Read probably *ediśaye*, as at Mānsehrā.

³ Read *bahu*.

⁴ *putika[m]* Bühler.

⁵ *niraṭhriyaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *ka[rotne]* Bühler.

⁷ Bühler omitted *va*.

⁸ *etaṃ* Bühler.

⁹ Read *dhrama*-; -*maṃgala[m]* Bühler.

¹⁰ -*paṭipati* Bühler.

¹¹ *samjyama* Bühler.

¹² *śramaṇa*- Bühler.

¹³ Read *bhratana*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹⁴ -*sastutena* Bühler.

¹⁵ There is a vacant space here.

¹⁶ *aṭhasa* Bühler.

¹⁷ *pana* Bühler.

¹⁸ *ke[sha]* Bühler.

¹⁹ *et[ra]ke* Bühler.

²⁰ *sa[m]śayike* Bühler.

²¹ *pana* Bühler.

²² Bühler omitted *no*.

²³ *ialokach[e]* Bühler.

²⁴ *tithe* Bühler.

²⁵ *iya* Bühler.

²⁶ Read *nivaṭeti*, as at Mānsehrā.

²⁷ *[h]ia* Bühler.

²⁸ Read *taṃ aṭhaṃ*; Bühler read *[a]thaṃ* for *taṃ ṭhaṃ*.

²⁹ *ubhaya* Bühler.

³⁰ *iha* Bühler.

³¹ Read *dhrama-maṃgalena*.

³² For *pajupadane* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

³³ Instead of *pūtika*, 'foul', all other versions read *kshudra*, 'vulgar'.

- (I) For such ceremonies are of doubtful (effect).
 (J) One may attain his object (by them), but he may not (do so).
 (K) And they (bear fruit) in this world only.
 (L) But that practice of morality is not restricted to time.
 (M) But if¹ one does not attain (by it) his object in this (world), then endless merit is produced in the other (world).
 (N) But if one attains (by it) his object (in this world), the gain of both (results) arises from it; (viz.) the (desired) object (is attained) in this (world), and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that practice of morality.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 21 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो व किट्टि व नो महठवह मज्जति अज्ज च यो पि यशो किट्टि व इच्छति तदत्वये अयतिय च जने धमसुश्रष सुश्रुषतु मे ति धमवुतं च अनुविधियतु (B) एतकये देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रय यशो किट्टि व
 22 इच्छति (C) यं तु किचि परक्रमति देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय तं सवं परत्रिकये व किति सकले अपरिसवे सियति (D) एषे तु परिसवे यं अपुजं (E) दुकरे तु खो एषे खुद्रकेन वयेन उसटेन व अज्ज अयेन परक्रमेन सवं परित्तिजितु (F) अज्ज च उसटे

- 21 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raya yaśo va kiṭṭi va no mahatṭhavaha mañati añātra yo pi yaśo kiṭṭi va ichhati tadatvaye² ayatiya cha jane dhrama-suśrasha³ suśrushatu me ti dharmma-vutaṃ cha anuvi[dhi]yatu (B) etakaye Devanapriye⁴ Priyadraśi raya yaśo⁵ kiṭṭi va
 22 ichhati (C) ya[m̐] tu kichi parakramati Devanāmpriyo Priyadraśi raya taṃ sav[r̐]aṃ paratrikaye va kiti sakale aparisrave siyati (D) eshe tu parisrave yaṃ apuñāṃ (E) dukare⁶ [tu] kho eshe khudrakena vagrena usaṭena va añātra agrena parakramena sava[m̐] paritijitu (F) at[r̐]a⁷ chu usaṭe

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame conveys much advantage, except whatever glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim) that in the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality, and that they may conform to the duties of morality.

(B) On this (account) king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is desiring glory and fame.

(C) But whatever effort king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is making, all that (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may be free of danger.

(D) But the danger is this, viz. demerit.

¹ Instead of 'but if', two other versions read- 'even if', which is preferable.

² tadattaye Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 11, C.

³ Read -suśrashaṃ.

⁴ Devanāmpriye Bühler.

⁵ Bühler added va.

⁶ dukaraṃ Bühler.

⁷ etaṃ (which is also possible) Bühler.

(E) But it is indeed difficult for a lowly person or for a high one to accomplish this without great zeal (and without) laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But among these (two) a high (person).

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

- 23 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय एवं हहति (B) नस्ति एदिशं दनं यदिशं ध्रमदन
ध्रमसंस्तवे ध्रमसंविभगो ध्रमसंवंध (C) तत्र एतं दसभटकनं संम्मपटिपति
मतपितुषु सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतजतिकनं श्रमणब्रमणन
24 दन प्रणन अनरंभो (D) एतं वतवो पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
मित्रसंस्तुतन अव प्रतिवेशियेन इमं सधु इमं कटवो (E) सो तथ करतं
इअल्लोक च अरधेति परच च अनतं पुज प्रसवति
25 तेन ध्रमदनेन

- 23 (A) Devana[m]priyo Priyadraśi raya evaṃ hahati¹ (B) nasti ed[i]śaṃ danaṃ
yadiśaṃ dhrama-dana² dhrama-saṃstav[e] dh[r]ama-saṃvibhago dh[r]ama-
saṃba[m]dha³ (C) tatra etaṃ dasa-bhaṭakanāṃ saṃmma-paṭipati⁴ mata-pitushu
suśruṣa mi[t]ra-saṃstuta-ñātikanaṃ śramaṇa-bramaṇana⁵
24 dana praṇana⁶ anara[m]bho (D) etaṃ vatavo pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna pi
[spa]mikenā⁷ pi mitra-saṃstutana⁸ ava prativeśiyena [i]ma[m]⁹ sadhu imaṃ
kaṭavo (E) so tatha karata[m] ialoka¹⁰ cha a[ra]dheti paratra cha anataṃ puṇa¹¹
prasavati
25 [te]na dhrama-danena

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) There is no such gift as the gift of morality, acquaintance through morality, the distribution of morality, (and) kinship through morality.

(C) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, (and) abstention from killing animals.

(D) Concerning this a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master, (or) a friend or an acquaintance, (or) even a (mere) neighbour, ought to say: 'This is meritorious. This ought to be done'.

(E) If one is acting thus, he attains (happiness in) this world, and endless merit is produced in the other (world) by that gift of morality.

¹ *aha ti* Bühler.

² *-danaṃ* Bühler.

³ *-saṃbaṃdho* Bühler.

⁴ *samma-paṭipati* Bühler.

⁵ *-bramaṇanaṃ* Bühler.

⁶ *danaṃ praṇanaṃ* Bühler.

⁷ *[sa]mikenā* Bühler.

⁸ Read *-saṃstutena*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁹ There is a fissure in the rock here.

¹⁰ *karantaṃ ialoka[ni]* Bühler.

¹¹ *puṇaṃ* Bühler.

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

B.—On a separate boulder.

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सव्रप्रषंडनि प्रव्रजितनि ग्रहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मज्जति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषं-
- 4 ड तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति
(G) तद् अजथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं
गरहति सव्रे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस ध्रमो
- 7 श्रुण्येयु च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सव्रप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तत्र तत्र
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मज्जति यथ किति
सलवढि सियति सव्रप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट ध्रममहमच इस्तिधियक्षमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 ध्रमस च दिपन

- 1 (A) Devanaṃpriyo Priyadraśi raya savra-praśaṃḍani pravrajita[ni]¹
grahathani² cha pujeti danena vividhaye cha pujaye (B) no chu tatha
[da]na³ va puja va
- 2 Devanaṃpriyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi siya savra-praśaṃḍanaṃ
(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha (D) tasa tu iyo mula yaṃ vacha-guti
- 3 kiti ata-praśaṃḍa-puja va pa[ra]-paśaṃḍa-garana va no siya [a]pakaraṇasi⁴
lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[ṇ]e (E) pujetaviya va chu para-prasha[m]-
- 4 [ḍa] tena tena akarena (F) e[v]aṃ karataṃ⁵ ata-p[r]aśaṃḍaṃ vaḍheti
para-praśaṃḍaṃsa⁶ pi cha upakaroti (G) tada añatha⁷ ka[ra]min[o]⁸
ata-p[r]aśaṃḍa⁹

¹ This word was entered above the line; *pravrajita* Bühler.

² *graha[tha]ni* Bühler.

³ *dana[ni]* Bühler.

⁴ *aparakaranasi* Bühler.

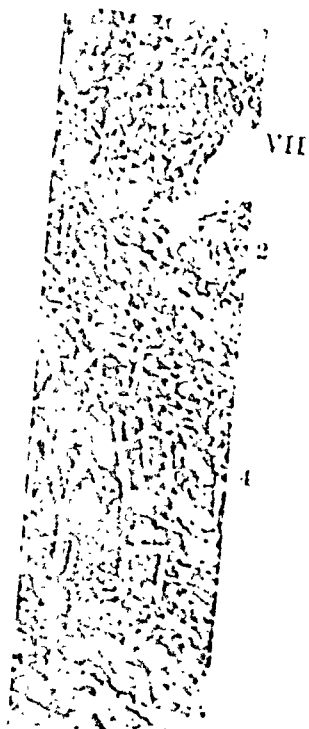
⁵ *kara[ni]taṃ* Bühler.

⁶ Read *ḍasa*, which is Bühler's reading.

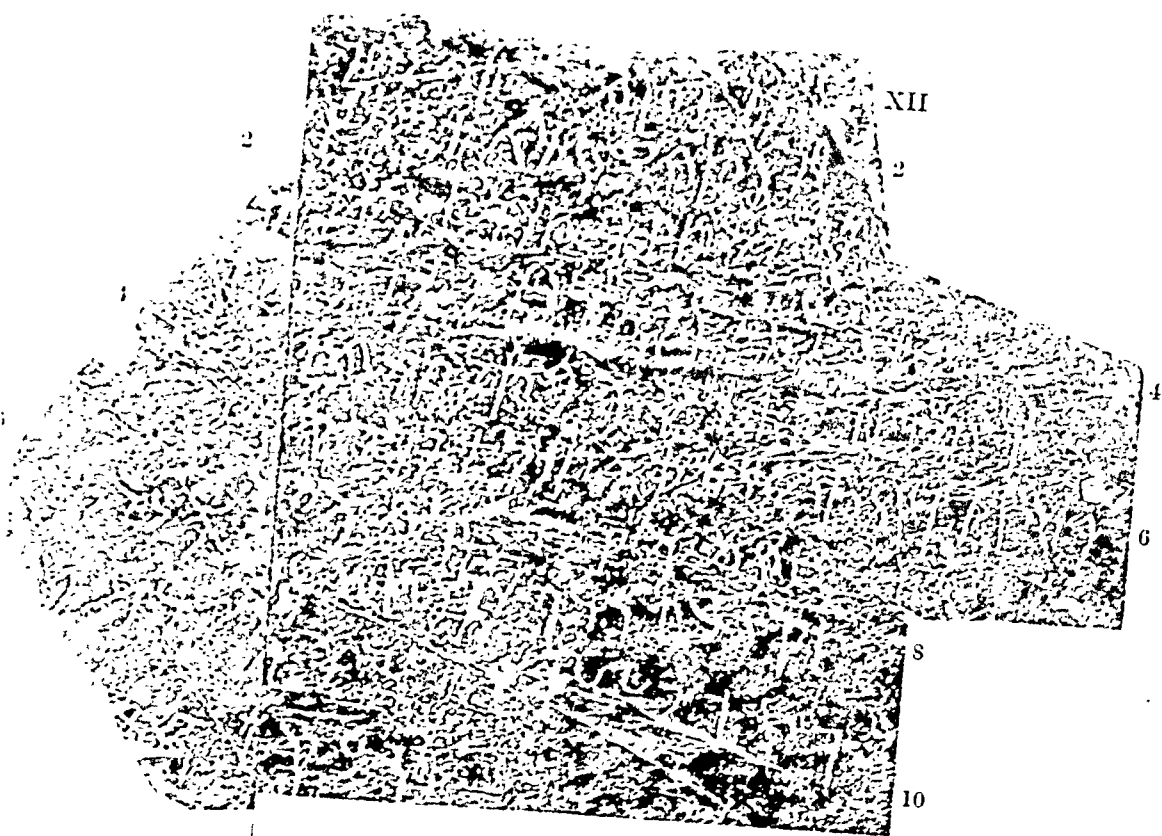
⁷ Read *tad-añatha*.

⁸ *ka[rata cha]* Bühler.

⁹ *-praśaṃḍaṃ* Bühler.



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- 5 kshaṇāti para-[pra]śhaḍasa¹ cha apakaroti (H) yo hi kachi² ata-prashaḍam puḇeti
[para]-p[r]ashaḍa[m]³ garahati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti
6 ata-prashamḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamṭam so cha puna tatha
karatam⁴ ba[ḍhata]ram upahamti ata-prashaḍam (I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti
añamañasa dhramo
7 śruṇeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti (J) evam hi Devanāṃpriyasa ichha kiti savra-
prashamḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[āṇa]gama cha siyasu (K) ye cha tatra tatra
8 prasana tesha[m] vatavo (L) Devanāṃpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va] p[u]ja va
mañāti ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashaḍanam (M) bahuka cha etaye
a[tha] . . .⁵
9 vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[stṛidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra [vra]cha-bhumika⁶ añe
cha nikaye (N) imam cha etisa [pha]lam yam ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi⁷ [bh]o[ti]
10 dhramasa cha di[pana]

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin is honouring all sects : (both) ascetics and householders, with gifts and with honours of various kinds.

(B) But Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one's) speech, (i. e.) that neither praising one's own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefiting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whosoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects,—all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i. e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect,—if he is acting thus, he rather injures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control⁸ alone is meritorious, (i. e.) that they should both hear and obey each other's morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Dēvānāmpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Dēvānāmpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.⁹

¹ -prashamḍasa Bühler.

² k[o]chi Bühler.

³ -prash[a]ḍa Bühler.

⁴ Cancel the five preceding words, which were repeated by mistake.

⁵ Restore añhaṇe.

⁶ vacha- Bühler.

⁷ -prashaḍa- Bühler.

⁸ Instead of 'self-control' the other versions read 'concord'.

⁹ For siyati see above, p. 40, n. 1.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the *Mahāmātras* of morality, the *Mahāmātras* controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (of officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one's own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality.

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

C.—West face of Shāhbāzgarhī rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रियस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअढमचे प्रणशतसहसे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तत्र हते बहुतवतके व मुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिंगेषु तिन्ने ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रियस विजिनिति कलिंगनि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं वढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तत्र
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रमण व अंजे व प्रषंड ग्रहथ व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्विभतित तेष तत्र भोति अपग्रयो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्रमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिंहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मित्रसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रयो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्मि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद् कलिंगे हतो च मुटो च अपवुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इहति हि देवनप्रियो सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्मि योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन

- 10 भोजपित्तिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनंप्रियस भ्रमनुशस्ति अनुवदंति (S) यत्र
पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस भ्रमवुटं विधनं
भ्रमनुशस्ति भ्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन
भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति भ्रमविजयस्मि (V) लहुक तु खो स
प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेजति देवनंप्रियो (X) एतये च अठये अयि
भ्रमदिपि निपिस्त किति पुच पपोच मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविञ्ज
मज्जिषु स्पकस्मि यो विजये क्षंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मज्जतु
- 12 यो भ्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य
भ्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa¹ Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ñho] Ka[liga]
vi[j]ita (B) diadhā-mat[r]e² praṇa-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-
sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va]³ m[ute]
- 2 (C) tato [pa]cha⁴ a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu⁵ tivre dhrama-śilana]⁶
dhra[ma-ka]mata dhramanuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (D) so [a]sti anusochana⁷
Devanap[ria]sa vijinīti Kaliga[ni]⁸
- 3 (E) avijitāṃ [hi vi]jīnamano yo⁹ tat[r]a vadha¹⁰ va maraṇaṃ va apavaho va
janasa taṃ baḍhaṃ v[e]dani[ya]-ma[taṃ] guru-mata[m] cha Devanaṃpriyasa
(F) idaṃ¹¹ pi chu [tato] guru-matataraṃ [Devanaṃ]priyasa (G) ye tatra¹²
- 4 vasati¹³ bramaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va a[m]ñe va prashaṃḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita
esha agrabhūti-suśrusha mata-pitushu suśrusha guruna¹⁴ suśrusha mitra-
saṃstuta-sahaya-
- 5 ṇātikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanāṃ samma-pratipa[ti] dīḍha-bhatita¹⁵ tesha¹⁶ tatra bhoti
[a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (H) yesha va pi
suvihitanaṃ¹⁷ [si]ho¹⁸ aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ṇātika vasana
- 6 prapuṇāti [ta]tra taṃ pi tesha vo apagratho¹⁹ bhoti (I) pratibhagaṃ cha
[e]taṃ savra-manuśanaṃ²⁰ guru-mataṃ cha Devanaṃpriya[sa] (J) nasti
cha ekatare²¹ pi prashaḍaspi²² na nama prasado (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada
Kalige [ha]to cha mu[ṭo] cha apav[udha]²³ cha tato
- 7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṃ va [a]jja guru-mataṃ v[o] Devanaṃpriyasa (L) yo
pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va²⁴ Devanaṃp[r]iyasa yaṃ śako
kshamanaye (M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanaṃpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti
anunijapeti²⁵ (N) anutape pi cha prabhava

¹ a[sta]- Bühler.² [diyadha]- Bühler.³ Bühler omitted *va*.⁴ [pa]chha Bühler.⁵ [Kaligeshu] Bühler.⁶ -[palanaṃ] Bühler.⁷ °n[an] Bühler.⁸ °priyasa vijinī[ti Ka]liṅga[ni] Bühler.⁹ °man[i ye] Bühler.¹⁰ vadh[o] Bühler.¹¹ imaṃ Bühler.¹² tatra h[i] for *ye tatra* Bühler.¹³ vasaṃti Bühler.¹⁴ gurunāṃ Bühler.¹⁵ diḍha- Bühler.¹⁶ teshāṃ Bühler.¹⁷ saṃvi^o Bühler.¹⁸ Read *sineho*; [ne]ho Bühler.¹⁹ Read *apagratho*, which is Bühler's reading.²⁰ savraṃ manu^o Bühler.²¹ ekataraspi Bühler.²² prashaṃḍaspi Bühler.²³ apavudh[o] Bühler.²⁴ vo Bühler.²⁵ Read °nijhapeti, which is Bühler's reading.

- 8 **Dovanāṃpriyasa** vuchati tesha kiti avatrapeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasu (O) ichhati hi **D[o]vanāṃpriyo** savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamam sama[cha]riyam rabhasiye (P) ayi¹ cha mukha-mut[a]² vijaye **Dovanāṃpriya[sa]** yo dhrama-vijayo (Q) so cha puna ladho **Dovanāṃpriyasa** iha cha saveshu³ cha ainteshu
- 9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra **Am̐tiyoko** nama **Y[o]na-raja** param cha tena **Atiyok[o]na**⁴ chaturō 4 rajani **Turamayo** nama **Am̐tikini** nama **Maka** nama **Alikasudaro** nama nicha **Choḍa-Paṃḍa** ava **Ta[m]bapaṃ[ṇi]ya**⁵ (R) [e]vameva [hi]da raja-vishavaspi⁶ **Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu** **Nabhaka-Nabhitina**⁷
- 10 **Bhoja-Pitinikoshu** **Am̐dhra-Palidoshu**⁸ savatra **Dovanāṃpriyasa** dhramanuśasti anuvataṃti (S) yatra pi **Dovanāṃpriyasa** duta na vrachamti te pi śrutu **Dovanāṃpriyasa** dhrama-vuṭam vidh[a]nam⁹ dhramanuśasti dhramam [a]nuvidhiyamti anuvihiyam[ti] cha (T) yo [sa]¹⁰ ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na]
- 11 vijayo priti-raso so (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meṇati **Dovana[m]priyo** (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi¹¹ dhrama-dipi nipi[sta]¹² kiti putra papotra me asu navam vijayam ma vijetav[i]a¹³ maṇishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e ksham]ti cha lahu-da[m]ḍata¹⁴ cha rochetu tam cha yo¹⁵ vija¹⁶ maṇa[tu]
- 12 yo dhrama-vijayo (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Z) sava-chati-rati¹⁷ bhotu ya [dh]ramma-rati¹⁸ (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika

TRANSLATION

(A) When king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas** has been taken, **Dēvānāmpriya** (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality,¹² to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of **Dēvānāmpriya** on account of his conquest of (the country of) the **Kaliṅgas**.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by **Dēvānāmpriya**, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by **Dēvānāmpriya**.

¹ *eshe* Bühler.

² *-mte* Bühler.

³ *sa[ore]shu* Bühler.

⁴ *Am̐tiyokena* Bühler.

⁵ *paṇiniya* Bühler.

⁶ *Visha-Vajri-* Bühler.

⁷ *Nabhake Na[bhi]tina* Bühler.

⁸ *-Puli[de]shu* Bühler.

⁹ *vidhenaṃ* Bühler.

¹⁰ *[cha]* Bühler.

¹¹ *ayo* Bühler.

¹² *[di]pista* Bühler.

¹³ *ṭavi[ya]m* Bühler.

¹⁴ *-dam[ḍa]tam* Bühler.

¹⁵ *tam e[va]* Bühler.

¹⁶ Read *vijayam*, as at Kālsī.

¹⁷ *sava cha nirati* Bühler.

¹⁸ *[s]rama-* Bühler.

¹⁹ *dhrama-śilana* (= Skt. *dharmā-śilana*) is the equivalent of *dharmavāyo* at Gīrnār; see above, p. 24, n. 14.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion,—to these then happen injury¹ or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.²

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported at that time in *Kaliṅga*, (would) now be considered very deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.

(L) And *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him), what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests³ which are (included) in the dominions of *Dēvānāmpriya*, even those he pacifies (and) converts.⁴

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which *Dēvānāmpriya* (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance,⁵ in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For *Dēvānāmpriya* desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.⁶

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one⁷ by *Dēvānāmpriya*, viz. the conquest by morality.

¹ 'The meaning of *apagratho* is fixed by the various readings *upaghāte* (Kālsī) and *upaghāto* (Girnār). It has to be noted (to which Pischel draws my attention) that some Kōśas give for *grathita* the meaning *hata*, *himsita*; see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, s. v. *granth*.'—Bühler, ZDMG, 43. 174.

² 'By the fault of the writer' (as the rock-edict XIV, E, expresses it), most of this section is omitted in the Shāhbāzgarhī version.

³ As remarked by Bühler (ZDMG, 43. 174 f.), the nom. plur. *aṭavi* is used in the sense of *āṭavikāḥ*. Indian rhetoricians call such a figurative expression *lakṣaṇā*. One of the examples given in the *Tarkasaṁgrahadīpikā*, §. 59, is मञ्चाः क्रोशन्ति, 'the tribunes (i. e. the occupants of the tribunals) are shouting.'

⁴ Literally, 'induces to meditate'. Cf. *nijhapayisanti* and *nijhapayitā* (or *nijhapayitave*) in the pillar-edict IV, M, *nijhap[e]ta[vi]ye* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict I, R, and *nijhati* in the rock-edict VI, F, and in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ to NN; also the second separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, where Aśoka declares that he wishes to induce his borderers to practise morality.

⁵ Bühler (EI, 2. 471) rendered *anutāpe prabhāve* (i. e. *anutāpē prabhāvē*) by 'power to torment (them)'. But the meaning which he assigned to *anutāpa* is unusual, and this word is a synonym of *anuśaya* or *anuśāhana* in section D of this edict. Thomas takes *prabhāve* = Skt. *prabhavēt*; see V. A. Smith's *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 173, n. 4. But at Shāhbāzgarhī the 3. sing. opt. ends in *-eyati*; cf. my note on the translation of edict XIV, D.

⁶ I adopt Lüders' rendering of the last two words of this section; see SPAW, 1914. 851. The Girnār and Kālsī versions replace the locative *rabhasiye* (= Skt. *rābhasyē*) by the accusative *mādava* or *madava* (= Skt. *mārdavam*, 'kindness').

⁷ *mukha-muta* (also at Mānsehrā, XIII, l. 9) is the same as *mukhya-muta* in the Lauriyā-Arājī and Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edicts, VI, F.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by **Dēvānāmpriya** both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred *yōjanas*, where the **Yōna king** named **Antiyoka** (is ruling), and beyond this **Antiyoka**, (where) **four—4—kings** (are ruling), (viz. the king) named **Turamaya**, (the king) named **Antikini**, (the king) named **Maka**, (and the king) named **Alikasudara**, (and) towards the south, (where) the **Chōḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (are ruling), as far as **Tāmraparṇī**.

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory, among the **Yōnas** and **Kambōyas**, among the **Nabhakas** and **Nabhitis**,¹ among the **Bhōjas** and **Pitinikas**, among the **Andhras** and **Palidas**,²—everywhere (people) are conforming to **Dēvānāmpriya's** instruction in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of **Dēvānāmpriya** do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of **Dēvānāmpriya**, are conforming to morality and will conform to (it).

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere,—a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly,—causes the feeling of satisfaction.

(U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

(V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

(W) **Dēvānāmpriya** thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

(X) And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please them,³ they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only (true) conquest.

(Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

(Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims),⁴ which is pleasure in morality.

(AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: SHAHBAZGARHI

13 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रिणिन रज निपेसपित अस्ति वो संक्षितेन
अस्ति यो विस्त्रितेन (B) न हि सवच ससत्रे गटिते (C) महलके हि विजिते
बहु च लिखिते लिखपेशमि चेव (D) अस्ति चु अच पुन पुन लपितं तस
तस अठस मधुरिये येन जन तथ

14 पटिपजेयति (E) सो सिय व अच किचे असमतं लिखितं देशं व संखय करण
व अलोचेति दिपिकरम व अपरधेन

¹ The Kālsī version reads *Nābhapanīti* for *Nabhiti*.

² See above, p. 48, n. 14.

³ Cf. above, p. 49, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 18, n. 10. The wording of Kālsī and Mānsehrā differs here. Unless the Shāhbāzgarhī reading is merely due to a clerical mistake, it would contain a Prākṛit substantive *chatti* = Skt. **tyakti* in the sense of *tyāga*.

- 13 (A) *ayi*¹ *dhrama-dipi*² **Devanāmpriyena Priśi[na]**³ *raña nipesapita*⁴ *asti vo saṁkshita*⁵ *asti yo vistriṭena* (B) *na hi savatra*⁶ *sasavre*⁷ *gaṭite*⁸ (C) *mahalake hi vijite bahu cha likhite likha[p]eśami cheva* (D) *asti chu*⁹ *atra puna puna [la]pitaṁ tasa tasa [a]ṭhasa madhuriyaye ye[na] jana tatha*
- 14 *paṭipajeyati*¹⁰ (E) *so siya va atra kiche*¹¹ *asamatam likhitam deśam va saṁkhay[a]*¹² *karaṇa va alocheti dipikarasa va aparadhena*

TRANSLATION

(A) These rescripts on morality have been caused to be written¹³ by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** either in an abridged (form) or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall cause still (more) to be written.

(D) But (some) of this has been stated again and again because of the charm of certain topics, (and) in order that men should act accordingly.¹⁴

(E) But some of this may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked,¹⁵ or by the fault of the writer.

IV. THE MANSEHRA ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

A.—First Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अयि ध्रमदिपि देवनंप्रियेन प्रियद्रशिन् रजिन लिखपित (B) हिद नो किछि जिवे अरभितु प्रजोहि-
- 2 तविये (C) नो पि च समजे कटविये (D) बहुक हि दोष समजस देवनंप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज दखति (E) अस्ति पि चु
- 3 एकतिय समज सधुमत देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस रजिने (F) पुर महनससि देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस र-
- 4 जिने अनुदिवस बहुनि प्रणशतसहस्रनि अरभिसु सुपथ्ये (G) से द अयि ध्रमदिपि लिखित तद तिनि येव प्रणनि अरभियंति दुवे २ मजु-
- 5 र एके म्निगे से पि चु म्निगे नो ध्रुवं (H) एतनि पि चु तिनि प्रणनि पच नो अरभि

¹ *ayo* Bühler.

² There is a vacant space between *ma* and *di*.

³ Read *Priyadrasina*.

⁴ *dipapito* Bühler.

⁵ *saṁkshita* Bühler.

⁶ *savratra* Bühler.

⁷ Read *savre*; [*so*] *savre* Bühler.

⁸ Read *ghaṭite*; *ghaṭiti* Bühler.

⁹ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁰ *prati*^o Bühler.

¹¹ Read *kichi*, which is Bühler's reading.

¹² *saṁkhaye* Bühler.

¹³ With *nipesapita* cf. *nipesitaṁ* in the Shāhbāzgarhī edict IV, K.

¹⁴ With the optative *paṭipajeyati* (= *yāti* at Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa) cf. *apakareyati* (XIII, l. 7), *nivareyati* (IX, l. 20), and *siyati* (= *siyāti* or *shiyāti* at Kālsī); see above, p. 40, n. 1.

¹⁵ See above, p. 8, n. 3.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 26 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अञ्च (B) अतिक्रतं अतरं
 27 न हुतप्रुवे सव्रं कल अणूक्रम व पटिवेदन व (C) त मय एवं किटं (D) सव्र
 कलं अणतस मे ओरोधने यभगरसि व्रचस्मि विनितस्मि उयनस्मि सव्रच
 पटिवेदक अणू जनस
 28 पटिवेदेतु मे (E) सव्रच च जनस अणू करोमि अहं (F) यं पि च किछि मुखतो
 अणपेमि अहं दपकं व अचकं व ये व पुन महमचेहि अचयिके अरोपिते
 होति
 29 तये अणूये विवदे निजति व संत परिपये अनतलियेन पटिवेदेतविये मे
 सव्रच सव्र कल (G) एवं अणपित मय (H) नस्ति हि मे तोषे उठनसि
 अथसंतिरणये च
 30 (I) कटवियमते हि मे सव्रलोकहिते (J) तस चु पुन एपे मुले उठने अणूसतिरण
 च (K) नस्ति हि क्रमतर सव्रलोकहितेन (L) यं च किछि परक्रममि अञ्च
 किति भुतनं
 31 अणणियं येहं इञ्च च पे मुखयमि परच च स्पय अरधेतु ति (M) से एतये अणूये
 इयं भ्रमदिपि लिखित चिरठितिक होतु तथ च मे पुत्र नतरे परक्रमते सव्र-
 32 लोकहितये (N) दुकरे च खो अञ्च अयेन परक्रमेन

- 26 (A) *Dovanapriyo*¹ *Priyadraśi* raja [e]va[m] aa² (B) *atikrataṃ ataraṃ*³
 27 na⁴ *huta-pruve* [sa]vraṃ kala athra-[krama] va [pa]ṭivedana va (C) ta maya evaṃ
 kiṭaṃ (D) *savra* kalaṃ aśatasa me orodhane grabhagarasi vracaspi vinitaspi
 uyanaspi savratra pa[t]i[ve]da[ka] athra janasa
 28 paṭivedetu me (E) savratra cha janasa athra kar[o]mi ahaṃ (F) yaṃ pi cha⁵
 kichhi⁶ mukhato⁷ aṇapemi ahaṃ dapakaṃ va śravakaṃ va ye⁸ va puna
 mahamatrehi achayike aropite⁹ hoti
 29 taye athraye vivade nijati¹⁰ va saṃta par[i]sha[ye] a[na]taliyena paṭivedetaviye¹¹
 me savratra savra kala (G) evaṃ aṇapita maya (H) nasti hi me toshe
 [uṭhanasi] ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye cha
 30 (I) kaṭaviya-mate hi me savra-loka-h[i]te (J) [ta]sa chu puna eshe mule uṭhane
 athra-satiraṇa cha (K) nasti hi kramatara savra-loka-hitena (L) ya[m] cha
 [kichhi]¹² pa[rakra]mami aaṃ¹³ k[i]t[i] bh[u]tanam
 31 aṇaṇiyam¹⁴ ye[haṃ] ia cha she¹⁵ sukhayami paratra cha spagra¹⁶ a[ra]dhetu ti

¹ *Devana[m]priye* Bühler.² *aha* Bühler.³ *atikraṃtaṃ aṇtaraṃ* Bühler.⁴ *n[o]* Bühler.⁵ Bühler omitted *cha*.⁶ *kichhi* Bühler.⁷ *mukhato* looks almost like *mukhati*, which is Bühler's reading.⁸ *yaṃ* Bühler.⁹ *aropita* Bühler.¹⁰ Read *nijhati*, which is Bühler's reading.¹¹ *a[naṃ]taliyena paṭiveditaviye* Bühler.¹² [*ki*]chi Bühler.¹³ *ahaṃ* Bühler.¹⁴ *aṇaṇiyam* Bühler.¹⁵ *sha* Bühler.¹⁶ *spagraṃ* Bühler.

(M) se etaye athraye iyañi dhrama-dipi likhita chira-ñhitika¹ hotu ta[tha]² cha] me pu[tra nata]re para[kra]mate³ sa[vra]-

32 [lo]ka-hitaye (N) dukare cha⁴ kho [a]ññatra a[g]rena para[kra]mena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

32 (A) देवनप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रच इच्छति सव्रपषड वसेयु (B) सव्रे हि ते संयम भवशुधि च

33 इच्छति (C) जने चु उचवुचछदे उचवुचरगे (D) ते सव्रं एकदेशं व पि कषति (E) विपुले पि चु दने यस नस्ति सयेमे भवशुति किटनत द्रिढभतित च

34 निचे वढं

32 (A) Devanapriyo⁵ Priyadraśi raja savratra ichhati savra-pashaḍa vaseyu (B) savre hi te sa[ya]ma [bha]va-śu[dh]i [cha]

33 [ichham]ti (C) jane chu uchavucha-chhade⁶ uchavucha-rage (D) te savrañi eka-deśaṃ va pi kashati (E) [v]ipule pi ch[u] dane yasa nasti sayeme⁷ bhava-śuti⁸ kiṇanata dṛiḍha-bhatita⁹ cha

34 niche badham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

34 (A) अतिक्रतं अतरं देवनप्रिय विहरयच नम निक्रमिपु (B) इञ्ज म्रिगविय अजनि च एदिशनि अभिरमनि हुसु (C) से देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि

35 रज दशवपभिसिते संतं निक्रमि सवोधि (D) तेनद ध्रमयद (E) अच इय होति शमणव्रमणन द्रशने दने च बुध्न द्रशने च हिजपटिविधने च

36 जनपदस जनस द्रशने ध्रमनुशस्ति च ध्रमपरिपुछ च ततोपय (F) एपे भुये रति होति देवनप्रियस प्रियद्रशिस

37 रजिने भगे अणे

34 (A) a[ti]kratañ atarañ¹⁰ Devanapri[ya] vihara-yatra nama nikramishu (B) ia¹¹ mrigaviya aññani cha ediśani abhiramani husu (C) s[c] Devanap[r]iy[ē] P[r]iyadraśi

35 raja daśa-vashabhisito sañña[ñ] nikrami Sabodhi¹² (D) tenada dhrama-yada¹³

¹ -ñhitikañ Bühler.

² tathañ Bühler.

³ °mate Bühler.

⁴ chu Bühler.

⁵ °[priye] Bühler.

⁶ -chade Bühler.

⁷ sayame Bühler.

⁸ Read -śudhi.

⁹ dṛiḍha- Bühler.

¹⁰ aññarañ Bühler.

¹¹ i[ha] Bühler.

¹² saññabodhi Bühler.

¹³ tenaa[ññi] dhrama-yadra Bühler. What looks like an Anusvāra or Rēpha, is probably the optional bottom-line of *da*, which occurs also in V, 23, 24; VIII, 36; IX, 8 (twice); X, 9; XIII, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13. Cf. above, p. 54, n. 7.

- (E) atra iya hoti śramaṇa-bramaṇa¹ dra[śa]ne dane cha vudhrana² dra[śa]ne-
[cha hi]ṇa-paṭivi[dhane³ cha]
36 janapadasa janasa draśane dhramaṇuśasti cha dhrama-[pa]r[i]puchha cha tatopaya
(F) eshe bhuye rati hoti **Dovanapriyasa Priyadraśisa**
37 rajino bhage aṇe

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

B.—North Face of Second Rock.

- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह (B) जने उचवुचं मगलं करोति
2 अवधसि अवहसि विवहसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्मि एतये अजये च एदिश्ये जने
3 बहु मंगलं करोति (C) अच तु अवकजनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च निरथ्रिय
च मगलं करोति (D) से कटविये चेव खो
4 मगले (E) अपफले चु खो एपे (F) इयं चु खो महफले ये ध्रममगले (G) अच
इयं दसभटकसि सम्यपंतिपति गुरुन अपचिति
5 प्रणन सयमे अमणव्रमणन दने एपे अणे च एदिशे ध्रममगले नम (H) से
वतविये पितुन पि पुत्रेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
6 मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविये मगले अव तस अथूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम कपमि ति (I) ए हि इतरे मगले
7 शशयिके से (J) सिय व तं अथुं निवटेय सिय पन नो (K) हिदलोकिके चेव से
(L) इयं पुन ध्रममगले अकलिके (M) हचे पि तं अथुं नो निवटेति हिद
अथ परच
8 अनत पुण प्रसवति (N) हचे पुन तं अथुं निवटेति हिद ततो उभयेसं अरधे होति
हिद च से अथे परच च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन ध्रमगलेन

- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) jane uchavucha[m ma]gala[m]
karoti
2 abadhasi a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi prajopadaye pravasaspi etaye añaye [cha ed]iśa[ye
jane]
3 bahu maṅga[laṃ ka]ro[t]i (C) atra tu abaka-janika⁴ bahu cha bahuvidha cha khuda
cha nirathriya cha magalaṃ karoti (D) se ka[ṭaviye ch]eva⁵ kho
4 magale (E) apa-phale chu [kho e]she (F) iyaṃ chu kho maha-phale ye dhrama-
magale⁶ (G) atra iyaṃ dasa-bhaṭakasi samya-paṭipati guruna a[pachit]i
5 pra[ṇa]na [sa]yame śramaṇa-bramaṇa [dane] eshe aṇe cha ediśe dhrama-magale
nama (H) se vataviye pi[tu]na pi putrena pi bhratuna⁷ pi spamikena pi
6 mitra-sa[m]stutena [a]va paṭiveśiyena pi iyaṃ sadhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye magale ava tasa
athrasa nivuṭiya nivuṭasi va puna ima [ka]shami ti⁸ (I) e hi [i]tare⁹ maga[le]

¹ śramaṇa- Bühler.⁴ balika for abaka- Bühler.⁷ bhatuna Bühler.² vadhrana Bühler.⁵ cha for [ch]eva Bühler.⁸ k[e]śh[a]miti Bühler.³ Read hiraṇa-⁶ -maṅgale Bühler.⁹ [a]trake Bühler.



- 13 मिचसंस्तुतजतिकन अमणवमणन दने प्रणन अनरभे (D) एषे वतविये पितुन
पि पुत्रेन पि भृतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि मिचसंस्तुतेन अव पटिवेशियेन
- 14 इयं सधु इयं कटविये (E) से तथ करतं हिदलोके च कं अरधे होति परच च
अनंतं पुणं प्रसवति तेन धमदनेन
- 12 (A) Devanapri[y]e Priyadraśi raja evaṃ aha (B) nasti ediśe dane [a]diśe
dhrama-dane dhrama-saṃtha[v]e dhrama-saṃvibhaga¹ dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e]
(C) tatra eshe dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si samya-paṭipati² mata-[pitu]shu su[śru]sha
13 mitra-saṃ[stuta]-ñātikana śramaṇa-bramaṇana dan[e] praṇana [ana]rabhe³ (D)
[e]she vataviye pituna pi putrena pi bhratuna⁴ pi spamike[na] pi mitra-
saṃ[stu]t[e]na ava paṭiveśiyena
14 iyaṃ sa[dhu] iyaṃ kaṭaviye⁵ (E) se tatha karata[m] hi[dalo]kē⁶ [cha] kaṃ⁷ aradhe
ho[ti]⁸ pa[ra]tra[tra] cha ana[m]taṃ puṇaṃ p[r]asavati te[na dhra]ma-danena

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

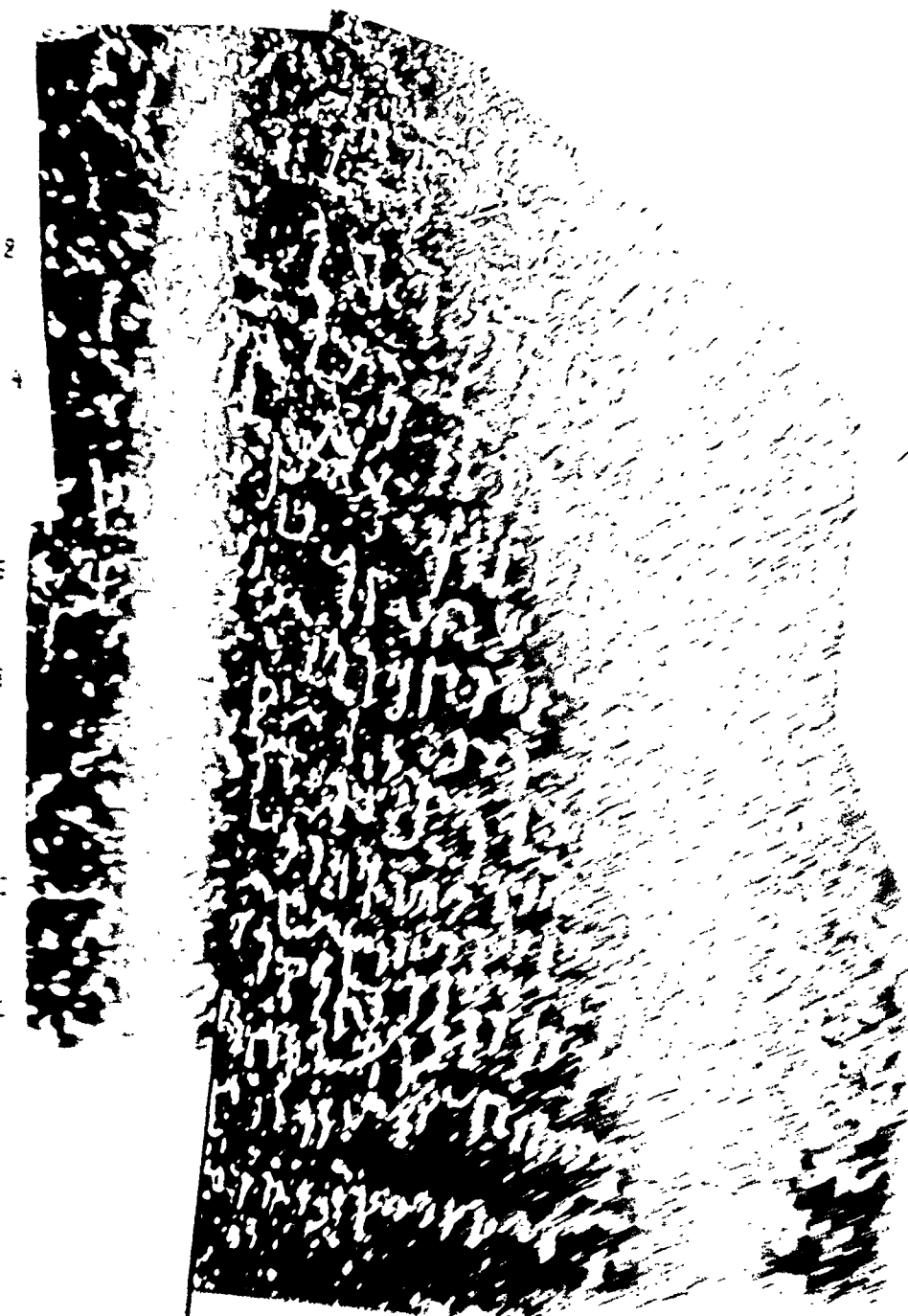
C.—South Face of Second Rock.

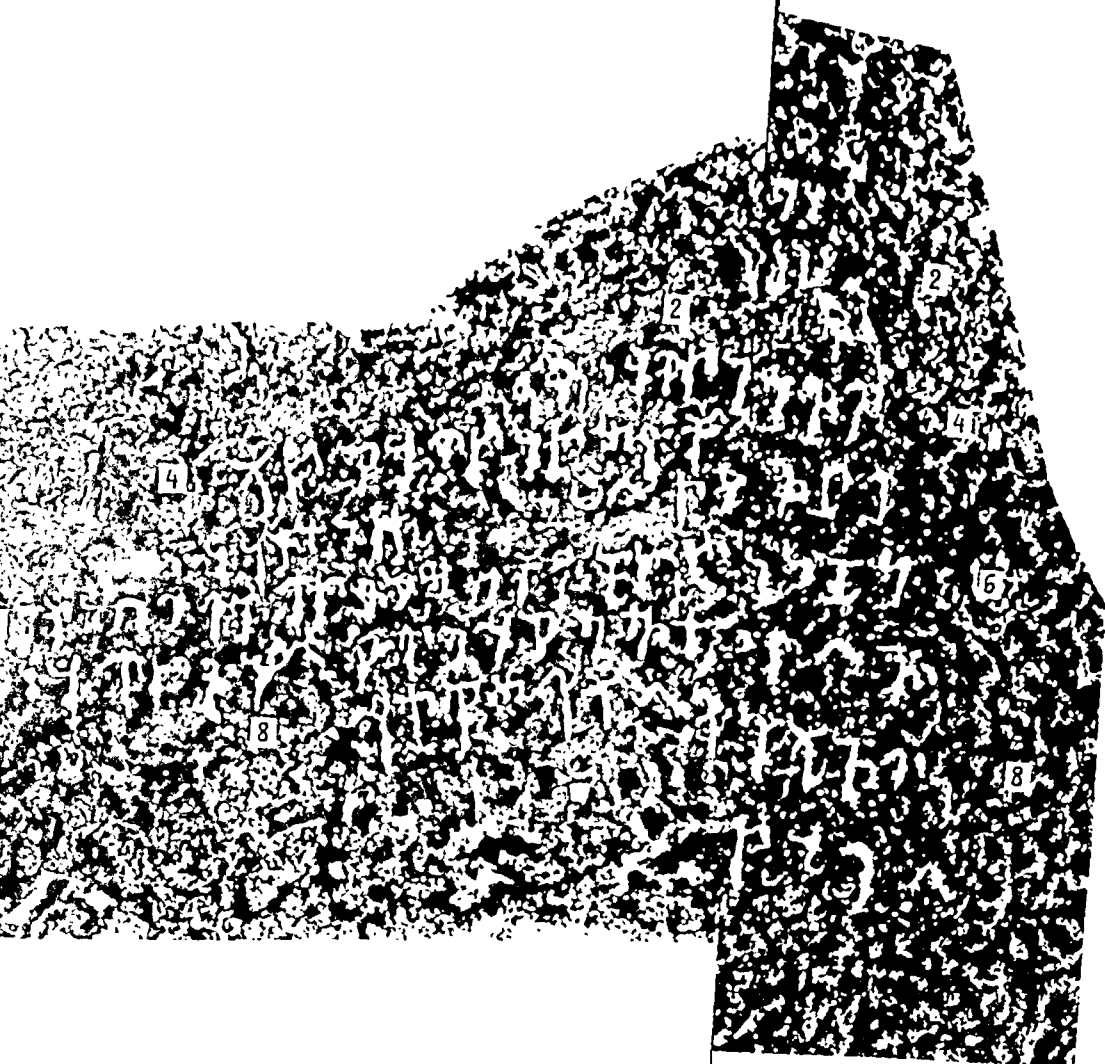
- 1 (A) देवनप्रिये प्रियद्रशि रज सव्रपषडनि प्रवजितनि गेहयनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रिये मजति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रपषडन ति (C) सलव्रुढि तु
बहुविध (D) तस चु इयं मुले अं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषडपुज व परपषडगरह व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि पकरणसि (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषड तेन तेन
- 4 अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अत्वपषड वढं वढयति परपषडस पि च उपकरोति (G)
तदंजथ करतं अतपषड च छणति परपषडस पि च
- 5 अपकरोति (H) ये हि केछि अत्वपषड पुजेति परपषड व गरहति सव्रे अत्व-
पषडभतिय व किति अत्वपषड दिपयम ति . . . पुन तथ करतं
- 6 वढतरं उपहंति अत्वपषड (I) से समवये वो सधु किति अणमणस धमं श्रुण्ये
च सुश्रुण्ये च ति (J) एवं हि देवनप्रियस इह किति सव्रपषड बहुश्रुत च
- 7 कयणगम च हुवेयु ति (K) ए च तच तच प्रसन तेहि वतविये (L) देवनप्रिये नो
तथ दनं व पुजं व मणति अथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रपषडन
- 8 (M) बहुक च एतये अथये वपुट धममहमच इस्विजस्ममहमच वचभुमिक अजे च
निकये (N) इयं च एतिस फले
- 9 यं अत्वपषडवढि च भोति धमस च दिपन

¹ °bhage Bühler.² -[bha]ṭa . . sa sa[mya]-saṃpaṭipati Bühler.³ anaraṃbhe Bühler.⁴ bhatuna Bühler.⁵ kraṭaviye Bühler.⁶ karaṃtani hida . . ka Bühler.⁷ [ku?] Bühler in foot-note 10.⁸ aradhe . . i Bühler.

2

4





- 1 (A) Devanapriye Priyadraṣi raja savra-pashaḍani [p]rava[ji]tani gehathani¹ cha
pujete danena vividhaye cha pujaye² (B) no chu tatha dana va puja va
2 [De]vana[m]priye mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya savra-pashaḍana ti (C) sala-
vrudhi t[u] bahuvidha (D) tasa chu iyañ mule añ vacha-guti
3 kiti ata-prashaḍa-puja va para-pashaḍa-garaha va no siya apakaraṇasi lahuka va
siya tasi tasi pakaraṇasi (E) pujeṭaviya va chu para-p[r]ashaḍa tena tena
4 akarena (F) evañ karatañ atva-pashaḍa³ baḍhañ vaḍhayati para-pashaḍasa pi cha
upakaroti (G) tad-aññatha⁴ karatañ ata-pashaḍa⁶ cha chhaṇati para-pashaḍasa
pi cha
5 apakaroti (H) ye hi kechhi⁶ atva-pashaḍa pujeṭi para-pashaḍa va garahati savre
atva-pashaḍa-bhatiya va kiti atva-pashaḍa dipayama ti puna tatha
karatañ
6 baḍhatarañ⁷ upahaniti⁸ atva-pasha[ḍa] (I) se samavaye vo⁹ sadhu ki[ti] aṇamaṇasa
dhramañ śruṇ[e]y[u] cha suśrushe[ya] cha ti (J) evañ hi Devanapriyasa¹⁰
ichha kiti savra-pashaḍa bahu-śruta cha
7 kyaṇagama cha [hu]veyu¹¹ ti (K) e cha tatra tatra prasana tehi vataviye (L)
Devanapriye no tatha danañ va puja[m] va mañati atha kiti sala-vaḍhi siya
savra-pashaḍa[na]
8 (M) [ba]huka cha etaye athraye vapuṭa dhrama-mahamatra istriyaksha-mahamatra¹²
vracha-bh[u]mika aṇe cha nikay[e]¹³ (N) iyañ cha etisa phale
9 yañ atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi cha bh[o]t[i] dhramasa cha [di]pana

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

D.—Third Inscribed Rock.

- 1 (A) अठवषभिसितस देवप्रियस प्रियद्रशिने रजिने कलिग विजित (B) दियढमचे
प्रणशतस
2 मटे (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिगेषु तिन्ने भ्रमवये
भ्रमनुशस्ति च देवप्रि (D)
3 मरणे व अपवहे व जनस से बढं वेदनियमते गुरुमते च देवप्रियस (E) इयं पि
चु ततो
4 येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुसुश्रुष मिचसंस्तु

¹ -prashaḍani pravrajitani gahathani Bühler.² pujaya Bühler.³ Here, and in five other places of the same edict, Bühler read *atma-* for *atva-*. The second syllable of this word is identical in shape with the *tva* of *tadatvaye* in edict X, l. 9. I therefore read *atva-*, following Konow (SPAW, 1916, 804, n. 7), who quotes in support Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 277.⁴ *tadaññatha* Bühler. The wavy line at the bottom of *da* need not be an Anusvāra, but may be a portion of *da* itself; see above, p. 77, n. 13.⁶ *atma-* Bühler.⁶ *kechi* Bühler.⁷ *badhamtarāṇi* Bühler.⁸ *hanti* looks like *anti*; *ha[na]ti* Bühler.⁹ *v[a]* Bühler.¹⁰ *Devana[ni]priyasa* Bühler.¹¹ *haveyu* Bühler.¹² Read *istriyahaksha-*.¹³ *nikaya* Bühler.

- 5 वधे व अभिरतनं व विनिक्रमणि (H) येपं व पि सुविहितनं सिनेहे अविपहिने ए तनं मिचसं
- 6 (I) एष सवमनुशनं गुरुमते च देवनंप्रियस (J) नस्ति च से जनपदे यत्र नस्ति इमे निकय अजत्र योनेषु व्रमणे च अमणे पि जनपदसि यत्र
- 7 न नम प्रसदे (K) से यवतके जने तद् कलिगेषु हते च अपवुडे च ततो शतभगे व सहस्रभगे व अज गुरुमते व देवनप्रियस (L) पक मितवि
- 8 (M) . . पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजितसि होति त पि अनुनयति अनुनिभूपयति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष कि (O) . . छ वनप्रिय
- 9 (P) मुखमुते विजये देवनप्रियस ये ध्रमविजये (Q) से च पुन लधे देवनप्रियस हिद च सवेषु च अंतेषु अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु तियोगे नम योनरज
- 10 अंते नम मक नम अलिकसुदरे नम निच चोडपंडिय अ तंवपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवसि योनकंवोजेषु नभकनभपंतिषु भोजपितिनिकेषु अधप
- 11 (S) यत्र पि दुत देवनप्रियस न यंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनप्रियस ध्रमवुत विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) ये से लधे एतकेन होति सवत्र विजये
- 12 (W) परचिकमेव महफल मणति देवनप्रिये (X) एतये च अथूये इयं ध्रमदिपि लिखित किति पुत्र प्रपोत्र मे असु नवं वि तवियं मणिषु सय
- 13 (Y) . . हिदलोके परलोकिके (Z) सव च क निरति होतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स हि इअलोकिक परलोकिक

- 1 (A) [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] De[va]na[priyasa] Priyadrasine rajine [Ka]liga [v]i[jita] (B) [di]ya[dha]-mat[r]e praṇa-[śata-sa]
- 2 [ma]ṭe (C) [tato] pacha¹ adhuna la[dhe]shu Kaligeshu ti[vr]e dhrama[va]ye [dhra]manu[śa]sti [cha De]vana[pri] (D)
- 3 [marāṇe va apavahe va janasa] se [baḍham] vedaniya-mate guru-mate [cha Devanapriyasa] (F) [i]yaṁ [pi] chu tato
- 4 [ye]su [vihi]ta esha [a]grabhu[ti]-suśrusha mata-pi[tu]sh[u] su[śru]sha guru-suśrusha mit[r]a-sa[ri]stu

¹ *pachha* Bühler. In this edict I am noting only verbal differences from Bühler's text, but not the numerous passages which he omitted because he was unable to make them out from the materials at his disposal.

- 5 [va]dh[e] va abh[iratanam] va vini[k]ramani¹ (H) yesha[m] va pi s[u]vih[itanam]² si[ne]he avipahin[e³ e] ta[nam] mitra-[sam]
- 6 (I) [esha] savra-manuśanam⁴ guru-mate cha Devanampriyasa (J) nasti cha se janapade yatra nasti ime ni[ka]ya a[ña]tra Yoneshu [bramaṇe⁵ cha] śra[maṇe] pi [janapada]si ya[t]ra
- 7 na⁶ nama prasade (K) se yavatake jane tada Kaligesh[u] hate⁷ cha apavudhe cha ta[to]⁸ śata-bhage va sahasra-bhage va⁹ aja guru-ma[te va] Devanapriya[sa] (L) pa[ka] [mi]tavi
- 8 (M) . . [pi cha] aṭavi Devanapriyasa¹⁰ vijitasi hoti [ta] pi a[nuna]ya[ti a]nu[ni]ha[paya]ti¹¹ (N) [anu]tape pi cha prabhava Devanapriyasa¹² vuchati [te]sha¹³ [ki] (O) . . chha vanapri[y .]¹⁴
- 9 (P) [mukha]-mute v[i]jaye D[e]vanapriyasa¹⁵ ye dhrama-vijaye (Q) se cha [puna] la[dh]e [De]va[napri]ya[sa]¹⁶ hida cha sa[vr]eshu cha aṁteshu a shashu pi y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu tiyo[ge]¹⁸ nama Yo[na]-[raja]
- 10 Aṁt[e] [nama Ma]ka na[ma] Alikasudare nama nicha¹⁷ Choḍa-Paṁḍiya a Taṁbapa[m]niya¹⁸ (R) evameva [hida] raja-vishava[si]¹⁹ Y[o]na-Kaṁ[bojeshu] Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu²⁰ [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu Adha-[Pa]²¹
- 11 (S) [yatra pi du]ta [De]vanapriyasa na²² yaṁti te pi śrutu Devanapriyasa²³ dhrama-vuta²⁴ vidhana[m] dhramanuśasti dhra[m]ma[m] anuviddhiyaṁti [a]nuvidhiy[iśaṁti²⁵ cha] (T) [ye se] ladhe e[ta]ke[na ho]ti savra[tra]²⁶ vi[jaye]
- 12 (W) parātrikameva maha-phala [ma]ṇati De[va]napri[ye] (X) e[ta]ye cha²⁷ [a]thray[e] iyaṁ dhraṁma-dipi²⁸ li[khi]ta kiti putra prap[o]tra me a[su] nava[m]²⁹ v[i] [tavi]yaṁ maṇ[ishu saya]
- 13 (Y) . . hidaloke paralokike (Z) sava³⁰ cha [ka]³¹ nirati hotu ya dhrama-rati³² (AA) . . sa hi [i]aloki[ka]³³ paraloki[ka]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: MANSEHRA

- 13 (A) इयं ध्रमदिपि देवनप्रियेन प्रिय जिन लिखपित
- 14 लिखिते लिखपेशमि चैव नि . . (D) अस्ति च अत्र पुन पुन लपिते तस तस अथूस मधुरियये येन जने तथ पटिपजेयति (E) से सिय अत्र किछि ति लिखित व संखय

¹ °maṇe Bühler.² saṁvi° Bühler.³ aviprahi[ne] Bühler.⁴ savraṁ manu° Bühler.⁵ yenesha [bramaṇa] Bühler.⁶ no Bühler.⁷ hate looks like aṁte.⁸ [tata] Bühler.⁹ Bühler omitted va.¹⁰ Devanampri° Bühler.¹¹ °paye ti Bühler.¹² Deva[nam]pri° Bühler.¹³ [teshaṁ] Bühler.¹⁴ vanampri[ye] Bühler.¹⁵ [De]vanampri° Bühler.¹⁶ yok . Bühler.¹⁷ [ni]chaṁ chu Bühler.¹⁸ °paṁniya Bühler.¹⁹ Viśa-Vaj[ri]- Bühler.²⁰ [Nabha]ke [Na]bha° Bühler.²¹ Aṁdha- Bühler.²² no Bühler.²³ Devanampri° Bühler.²⁴ -vutaṁ Bühler.²⁵ °[saṁti] Bühler.²⁶ Bühler omitted this word.²⁷ Bühler omitted cha.²⁸ dhrama- Bühler.²⁹ nava Bühler.³⁰ savra Bühler.³¹ Bühler omitted zz.³² [s]rama- Bühler.³³ [hida]lo° Bühler.

- 13 (A) [i]yaṃ dhrama-dipi De[va]napriyena Pri[ya] ¹ [jina likhapita]

 14 [likhite likha]pe[śa]mi che[va] ni . . . ² (D) [asti chu a]tra puna puna la[pite] tasa
 ta[sa] a[thra]sa [madhu]riyaye [ye]na jane ta[tha] paṭipaje[ya]ti (E) se [si]ya
 atra ki[chhi] [t]i likhi[t .] va [saṃkha]ya

V. THE DHAULI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सि पवतसि देवानंपिय ना लाजिना
 लिखा ीवं आलभितु पजोह
 2 (C) नो पि च समाजे समाज (E)
 पि चु तिया समाजा साधुमता देव
 3 पियदसिने लाजिने (F) मह पिय नि
 पानसत आलभियसु सूपढाये
 4 (G) से अज अदा इयं धंमलिपी लिता तिं आलभिय
 तिंनि पानानि पछा नो आलंभियसंति

- 1 (A) [si³ pava]tasi [D]e[v]ā[na]mp[iy] [nā lajinā l]i[khā]
 [i]yaṃ ālabhitu pajo[h]
 2 (C) [no pi cha sam]ā[je] [samā]ja (E) [pi
 chu] [t]i[y]ā [sam]ā[jā] s[ā]dhu-matā Dev
 3 [Piyadasine lā]j[inə] (F) [mah] Piy[a] [n]
 [p]āna-[sa]ta [ā]labhiyisu sūpaṭhāy[e]
 4 (G) se a[ja] adā [iyaṃ dha]m[ma]-lipī likhitā tiṃ [āla]bh[iy]
 [t]iṃni pānāni pachhā n[o] āl[am]bhiyisa[m]t[i]⁴

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) सवतं विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने ल अथा
 तियोके नाम योनलाजा
 2 ए वा पि तस अंतियोक्स सामेता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन पियदसिना
 सा च पसुचिकिप्ता च (B) धानि

¹ Of this edict Bühler has read only the two words [*Devanānpriyena Priyadrasina*]; see ZDMG, 44, 704.

² The actual reading was perhaps *nikam*, which would correspond to *nikyaṃ* at Kālsī.

³ The name of the hill on which the Dhauli record was engraved is lost. It cannot have been *Khepiṅgala* as believed (and traced on his plate IX) by Cunningham, because this was the original name of the Jaugaḍa rock; see the Jaugaḍa edict I, A.

⁴ *ālābhi*° Senart, *ālabhi*° Bühler.



- 3 आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत नयि सवत हालापिता च लोपापिता
च (C) मूल वत हालापिता च
- 4 लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि लुखानि च लोपापितानि
पटिभोगाये नं
- 1 (A) [sa]vata [v]i[ji]tasi [D]o[v]ānampiyasa Piyadasi[no l] [athā]
. [t]iyoko nāma Yo[na]-lājā
- 2 [e] vā [p]i [ta]-a Añtiyo[ka]sa sāmāntā lājāne savat[a D]ovā[namp]i[yo]na
P[i]yadasi[nā] [s]ā cha p[asu-ch]i[k]is[ā] cha (B) dhāni
- 3 añ[i m]u[nisopa]gāni pasu-opagān[i] cha atata na[thi savata hā]lāpit[ā] cha [lo]pāp[i]tā
[cha] (C) mō[l] v[a]t[a] hālāpitā [cha]
- 4 lo[p]āpita cha (D) ma[g]e[su udu]pānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopā[p]itāni
[t]i[bbhogā]ye [na]ñ

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आनापयि . . (C) त विजितसि मे युता लजुके
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने हेवं इमाये
धंमानुसयिये (D) साधु मातापितिसु सुसूसा म
- 3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेषु अनालंभे साधु अपवियता अपभंडता
साधु (E) पलिसा पि च नसि युतानि आनपयिसति हेतुते च
वियंज
- 1 (A) Dovānampiyo Piyadasi lājā hevañ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitona me
iy[a]ñ ānā[ay]i¹ . . (C) [ta v]i[ji]t[a]si m[e] yut[ā] la[j]u[k]e
- 2 pañchasa pañchasa vasesu anusayānañ nikhamāvū athā aññaye pi [ka]m[ma]ne
hevañ imā[y]e [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] (D) [s]ādh[u] māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su su[s]ūs[ā
m]
- 3 nātisu cha vañbhana-samanehi sādhu dāne jīvesu anālambhe sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā]²
apa-bh[ar]itā sādhu (E) p[a]lisā pi cha [nas]i y[u]t[ā]ñi ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti
[he]tut[e] ch[a] vi[yañja]

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं वहूनि वससतानि वढिते च पानालंभे विहिसा च भूतानं
नातिसु असंपटिपति समनवाभनेसु असंपटिपति
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेलिघोसं अहो
धंमघोसं विमानदसनं हयीनि अगिकंधानि अंनानि च दिवियानि

¹ ānapa . i Bühler.² apaviyati Senart and Bühler.

- 3 लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससतेहि नो हूतपुलुवे तादिसे
अज वढिते देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमानुसयिया
4 अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भूतानं नातिमु संपटिपति समनवाभनेसु संपटिपति
मातिपितुसूसूसा बुढसूसूसा (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे
5 धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयिसति चेव देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा धंमचलनं इमं
(F) पुता पि चु नति पनति . . च देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने
6 पवढयिसंति येव धंमचलनं इमं आकपं धंमसि सीलसि च चिठितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एस हि सेठे कंमे या धंमानुसासना (H) धंमचलने
पि चु

- 7 नो होति असीलस (I) से इमस अठस वढी अहीनि च साधू (J) एताये अठाये
इयं लिखिते इमस अठस वढी युजंतू हीनि च मा अलोचयिसू
8 (K) दुवादस वसानि अभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने यं इध लिखिते

- 1 (A) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānā[la]mbhe vihisā cha
bhūtānaṃ nātisu asaṃpaṭipati samana-bābha[ne]su asaṃpaṭipati
2 (B) se aja Devānaṃpiyasa Piyadasine lājine dhamma-chalanena bheli-ghosaṃ
a[h]o dhamma-[gho]saṃ vimāna-dasanaṃ hathini [a]gi-kaṃdhāni aṃnāni cha
[di]vi[y]āni
3 lūpān[i] dasayitu munisānaṃ (C) ād[i]se b[a]hūhi vasa-sa[t]ehi no hūta-puluve tādise
aja va[ḍ]hite De[v]ānaṃpiyasa Piy[a]dasine lājin[ē] dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā
4 an[ā]la[m]bhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu saṃpaṭipat[i] sama[na]-b[ā]bhanesu¹
saṃpaṭipati m[ā]t[i]pitu-susūsā vu[ḍ]ha-susūsā (D) esa aṃne cha ba[h]uvidhe
5 dh[a]mma-chalane vaḍhite (E) vaḍhayis[a]ti cheva Devānaṃpiye Piyada[s]i l[ā]jā
dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ (F) putā pi chu² nati [panati] . . .³ [cha] Devānaṃ-
piyasa Piyadasine lājine
6 pavaḍhayisaṃti yeva dhamma-chalanaṃ imaṃ ā-k[a]paṃ dhammasi [s]ilasi ch[a]
ch[i]l[th]itu [dhammaṃ a]nus[ā]sisam[t]i (G) esa h[i] se[ṭ]he kaṃme yā
dhammānusāsana (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu
7 no hoti asilasa (I) se imasa aṭhasa v[a]ḍhī⁴ ahīni ch[a] sā[dhū]⁵ (J) et[āy]e [aṭhāy]e
iyaṃ likhite imasa aṭhasa vaḍhī yujantū hīni cha mā alochayisū⁶
8 (K) dūvādasa vasāni abhisitasa Devānaṃpi[ya]sā Piyadasine lājine yaṃ⁷ [idha]
likhite

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयाने दुक्ले (C)
कयानस से दुक्लं कलेति (D) से मे बहुके कयाने कटे (E) तं ये मे पुता व

¹ -*bāmbhanesu* Bühler.² The Kālsī version reads *panātikyā*.³ *oyisu* Senart and Bühler.⁴ *cha* Senart and Bühler.⁵ *vaḍhī* Bühler.⁶ *sādhu* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Read perhaps *iyam*.

- 2 नती व . . . च तेन ये अपतिये मे आवकपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं कछंति
(F) ए हेत देसं पि हापयिसति से दुकटं कछति (G) पापे हि नाम
- 3 सुपदालये (H) से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवा धम्ममहामाता नाम (I) से
तेदसवसाभिसितेन मे धम्ममहामाता नाम कटा (J) ते सवपासंडेसु
- 4 वियापटा धंमाधियानाये धंमवढिये हितसुखाये च धंमयुतस योनकं वोचगंधालेसु
लठिकपितेनिकेसु ए वा पि अंने आपलंता (K) भट्टिमयेसु
- 5 वाभनिभियेसु अनायेसु महालकेसु च हितसुखाये धंमयुताये अपलिवोधाये
वियापटा से (L) वंधनवधस पटिविधानाये अपलिवोधाये मोलाये च
- 6 इयं अनुबंध पजा ति व कटाभीकाले ति व महालके ति व वियापटा से (M)
हिद च बाहिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु सवेसु ओलोधनेसु मे ए वा पि भातीनं
मे भगिनीनं व
- 7 अंनेसु वा नातिसु सवत वियापटा (N) ए इयं धंमनिसिते ति व धंमाधियाने ति
व दानसयुते व सवपुठचियं धंमयुतसि वियापटा इमे धंममहामाता (O)
इमाये अठाये
- 8 इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलटितीका हेतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततु

- 1 (A) [Dov]ānaṃpiyo Piyadasi lājā h[eva]ṃ āhā (B) kayāne dukale (C)
k[a]j[a]ṇ[sa] s[e] dukalaṃ ka[e]jū (D) se me l[ah]ake kayāne kaṇe (E) taṃ ye
me [p]u[a] va
- 2 n[a]j[i]¹ va . . . in cha t[e]na ye apatiye me āva-kapaṃ tathā anuvatiṃti s[e]
sukaṇaṃ kachh[am]jū (F) e heta d[esa]ṃ pi hāpayisaṃ[i] se dukataṃ kachhati (G)
pa[p]e hi [nama]
- 3 supadālaye (H) s[e] at[ti]kaṃ[am] antalaṃ no hūta-puluvā dhamma-mahāmātā nāma
(I) se tedasa-va[sā]bhisitena me dhamma-mahāmātā nāma kaṭa (J) te
sava-pāsande[su]
- 4 v[i]j[ā]pāṭa dhammadhithān[ā]ye dhamma-[va]jhiye hita-sukhāye [cha] dhamma-
yuta:[a] Yona-Kambocha-Gaṇḍhālesu Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu e vā pi aṇṇe
āpalaṃtā² (K) bhaṭṭimayesu³
- 5 bābha[n]bhi[yes]u anāthesu maṇḍal[ā]kesu cha h[ī]ṇ[ā]sukhāye dhamma-yutāye
a[pa]llobdhāye vijj[ap]āṭa se⁴ (L) baṇḍana-[ba]ḍha[ṭa] p[ā]ṇ[ā]vichān[ā]ye
apaliv[ā]dhāye mokkhāye cha
- 6 iya[m] anubandh[ā] p[ā]jā⁵ [i] vā kaṭābhīkal[ā]e ti vā mahālak[ā]e ti vā vijj[ap]āṭa
se (M) hida cha bahilesu chā nāgalesu savaṃ s[ā]yasa oloddhane[su] me e vā pi
bhāt[i]naṃ⁶ me bhaginīnaṃ va

¹ na[ʃ] Böhler.

² *Epigraphia Indica*.

³ Here, and at the end of section L. Frauke TOJ. p. 363, 3, joins vijjapāṭa into one word, and takes it as an equivalent of the Vedic nominative plural in -āṇā. In the palas-variant VII, Y (twice) and CC, vijjapāṭa actually occurs. But is pointed out by Nicholson 1832, p. 406 f., the case may after all be different at Dhaulī, because the other variants have se in the place of se.

⁴ pa[ʃ] Böhler.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*.

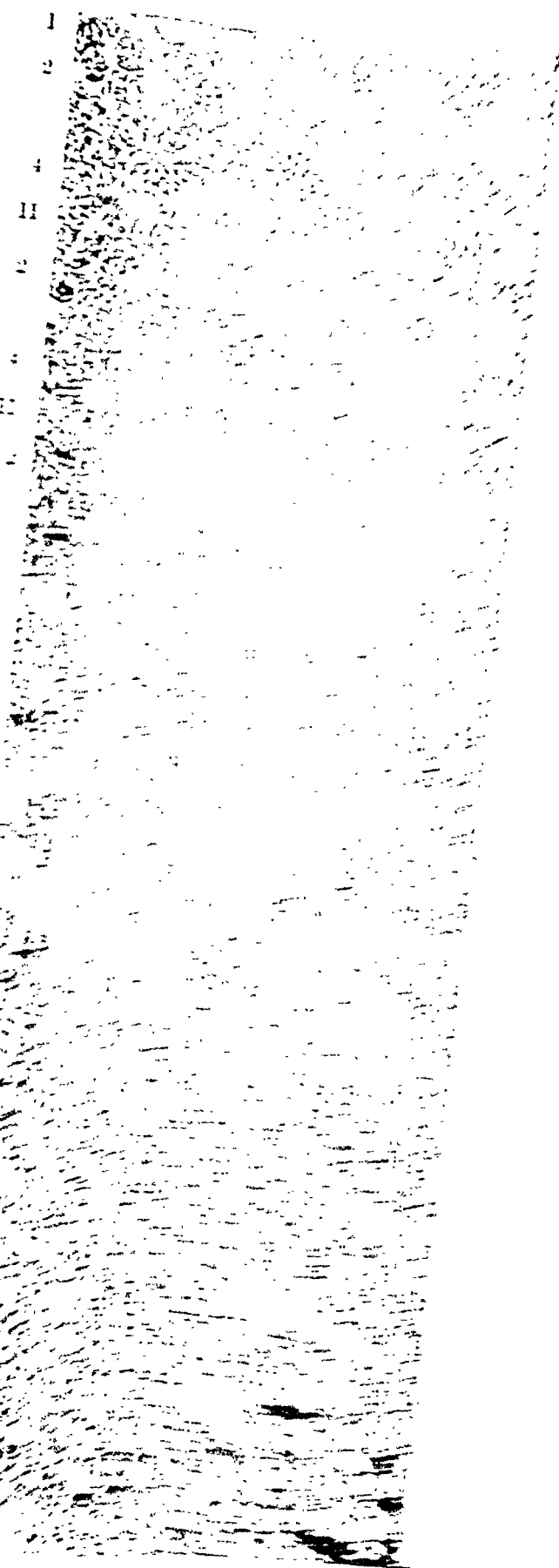
- 7 amnesu vā [nāt]i[su sava]t[a] v[i]yāpaṭā (N) e iyaṁ dhamm[a-n]isite ti va
dhammādhithāne ti va dāna-sayute va sava-puṭhaviyaṁ dha[m]ma-yutasi
viyāpaṭā ime dhamma-mahām[ā]tā (O) [i]m[ā]ye aṭhāye
8 iyaṁ dhamma-lip[i] li[kh]i[tā] chila-ṭhītik[ā ho]tu t[athā] cha me pa[jā anu]vatatu

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे व पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
..... मानस मे
2 अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च सवत पटिवेदका
जनस अठं पटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस अठं कलामि हकं
3 (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं वा ए वा महामातेहि
अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि विवादे व निभूती वा संतं
पलिसाया
4 आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G) हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि
हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च (I) कटवियमते हि मे सवलोकहिते
5 (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमत ..
सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि पलकमामि हकं किंति भूतानं आननियं
येहं ति
6 हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू ति (M) एताये अठाये
इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु तथा च पुता पपोता मे
पलकमंतू
7 सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन पलकमेन

- 1 (A) Dev[ānaṁ]piye Pi[yada]sī lājā [he]vaṁ [ā]hā (B) atikaṁ[taṁ a]m[ta]laṁ no
[h]ū[ta]-puluve s[a]vaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-ka[m]me va [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā va (C) se mamayā
kaṭe (D) sa[va]m [kālaṁ] . . . [māna]sa¹ me
2 ante olo dh[a]nasī ga[bhā]g[ā]si v[achas]i [v]inītasi [u]y[ā]n[asi] cha sa]vata
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṁ [pa]ṭived[a]yaṁtu m[e] ti (E) sava[ta] ch[a] j[a]nasa
aṭhaṁ kalāmi h[aka]m
3 (F) aṁ pi cha ki[m]chhi mukh[a]te ānapay[ā]mi dāpakaṁ v[ā sā]v[a]kaṁ vā e vā
mahām[āte]h[ī] atiyāyike ālopite hoti tasi aṭhasi v[i]vāde va [n]ijhatī vā saṁtaṁ
palisāyā²
4 āna[m]taliyaṁ paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] me ti savata savaṁ kālaṁ (G) heva[m] me
anusathe (H) nath[i hi m]e [tos]e u[ṭhāna]si aṭha-saṁtilanāya cha (I) kaṭaviya-
m[at]e hi me sava-loka-hite

¹ [mā]nasa Bühler.² palisāya Bühler.



- 5 (J) tasa cha pana iyaṃ mūle [u]ṭhān[e cha a]ṭha-saṃtīl[a]n[ā] cha (K) nathi hi kaṃmata . . [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena (L) [aṃ] ch[a kichhi] p[a]lakamāmi hakaṃ kiṃti bhūtānaṃ ā[na]niyaṃ yeha[m] ti
- 6 [h]i[da] cha [k]ān[i] sukhayāmi pal[a]ta cha svag[aṃ ā]ḍhayaṃtū ti (M) et[ā]y[e aṭhāye i]yaṃ dhamma-lipī likhitā ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā hotu ta[th]ā cha putā papotā me palakama[m]t[ū] ¹
- 7 [sava-loka]-hitāye (N) dukale chu iyaṃ aṃnat[a] a[g]en[a pa]lakamena

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा सवत इछति सवपासंडा वसेवू ति (B) सवे हि ते सयमं भावसुधी च इछंति (C) मुनिसा च
- 2 उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा (D) ते सवं वा एकदेसं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने अस नयि सयमे भावसुधी च नीचे बाढं
- 1 (A) [D]evānaṃ[p]iye Piy[a]dasī lājā savata ichhat[i sava-p]āsaṃ[dā va]sevū ti (B) save h[i] t[e sa]yamāṃ [bh]āv[a]-sudhī cha ichhaṃti (C) mun[i]sā ch[a]
- 2 [u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā uchāvucha-lāgā (D) te savaṃ vā ek[a]-de[sam va kachham]ti (E) vipul[e] pi chā ² dāne asa n[athi sa]yame [bh]āva-sudhī cha nīche bāḍham

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं लाजाने विहालयातं नाम निखमिसु (B) . . त मिगविया अन्नानि च एदिसानि अभिलामानि हुवंति नं (C) से देवानंपिये
- 2 पियदसी लाजा दसवसाभिसिते निखमि संवोधि (D) तेनता धंमयाता (E) ततेस होति समनवाभनानं दसने च दाने च बुढानं दसने च
- 3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस दसने च धंमानुसथी च पुछा च तदोपया (F) एसा भुये अभिलामे होति देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अंने
- 1 (A) [atika]m[ta]m aṃt[ala]m lāj[ā]n[e] v[i]h[ā]la-yātaṃ nāma [n]i[kha]m[i]s[u] (B) . . [ta miga]viy[ā] a[m]nāni ch[a] edisāni a[bh]i[l]āmāni huvaṃti naṃ (C) se Devānaṃpiye
- 2 P[i]y[a]dasī lājā d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e [n]ikhami Saṃbodh[i] ³ (D) [t]e[na]tā dha[mma-yātā] (E) [tat]esa [ho]ti samana-bābhanānaṃ d[a]s[a]n[e] ch[a] d[āne] cha v[u]ḍhānaṃ dasane cha

¹ °mātu Senart, °maṃtu Bühler.

² cha Bühler; the reading chu is also possible, but less probable, because the Jaugaḍa version has chā.

³ saṃbodhī Bühler.

- 3 h[i]lamna-p[a]tividhā[ne¹ cha jāna]padasa janasa [dasa]ne cha dhammānu[sath]i
[cha] [p]u[chh]ā cha [ta]d[o]payā (F) e[sā bhuy]e² abhilāme hoti
Devānāmpiyasa Piyada[s]ine lājine bhāge [am]ne

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अथि जने उचावुचं मंगलं
कलेति आबाध वीवाह जुपदाये पवाससि
2 एताये अनाये च हेदिसाये जने बहुकं मंगलं क (C) चु इथी बहुकं
च बहुविधं च खुदं च निलठियं च मंगलं कलेति
3 (D) से कटविये चेव खो मंगले (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे मंग . . . (F) . . . यं
चु खो महाफले ए धंममंगले (G) ततेस दासभटकसि संम्यापटिपति
4 गुलूनं अप मे समनबाभनानं दाने एस अने च
धंममंगले नाम (H) से वतविये पितिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना पि
5 सुवामिकेन पि ले आव तस अठस निफतिया (I) अथि च हेवं
वुते दाने साधू ति (J) से नथि अनुगहे वा
6 आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे . . . (K) मि तिकेन सहायेन
पि वियोवदित ति तसि पकलनसि इयं
7 लाधयितवे (L) टव स्वगस
आलधी

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) [athī ja]ne uchāvuchāṃ maṃgalaṃ
kal[e]ti [āb]ādha³ [v]i[vāha] [ju]padāye⁴ pavas[ā]si
2 etāye aṃnāye ch[a] hedisāye j[a]n[e] bahukaṃ maṃgalaṃ k[a] (C)
[chu]⁵ ithī b[ahuka]ṃ cha [ba]hu[v]idh[am] ch[a kh]ud[am]⁶ cha n[ilathī]yaṃ cha
maṃgalaṃ kaleti
3 (D) se kaṭ[a]viye che[va kh]o m[a]ṃgale (E) [a]pa-phale chu kh[ḍ] esa h[e]dise
maṃ[ga] . . . (F) . . . [ya]ṃ [ch]u⁷ kho mah[ā]-ph[a]le e [dha]mma-maṃgale (G)
[ta]te[sa d]ā[sa-bhaṭakas]i saṃmyā-paṭipat[i]
4 [gulū]naṃ a[pa] [me] samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ dāne esā aṃne ch[a]
 [dhamma]-maṃga[le nāma] (H) [se]⁸ vata[viye p]it[i]nā pi pute[na]
pi bhātinaṃ pi
5 suvāmike[na p]i [l]e [ā]va tasa aṭhas[a] niphatiy[ā] (I) [a]thi [cha]⁹
heva[ṃ] v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (J) [s]e [na]thi [anu]ṣṭa[h]e v[ā]
6 [ād]i[se dha]mma-dāne dham[mānugahe]¹⁰ . . . (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena
sahāye[na p]i viyovadita¹¹ i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ṃ
7 [l]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v] [svagas]ā āl[adh]i

¹ *hīlāma*- Senart and Bühler; -*paṭi*^o looks like -*peṭi*^o, and may be meant for -*paṭi*^o.

² *esa bhūye* Bühler. For the nom. sing. masc. *esā* see above, p. 15, n. 7.

³ *ābādhe* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ [*j*]opadāye Bühler.

⁵ [*eta*] *ti* Bühler.

⁶ *khuda[kani]* Bühler. ⁷ [*cha*] Bühler. ⁸ *tā* Senart, [*ta*] Bühler. ⁹ *pa* Senart, *p[ṭ]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *dhammanu*^o Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Restore *vīyovaditaviye*.

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा यसो वा किटी वा न हं मंनते
 णि यसो वा किटी वा इछति तदत्वाये आ जने
 2 सूसं सुसूतु मे धंम मे (B) एतकाये यसो वा किटी
 वा इ णि पलकमति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये ..
 3 किंति सकले अपपलिसवे हुवेया ति (D) पलिस (E) दुकले
 त अगेन न सवं च पलित्तिजितु
 4 खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
- 1 (A) [Dovānam]piyo Piyad[a]s[i] lājā yaso v]ā [k]iṭi vā n [ha]ni
 main[ate] i [yaso] vā k[iṭ]i [v]ā ichhati tadatvāye [ā]
 [ja]ne
 2 [sūsa]ni [susū]s[at]u [m]e dhamma [me] (B) etakāye [yaso vā
 kiṭi v]ā i i [pa]lakama[t]i Devānampiyo pāl[atik]ā[y]e ..
 3 kiṃti saka[le apa-pal]isave [hu]v[eyā t]i (D) pa[l]isa (E) [du]ka[le]
 t[a a]gena] [na sa]vaṃ cha paliti[ji]i[tu]
 4 khudakena v[ā] usaṭena vā (F) u[saṭena] chu [dukalatale]

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) इयं धंमलिपी देवानंपियेन पियदसिना लाजिना लिखा
 अथि मभ्भिमेन हि सवे सवत घटिते
 2 (C) महंते हि विजये बहुके च लिखिते लिखियिस (D) अथि
 वुते तस याये
 3 किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि चु हेत असमति लिखिते स सं
 .. लोचयितु कला ति
- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipī De[v]ānampiyena Piyada[sin]ā lāj[inā] likhite
 athi ma[jhimena] [h]i save sav[a]ta ghaṭite
 2 (C) mahante hi vijaye bahu[k]e cha likhite likhiyis¹ D. [a]thi
 [vu]te ta[sa] [y]āy[e]
 3 [k]iṃti cha j[a]ne tathā paṭipajeyā ti² (E) e pi chu heta asamaṃ ~~likhite~~
 saṃ .. [lochay]itu k[a]l[ā] [t]

AT THE END OF THE SIXTH DHAULI ROCK-EDICT

सेतो

seto

¹ Restore *likhiyisāmi*.² Or *paṭipajeyāti* may be the word in question.³ *saṃ* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION

The white one.¹

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तोसलियं महामात नगलवियोहालका
- 2 वतविय (B) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि किंति कंमन पटिपादयेहं
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाल एतसि अठसि अं तुफेसु
- 4 अनुसथि (D) तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं आयत पनयं गछेम सु मुनिसानं (E) सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा (F) अथा पजाये इछामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन
हिदलोकिक-
- 6 पाललोकिकेन यूजेवू ति तथा मुनिसेसु पि इछामि हकं (G) नो च
पापुनाथ आवग-
- 7 मुके इयं अठे (H) केछ व एकपुलिसे नाति एतं से पि देसं नो सवं (I)
देखत हि तुफे एतं
- 8 सुविहिता पि (J) नितियं एकपुलिसे पि अथि ये बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं वा
पापुनाति (K) तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधनंतिक अने च हु जने दविये दुखीयति (L) तत
इछितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मफं पटिपादयेमा ति (M) इमेहि चु जातेहि नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 निठूलियेन तूलनाय अनावूतिय आलसियेन किलमथेन (N) से इछितविये
किंति एते
- 12 जाता नो हुवेवु ममा ति (O) एतस च सवस मूले अनासुलोपे अतूलना च
(P) नितियं ए किलंते सिया
- 13 न ते उगछ संचलितविये तु वटितविये एतविये वा (Q) हेवंमेव ए दखेय तुफाक
तेन वतविये
- 14 आनने देखत हेवं च हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि (R) से महाफले ए तस
संपटिपाद
- 15 महाअपाये असंपटिपति (S) विपटिपादयमीने हि एतं नथि स्वगस आलधि नो
लाजालधि

¹ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), this word refers to the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha, which is carved at the top of the Dhauli rock. Cf. the similar labels at Gīrnār and Kālsī, above, pp. 26 f. and 50.

- 16 (T) दुआहले हि इमस कंस मे कुते मनोअतिलेके (U) संपटिपजमीने चु
एतं स्वगं
- 17 आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (V) इयं च लिपि तिसनखतेन सोतविया
- 18 (W) अंतला पि च तिसेन खनसि खनसि एकेन पि सोतविय (X) हेवं च
कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चघथ संपटिपादयितवे (Y) एताये अठाये इयं लिपि लिखित हिद एन
- 20 नगलवियोहालका सस्वतं समयं यूजेवू ति नस अकस्मा पलिबोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति (Z) एताये च अठाये हकं मते
पंचसु पंचसु वसे-
- 22 सु निखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचंडे सखिनालंभे होसति एतं अठं जानितु
..... तथा
- 23 कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति (AA) उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये
निखामयिस
- 24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि (BB) हेमेव तखसिलाते
पि (CC) अदा अ
- 25 ते महामाता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कंसं एतं पि
जानिसंति
- 26 तं पि तथा कलंति अथ लाजिने अनुसथी ति

- 1 (A) [Devāna]m[pi]y[asa vacha]nena Tosaliyam ma[hā]māta [naga]la-
[v]i[yo]hālak[ā]
- 2 [va]taviya (B) [am kichhi dakhā]mi hakam tam ichhāmi k[i]m[t]i kam[mana
pa]ti[pāday]eham¹
- 3 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvā[la etasi aṭha]si am
tuph[esu]
- 4 anusathi (D) tuphe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasum² ā[yata]³ p[a]na[yam ga]chh[e]ma
su munisānam (E) save
- 5 munise pajā mamā (F) ath[ā] pajāye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m kīmti sa]ve[na hi]m[sa]kha
hidalo[kika]
- 6 pālalokike[na]⁴ y[ūjev]ū [t]i [tathā . . . muni]sesu⁵ pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] . . .
cha pāpunātha āv[a]-ga-
- 7 [m]u[k]e⁶ [iyam aṭhe] (H) [k]e[chha] v[a] eka-pulise . . . nāti⁷ . . .
desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a hi t]u[phe] etam
- 8 suvi[hi]tā pi (J) [n]itiyam⁸ eka-pulise [pi athi] y[e] bānidhanam vā pāpunāti . . .
pāpunāti (K) tata hoti

¹ *paṭiveda*^o Senart and Bühler.

² *āyatā* Senart and Bühler.

³ Restore *sava-munisese*.

⁴ Read *pāpunāti*, as at Jaugaḍa.

⁵ *sesu* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ *lokikāye* Senart and Bühler.

⁷ *ānū-gamate* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ *nīti* *iyam* Senart and Bühler.

- 9 akasmā tena badhana[m]tik[a]¹ amne cha hu jane da[v]iye dukhīyati (L)
tata ichhitaviye
- 10 tuphehi kiṃti m[a]jhaṃ paṭipādayemā ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāteh]i no saṃpaṭipajati
isāya āsulopena
- 11 ni[ṭhū]liyena² tūlanā[ya] anāvūtiya ālasiyena k[i]lamathena (N) se ichhitaviye
kitim³ ete
- 12 [jātā no] huvevu ma[m]ā ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mūle anāsulope a[tū][a]nā cha
(P) niti[ya]m e kilamte siyā
- 13 [na] te uga[chha]⁴ saṃchalitaviy[e] tu va[t]ita[v]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṃmeva e
da[kheya]⁵ t[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye
- 14 ānamne⁶ dekhata hevaṃ cha hev[a]m cha [D]evānaṃpiyasa anusathi (R) se
mah[ā-pha]le [e]t[a]sa [saṃpa]ṭipāda
- 15 mahā-apāye asaṃpaṭipati (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi⁷ etaṃ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi
no lā[ā]la[dh]i
- 16 (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṃm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atileke⁸ (U) sa[m]paṭi-
pajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṃ] svaga[m]
- 17 ālādha[yi]sa[tha] mama cha⁹ ānaniyaṃ ehatha (V) iyaṃ cha l[i]p[i]¹⁰ t[i]sa-
na[kha]tena so[ta]viy[ā]¹¹
- 18 (W) aṃta[l]ā [p]i cha [t]i[s]e[na]¹² kha[nasi] kha[nas]i ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṃ
cha kalaṃtaṃ tuphe
- 19 chaghatha saṃpa[ṭi]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t[ā]ye aṭhāye¹³ iya[m] l[i]p[i] likhit[a]
h]ida ena
- 20 nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṃ samayaṃ yūjevū¹⁴ t[i] [na]sa¹⁵ akasmā
[pa]libodhe va
- 21 [a]k[a]smā paliki[l]e[s]e va no siyā ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m] mate¹⁶
p[a]mchasu paṃchasu [va]se-
- 22 su [n]i[khā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[chaṃ]d[e] s[a]khinālaṃbhe hosati etaṃ
aṭhaṃ jānitu [ta]thā
- 23 kala[m]ti atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a] aṭhāye
[ni]khāma[yisa]
- 24 hedisameva¹⁷ vagaṃ no cha atikāmayisati tiṃni vasāni (BB) hemeva T[a]kha[s]ilāte
pi (CC) [a]dā a
- 25 te mahāmātā nikhamisaṃti anusayānaṃ tadā ahāpayitu atane kaṃmaṃ etaṃ pi
jānisaṃti
- 26 taṃ pi ta[th]ā kalaṃti a[tha] lājine anusathī ti

¹ *baṃdha*° Senart and Bühler.² *nīthūli*° Senart and Bühler.³ Read *kiṃti*, which is Senart's reading; *kiti* Bühler.⁴ Read *ugachhe*.⁵ *dakhiye* Senart and Bühler.⁶ *aninam ne* Senart and Bühler.⁷ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1013, n. 1) has shown that *hi* must be a separate word on the analogy of section U, below, and of the Jaugada separate edict I, T. Senart and Bühler read °*mīnehi*.⁸ *mana-* Senart, *mane-* Bühler.⁹ *t* for *mama cha* Senart, [ta] Bühler.¹⁰ *lipi* Bühler.¹¹ °*viyaṃ* Senart, °*viya* Bühler.¹² [tis]e Bühler.¹³ *athāye* Senart and Bühler.¹⁴ *yūjevū* Senart and Bühler.¹⁵ Restore *ena janasa*; *nagala-janasa* Senart and Bühler, which is visible (evidently owing to retouching) on Burgess' plate, but not on my materials.¹⁶ Read *mahāmātān*; *dhanimate* Senart and Bühler.¹⁷ *hedisanimeva* Senart and Bühler.

DHAULI ROCK ; LEFT COLUMN

Sep. ed. I

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TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dāvanābhīpīṭha, the Mahāmāyāra or Tōsalī,¹ (who are) the judicial officers of the city,² have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.³

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *vān* (to give) instruction to you.

(D) For you are occupied with many thousands of men,⁴ with the object of gaining the affection of men.⁵

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of [all] men.⁶

(G) And you do not learn⁷ how far this (my) object reaches.⁸

(H) Some single person⁹ only learns this, and even he only, a portion,¹⁰ (but) not the whole.

(I) Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.¹¹

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions from the Tumshuk district, Orissa, mention the two districts of Northern and Southern Tōsalī; see EI, p. 186 and 19, n. 1. Prinsay (J.A.S.B., 1884) identified Tōsalī with the *Tosali metropolis* of Ptolemy; but the latter is stated to have been situated beyond the Ganges. See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, 2 (see ed. 1892, p. 2). Burnouf, *Index* p. 107. Fournier (J.A.S.B., 1882, 384 f.; IA, 13, 382).

² With *magadhiyachakrā* cf. *parayachakrā* in the *Harivamśa* p. 20, l. 10; see SPAW, 1914, 835.

³ The correct translation of this sentence is due to Senart; see Fournier EI, 1884, 197, and of a quite similar construction in the Calcutta-Bombay rock-inscriptions E.

⁴ Here, and in the pillar-edicts IV, 3; VII, 12, 13, the participle *grāma* = *śīla grāma* seems to be used in the sense of *grāma*. In the rock-edict V, 1 or 11 and the pillar-edict VII Y to AA.

⁵ Previous translators took *parayachakrā* to be our word, 'of good men'. As, however, in the two next sections the king is concerned with 'all men' *śāman* is no doubt right in explaining *sa* = Skt. *śrit*; see SPAW, 1914, 836, and also in the Tumshuk separate edict II, F.

⁶ Cf. Āśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacharita* II, 33: *grāma paritē ita eva ita eva eva eva ita eva* 'as for his own children, even so (sine Sandhātana) desires welfare for all his subjects'.

⁷ Bühler rendered *pāpandita* by 'uneducated', and Lüders SPAW, 1914, 197, more closely by 'learn'. The verb has the same meaning three times in the second separate edict. In section 1 of the first edict it means 'to suffer'; see my note on the Jaugundi separate edict I, 11.

⁸ Bühler translated *śaṅkṣāṇa* *grāma* 'how far this (my) object reaches'. It is 'how far this matter is attended to'. Cf. *ite pi cha me āvanti* in the Delhi-Tripura pillar-edict IV, 13.

⁹ This seems to refer to the judge who happens to decide an individual case. Senart compared *eka-pūṭi* (= *eka-mānī* of Jaugundi with the Sanskrit term *pratyāyāna* see Lüders p. 1, *puṭhujāna*), and Bühler rendered it by 'a private person'; see EI, p. 18, 19. The expression *eka-pūṭi* or *eka-mūṭi*, 'a single person', occurs again in section 1 = I of Jaugundi, where it is opposed to 'many other people' in section 11 = II of Jaugundi. In section IV 'a single (person)' is contrasted with the whole body of officers in section V; see also the second separate edict, II and O.

¹⁰ Cf. the rock-edict V, 3, and VII, 12.

¹¹ See above, p. 94, n. 2.

(J) It happens in the administration (of justice)¹ that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.²

(K) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment³ is (obtained) by him⁴ accidentally, while [many] other people continue to suffer.

(L) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(M) But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions:⁵ envy, anger,⁶ cruelty, hurry, want of practice,⁷ laziness, (and) fatigue.

(N) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you.

(O) And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(P) He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

(Q) He who will pay attention to this, must tell you:⁸ 'See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king);⁹ such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

(R) The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil.¹⁰

(S) For if one fails to observe this,¹¹ there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.¹²

(T) For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfils this duty?¹³

¹ As recognized by Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 859), *nīti* is here = *daṇḍa-nīti*. I connect the locative *nītyāṃ* with *asti*; at Jaugaḍa it is replaced by *bahuka*, 'frequently'.

² Bühler translated *palikileśa* by 'trouble'. Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 841, n. 1, and 857) render it by 'torture'. But in the *Kauṭīliya* the technical term for 'torture' is *karman*, and *pariklṣayataḥ*, which occurs on p. 223, l. 16, cannot have the same meaning as *karma kārayataḥ* in the next preceding line.

³ The correct explanation of *ba[m*]dhanantika* and *daviye* is due to Lüders; see SPAW, 1914. 861 f.

⁴ As stated by Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16), one would expect *tasa* for *tena*. He proposed to supply *prāptam*.

⁵ As Senart remarks, this unusual meaning of *jātāni* is justified by etymology; see IA, 19. 89.

⁶ For *āsulopa*, 'anger' (literally: 'quick infatuation'), see Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 60 f.

⁷ With Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 16) I take *āvṛti* (Dhauḷi) or *āvuti* (Jaugaḍa) = Skt. *āvṛitti*, 'repetition'. In the pillar-edict IV, L, *āvuti* corresponds to Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order'.

⁸ Hitherto the construction and bearing of this sentence have been misunderstood. The relative *e* corresponds to the demonstrative *tena*, and the subject is probably one of the controlling officers who are mentioned at the end of the edict.

⁹ Cf. below, section U. Previous translators failed to make out the actual meaning of this sentence because they read *amnamne*, which they divided into *amnam ne* = Skt. *ājñān naḥ* (Senart and Bühler) or *anyat + naḥ* (Lüders).

¹⁰ Both at Dhauḷi and at Jaugaḍa, the predicate is a masculine or neuter, although the subject is a feminine. Cf. above, p. 49, n. 1.

¹¹ As *vipaṭipādayamīne* corresponds to *vipaṭipātayaṃtām* at Jaugaḍa, it must be a nominative singular absolute. The same applies to *saṃpaṭipajamīne* in section U, below, to *anuvekhamāne* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, P, and to *vijñamane* in the Kālsī edict XIII, E. Cf. below, p. 97, n. 3, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1011 ff.

¹² For *āladhi* (= **ārādāhi*) see above, p. 19, n. 16.

¹³ In the translation of this difficult passage I follow Franke, GN, 1895. 537 f., but explain *duāhale* as a nominative absolute, because in the Māgadha dialect the locative would end in *-asi*.

(U) But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.¹

(V) And this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of) the constellation Tishya.²

(W) And it may be listened to even by a single (person) also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(X) And if (you) act thus,³ you will be able⁴ to fulfil (this duty).

(Y) For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times⁵ (for this), [that] neither undeserved fettering⁶ nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to [men].

(Z) And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years⁷ [a *Mahāmātra*] who will be neither harsh⁸ nor fierce, (but) of gentle actions, (viz. in order to ascertain) whether (the judicial officers),⁹ paying attention to this object, are acting thus, as my instruction (implies).

(AA) But from Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose a person of the same description,¹⁰ and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation).

(BB) In the same way (an officer will be deputed) from Takshaśīlā also.

(CC) When these *Mahāmātras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties, they will ascertain this as well, (viz.) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies).

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: DHAULI

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस वचनेन तीसलियं कुमाले महामाता च वतविय (B) अं किच्छि
दखामि हकं तं इ
2 दुवाल्ते च आलभेहं (C) एस च मे मोख्यमत दुवाला एतसि अठसि अं
तुफेसु मम

¹ Cf. the Dhauli separate edict II, L.

² i. e. three times per year; see the Dhauli separate edict II, N.

³ The forms *śāntatā* there and in II, L and P), *śāntayāntā* (Jaugarā separate edict I, S and T), *śāntatā* (II, Q, and pillar-edict IV, I), *nāntatā* (pillar-edict IV, M), and *śāntatā* (Delhi-Tōpā pillar-edict VII, PP) are nominatives singular absolute. Cf. above, p. 35, n. 9.

⁴ Franke (VOJ, 9, 310 ff.) has shown that *chaghati* is the future of *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*. Cf. *chakya* in the Dhauli separate edict II, l. 5, in the Sahasrām rock-inscription, l. 3, and in the Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 5; also *chakya*, *ibid.*, l. 6.

⁵ In the translation of *śāntatā samayam* I follow Kern (JRAS, 1880, 391) and Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 864).

⁶ See above, p. 33, n. 8.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict III, C.

⁸ Cf. Dhammapada, verse 468:

akakkaram viññāpaniñ giram sachcham udhaye

yāya nābhisaje kañchi tam aham brūmi brāhmaṇam

⁹ The context shows that these are meant here, and that the *Mahāmātras* were directed by the king to control them; see SPAW, 1914, 865 f.

¹⁰ See above, p. 40, n. 2.

- 3 (E) अथ पजाये इहामि हकं किंति सवेन हितसुखेन हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये युजेवू ति हेवं
- 4 (F) सिया अंतानं अविजितानं किछंदे सु लाज अफेसु . . (G) मव इह मम अंतेसु . . ि पापुनेवु ते इति देवानंपिय अनुविगिन ममाये
- 5 हुवेवू ति अस्वसेवु च सुखमेव लहेवु ममते नो दुखं हेवं . . ँनेवू इति खमिसति ने देवानंपिये अफाका ति ए चकिये खांमतवे मम निमित्तं व च धमं चलेवू
- 6 हिदलोक पललोकं च आलाधयेवू (H) एतसि अठसि हकं अनुसासामि तुफे अनने एतकेन हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु आ हि धिति पटिंजा च ममा
- 7 अजला (I) से हेवं कटु कंमे चलितविये अस्वास ि च तानि एन पापुनेवू इति अथ पिता तथ देवानंपिये अफाक अथा च अतानं हेवं देवानंपिये अनुकंपति अफे
- 8 अथा च पजा हेवं मये देवानंपियस (J) से हकं अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदितु तुफाक देसावुतिके होसामि एताये अठाये (K) पटिबला हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेस
- 9 हिदलोकिकपाललोकिकाये (L) हेवं च कलंतं तुफे स्वगं आलाधयिसथ मम च आननियं एहथ (M) एताये च अठाये इयं लिपि लिखिता हिद एन महामाता स्वसतं सम
- 10 युजिसंति अस्वासनाये धमचलनाये च तेस अंतानं (N) इयं च लिपि अनुचातुंमासं तिसेन नखतेन सोतविया (O) कामं चु खणसि खनसि अंतला पि तिसेन एकेन पि
- 11 सोतविय (P) हेवं कलंतं तुफे चघथ संपटिपादयितवे

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha vataviya (B) am kichhi dakhām[i] h[akam tam i]
- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvālā etasi aṭhasi am tuphe[s]u mama
- 3 (E) ath[a] pajāye ichhāmi hakaṁ ki[m]ti savena hi[ta-sukhe]na hidalokika-pālalokikāye¹ yujevū ti h[e]v[am]
- 4 (F) siyā aṁtānaṁ avijitānaṁ ki-chha[m]de su lāja [aphesu] . . (G) m[a]va² ichha mama aṁtesu . . .³ [p]ā[p]unevu te iti Devānāmp[iy] [anu]v[i]g[ina] mamāye
- 5 huvevū ti asvasevu cha sukhammeva lahevu mamat[e] no dukha[m] h[e]va[m]

¹ Read -pālalokikena, as in the first separate edict, F.

² mave Bühler; read perhaps hevameva.

³ Restore kiṁti.

- ... un[e]vū¹ iti khamisati² ne Dōvānāmpriyo [aph]ākā³ tī e chakiye khamitave mama nimitam [va]⁴ cha dhammam chalevū
- 6 hidaloka palaloka[m] cha ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe ana[n]e [e]takena haka[m] anusāsitu cchamādam cha veditu ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimūā cha mamā
- 7 [a]jalā (I) s[e] heva[m] kaṭu kaṇṇe chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i⁵ [cha] tāni ena pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Dōvānāmpiy[o] aphāka athā cha atānam⁶ heva[m] Dōvānāmpriyo [a]nukampati aphe
- 8 athā cha pajā⁷ heva[m] may[e] D[o]vānāmpiyasa (J) se haka[m] anusāsitu [chha]mda[m] ch[a veditu tu]phāk[a] desāvutike hosāmi etāye aṭhāye⁸ (K) paṭibala hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-sukhāye cha [tesa]
- 9 hidalokika-palalo[ki]kāye (L) heva[m] cha kalaṇṭam tuphe svagam ālādhā[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyam chatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iya[m] lipi likhitā hida e[na ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa[ma]
- 10 yujisanti as[vā]s[a]naye dhamma-chala[n]āye cha tes[a] amānam (N) iya[m] cha lipi [anu]chātummāsāmi tisenā nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāma[m] chu¹⁰ [kha]ṇas[i]¹¹ khanasi amātā pi tisenā ekena [p]i
- 11 [so]taviya (P) heva[m] kala[m]tam [t]uphe chaghatha saṃpaṭipādayitave

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dōvānāmpriya, the prince (governor) and the *Mahāmātras* at Tōsali have to be told (thus).

(B) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that and to accomplish by (various) means.

(C) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. to you.

(D) my

(E) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, thus

(F) It might occur¹² to (my) unconquered borderers¹³ (to ask): 'What does the king desire¹⁴ with reference to us?'

(G) [This] alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, that they may learn that Dōvānāmpriya that they may not be afraid of me, but may have

¹ Restore *pāpunevū*.

² The syllable *sa* is entered above the line.

³ *aphākāmi* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ Senart and Bühler omit *va*.

⁵ Restore *asvāsaniyāni*.

⁶ The syllable *nam* is entered above the line.

⁷ *pajja* Bühler.

⁸ *athāye* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Read *sasvatam samayam*.

¹⁰ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ The syllable *si* is entered above the line.

¹² Lüders showed that *siyā* is not the last word of section E, as previous translators thought, but opens section F, and is used in the same way as *huthā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, D and J. He also pointed out the correct construction of sections F and G, which had been curiously misunderstood; see SPAW, 1914. 866 ff.

¹³ Cf. the Kālsī rock-edict II, A; V, J; XIII, Q.

¹⁴ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 381) explained *su* by Skt. *svit*. Cf. *gachhema su* in the Dhauli separate edict I, D, and *kīnasu* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, F, G, H.

confidence (in me); that they may obtain only happiness from me,¹ not misery; that they may [learn] this, that **Dēvānāmpriya** will forgive them² what can be forgiven;³ that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and) that they may attain (happiness in) this world and (in) the other world.

(H) For the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them)⁴ by this, that I instruct (you) and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. my unshakable⁵ resolution and vow.

(I) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire confidence to them,⁶ in order that they may learn that **Dēvānāmpriya** is to them like a father, that **Dēvānāmpriya** loves them like himself, and that they are to **Dēvānāmpriya** like (his own) children.

(J) Therefore, having instructed (you), and having informed you of (my) will, I shall have (i. e. entertain) officers in (all) provinces⁷ for this object.

(K) For you are able to inspire confidence to those (borderers) and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(L) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(M) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(N) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months⁸ on (the day of) the constellation Tishya.⁹

(O) But if desired, it may be listened to even by a single (person)¹⁰ also on frequent (other) occasions between (the days of) Tishya.

(P) If (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

¹ Here and at Jaugaḍa, Senart and Bühler wrongly read *mama te* (in two words) instead of *mamate*, which, as Kern recognized, corresponds to the Prākṛit ablative *mamatto*. See JRAS, 1880. 380, 382, 383; SPAW, 1914. 868; Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 415 f.

² As Bühler (ASSI, I. 128, n. 24) remarked, either *ne* or *aphākā* is superfluous.

³ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhi rock-edict XIII, L. For *chakiye* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

⁴ Cf. the rock-edict VI, L.

⁵ *ajala* corresponds to *achala* at Jaugaḍa, as *loga* (Jaugaḍa separate edict II, ll. 7 and 13) to *loka*, *libi* (Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, QQ and SS) to *līpi*, *hida* (Kālsī, V, J and K) to *hita*, and *dose* (Kālsī, VI, H) to *tose*.

⁶ The neuter *tāni* is improperly used for the masculine *te*, which is the reading of the Jaugaḍa version.

⁷ Kern (JRAS, 1880. 384) translated: 'I will entrust the country to your care.' For the difficult term *desāvutika* (Dhauḷi) or [*saka*]*la-desā-āy[ut]ika* (Jaugaḍa) see Bühler (ZDMG, 41. 28), who took *āyuti* = Skt. *āyuktin*, 'an official'. Cf. *āvuti* = Skt. *āyukti*, 'an order', in the pillar-edict IV, L. The provincial officers who are here referred to, are perhaps identical with the *Mahāmātras* whom Aśoka ordered to be deputed on inspection duty from Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayini, and Takshaṣilā; see the four last sections of the Dhauḷi separate edict I.

⁸ Cf. *chātunimāsī* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict V, ll. 11, 16, 18.

⁹ Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, V.

¹⁰ See above, p. 95, n. 9.

लज्जित

वेदान्तप्रश्न
प्रश्नप्रश्न

लज्जित

लज्जित
वृत्ति

प्रादुर्भाव

द्राक्षति

आधुना

प्रादुर्भाव

ये

अन्तिमं दुःखं

आनी

प्रादुर्भाव

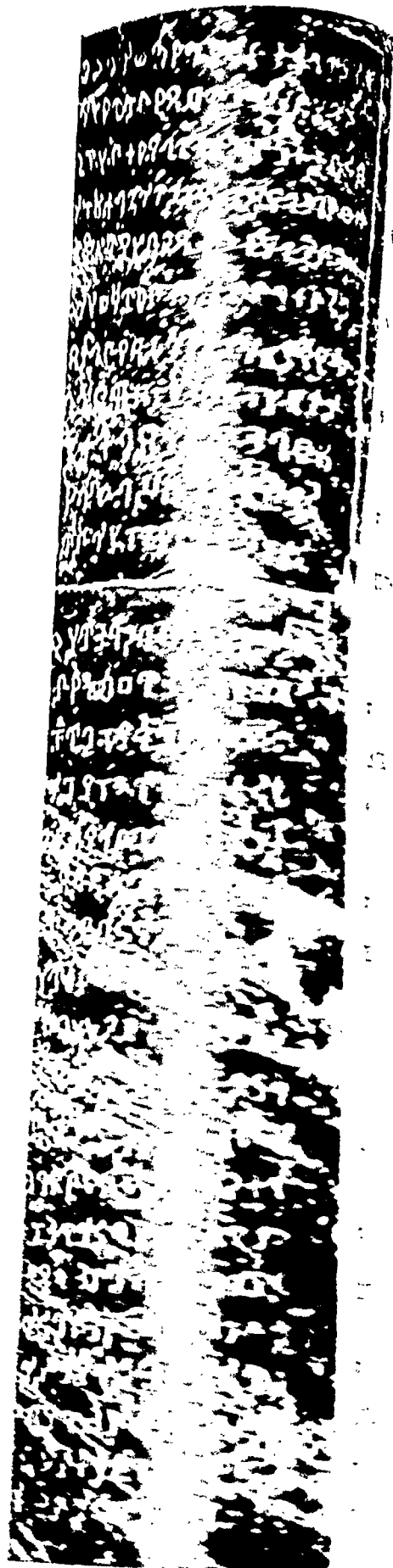
प्रादुर्भाव

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प्रादुर्भाव

प्रादुर्भाव



(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is written, only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed in future.

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) सवत विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने ए वा पि अंता अथा
चोडा पंडिया सतियपुते ी अंतियोके नाम
- 2 योनलाजा ए वा पि तस अंतियोकस सामंता लाजाने सवत देवानंपियेन
पियदसिना लाजि चिकिसा च
- 3 पसुचिकिसा च (B) ओसधानि आनि मुनिसोपगानि पसुओपगानि च अतत
नथि सवत च अतत नथि
- 4 सवच हालापिता च लोपापिता च (D) मगेसु उदुपानानि खानापितानि
लुखानि च

- 1 (A) savata vijitasi Devānāmpiyasa Piyadasine lājine e vā pi aṁtā athā Choḍā
Paṁḍiyā Satiyapu[t]e ī Aṁtiyoke nāma
- 2 Yona-lājā [e] vā pi tasa Aṁtiyokasa sāmāntā lājāne savata Devānāmpiyena
Piyadasinā lāji [ch]ikisā cha
- 3 pasu-chikisā cha (B) osadhāni āni munisopagāni pasu-opagāni cha atata nathi
sava[ta] cha atata nathi
- 4 s[a]vatra¹ hālāpitā cha lopāpitā cha (D) magesu udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni
cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, and also (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the Chōḍas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputa, the Yōna king named Antiyoka, and also the kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoka,—everywhere [two (kinds of) medical treatment were established] by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment [for men] and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs that are beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.²

(C) Wherever there were no roots and [fruits], everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads wells were caused to be dug, and trees were caused to be planted for the use of [cattle and men].

¹ *sāvata* Senart, *savatu* Bühler.

² The last words of this section are missing at Jaugada, but are preserved at Dhauili. Henceforth I shall use straight brackets in the translation only if words are lost in both of these versions of the rock-edicts.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
आ च पादेसिके च
- 2 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखमावू अथा अंनाये पि कंमने
सा मितसंयुतेस ..
- 3 नातिसु च वंभनसमनेहि साधु दाने जीवेसु अनालंभे साधु
यि
- 4 हेतुते च वियंजने च
- 1 (A) Devāṇāṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) duvādasa-vasābhisitona me
iyam [ā] cha pād[e]sike cha
- 2 pañhasu pañhasu vasesu anusayānaṃ nikhamāvū athā aṇṇāye pi kaṃma[n]e
..... [s]ā mīta-saṃyute[s] ...
- 3 nātisu ch[a] baṃbhana-samaṇehi sādhu dāne jivesu [a]ṇālambhe sādhu
[y]i
- 4 hetute cha viyaṃjanate cha

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) [Everywhere] in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajuka*, and the *Prādeśika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years, just as for other business, even so for the following instruction in morality.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father, to friends and acquaintances, and to relatives. Liberality to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstention from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the council (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas* to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं वहूनि वससतानि वढिते व पानालंभे
- 2 (B) से अज देवानंपियस पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेन भेल
- 3 दिवियानि लूपानि दसयितु मुनिसानं (C) आदिसे बहूहि वससते
- 4 धंमानुसयिया अनालंभे पानानं अविहिता भूतानं नातिसु संप
- 5 (D) एस अंने च बहुविधे धंमचलने वढिते (E) वढयि
- 6 पियदसिने लाजिने पवढयिसंति येव धंमचल
- 7 (H) धंमचलने पि चु नो होति
- 8 हीनि च मा अलोचयि

- 1 (A) a[t]likamtaṃ amṭalaṃ bahūni vasa-satāni vaḍhite va pānālāmbhe
- 2 (B) se aja **Devānāmpriya Piyadasine lājine** dhamma-chalanena bhe[l]
- 3 divi[y]āni lūpāni drasayitu ¹ munisānaṃ (C) ādise bahūhi vasa-sate
- 4 dhammānusathiyā anālāmbhe pānānaṃ avihisā bhūtānaṃ nātisu [saṃpa]
- 5 (D) esa amne cha bahuvīdhe dhamma-chalane vaḍhite (E) va[ḍhay]i
- 6 **Piyadasine lājine** pavaḍhayi[sa]m[t]i [y]e[va] dhamma-cha[la]
- 7 (H) dhamma-chalane pi chu no ho[t]i
- 8 [hī]ni cha mā aloch[ay]i

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father, (and) obedience to the aged.

(D) In this and many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) But also the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) But the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve ² the neglect (of it).

(K) This has been written here by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ *dasayitu* Senart, *dasayitu* Bühler.

² See above, p. 31, n. 7.

FIFTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियद्
 2 नती व पलं च ते
 3 सुपदालये (H) से अ
 4 धंमाधिषाना
 5 .. भनिभि
 6 मोखाये
 7 ए वा
 8

- 1 (A) Devā[na]m̐piye Piya[da]
 2 nat[i]¹ va palaṁ cha te
 3 s[u]padālaye (H) se [a]
 4 [dha]m̐[m]ā[dh]i[th]ānā²
 5 .. bhanibhi
 6 mokhāye
 7 e [v]ā
 8

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.
 (B) It is difficult to perform virtuous deeds.
 (C) He [who starts performing] victorious deeds accomplishes something difficult.
 (D) Now, by me many virtuous deeds have been performed.
 (E) Therefore (among) my sons and grandsons, and (among) my descendants (who shall come) after them until the æon (of the destruction of the world), those who will conform to this (duty) will perform good deeds.
 (F) He who will neglect even a portion of this (duty) will perform evil deeds.
 (G) For sin indeed steps fast.³
 (H) Now in times past, (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before.
 (I) But (the officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
 (J) These are occupied with all sects in establishing morality, in promoting morality, and for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality (even) among the Yōnas, Kambōchas, and Gandhālas, among the Laṭhikas and Pitēnikas, and whatever other western borderers (of mine there are).
 (K) They are occupied with servants and masters, with Brāhmaṇas and Ibhyas,

¹ *namiti* Senart, *nati* Bühler.² *°thānā* Bühler.³ See above, p. 33, n. 3.

with the destitute, and with the aged, for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to morality,¹ (and) in releasing (them) from the fetters (of worldly life).²

(L) They are occupied in supporting prisoners (with money), in causing (their) fetters to be taken off, and in setting (them) free, if (one has) children, or is bewitched, or aged, respectively.

(M) They are occupied everywhere, both here and in all the outlying towns, in all the harems of myself, of my brothers, and of (my) sisters, and with (my) other relatives.

(N) These *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied on the whole earth with those who are devoted to morality, (in order to ascertain) whether one is eager for morality, or established in morality, or furnished with gifts.

(O) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my descendants may conform to it.

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) नंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हूतपुलुवे
सवं कालं अठकंमे पटिवेदना व (C) से ममया कटे (D) सवं कालं
- 2 स मे अंते ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनीतसि उयानसि च
सवत पटिवेदका जनस अठं प्रटिवेदयंतु मे ति (E) सवत च जनस
- 3 कं (F) अं पि च किंछि मुखते आनपयामि दापकं वा सावकं
वा ए वा महामातेहि अतियायिके आलोपिते होति तसि अठसि
विवादे व
- 4 लिसायं आनंतलियं पटिवेदेतविये मे ति सवत सवं कालं (G)
हेवं मे अनुसथे (H) नथि हि मे तोसे उठानसि अठसंतीलनाय च
- 5 (I) मे सवलोकहिते (J) तस च पन इयं मूले उठाने च
अठसंतीलना च (K) नथि हि कंमतला सवलोकहितेन (L) अं च किंछि
पलकमामि हकं
- 6 नियं येहं ति हिद च कानि सुखयामि पलत च स्वगं आलाधयंतू
ति (M) एताये अठाये इयं धंमलिपी लिखिता चिलठितीका होतु
- 7 ता मे पलकमंतु सवलोकहिताये (N) दुकले चु इयं अनंत अगेन
पलकमेन

- 1 (A) [na]m̐piye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) atikaṃtaṃ aṃtalaṃ no hūta-
puluve savaṃ kālāṃ aṭha-kaṃm[e] paṭivedanā va (C) se mamayā kaṭe (D)
savaṃ kālāṃ
- 2 [sa m̐]e aṃte olodhanasī gabhāgālasī vachasī vinīta[sī] uyānasī cha savata
paṭivedakā janasa aṭhaṃ praṭivedayaṃtu ³ me ti (E) savata cha janasa

¹ See above, p. 33, n. 7.

² See above, p. 33, n. 8.

³ The *r* is expressed by a horizontal stroke before *pa*, which therefore looks like *pe*; *paṭi*^o
Senart and Bühler.

- 3 [ka]m̐ (F) am̐ pi cha kimchhi mukhate ānapayāmi dāpakam̐ vā sāvakam̐
vā e v[ā] mah[ā]mātehi a[t]i[yā]yike [ā]lopite hoti tasi aṭhasi vivāde va
- 4 'lisāy[am̐¹ ā]nam̐[ta]liyam̐ paṭivedetaviye me ti savata savam̐
kālam̐ (G) hevam̐ me anusathe (H) nathi hi me tose uṭhānasi aṭha-
saṁtilan[ā]y[a] cha
- 5 (I) me sava-loka-hite (J) tasa cha pana iyam̐ mūle uṭhāne cha aṭha-
saṁtilanā cha (K) nathi hi k[am̐]matalā sava-loka-hiten[a] (L) am̐ cha kichhi
p[a]lakamāmi hakam̐
- 6 [n]iyam̐ yeham̐ ti hida cha kāni su[kha]yāmi palata cha svagam̐
ālādhayaṁtū ti (M) etāye aṭhāye i[ya]m̐ dhamma-lipī likhitā chila-ṭhitikā
hotu²
- 7 [t]ā³ me [pa]lakamaṁtu sava-loka-hitāye (N) dukale chu i[ya]m̐ am̐nata
agena palakamena

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) In times past neither the disposal of affairs nor the submission of reports at all times did exist before.

(C) But I have made (the following arrangement).

(D) Reporters have to report to me the affairs of the people at any time (and) anywhere, while I am [eating], within⁴ the harem, in the inner apartment, at the cowpen, in the palanquin, and in the park.

(E) And everywhere I am disposing of the affairs of the people.

(F) And also, if in the council (of *Mahāmātras*) a dispute arises, or an amendment is moved, in connexion with any donation or proclamation which I am ordering verbally, or (in connexion with) an emergent matter which has been delegated to the *Mahāmātras*, it must be reported to me immediately, anywhere, (and) at any time.

(G) Thus I have ordered.

(H) For I am never satisfied in exerting myself and in dispatching business.

(I) For I consider it my duty (to promote) the welfare of all men.

(J) But the root of that (is) this, (viz.) exertion and the dispatch of business.

(K) For no duty is more important than (promoting) the welfare of all men.

(L) And whatever effort I am making, (is made) in order that I may discharge the debt (which I owe) to living beings, (that) I may make them happy in this (world), and (that) they may attain heaven in the other (world).

(M) For the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz. that) it may be of long duration, and (that) my sons (and) great-grandsons may display the same zeal for the welfare of all men.

(N) But it is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal.

¹ °sāya Senart and Bühler.

² hotū Bühler.

³ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, a portion of the syllable *po* is visible before *tā*.

⁴ The preposition *ante*, 'within', is used with the locative, just as *anto* in Pāli; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 39 b.

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) दसी लाजा सवत इछति सवपासंडा वसे . . ति (B) सवे हि
ते सयमं भावसुधी च इछंति (C) मुनिसा च उचावुचछंदा उचावुचलागा
2 (D) सं व कछंति (E) विपुले पि चा दाने धी
च नीचे बाढं
- 1 (A) da[sī]¹ lājā savata ichhati sava-p[ā]saṁdā va[s]e . . [t]i (B) [sav]e
hi te sa[yama]m bhāva-[su]dhī cha ichhamti (C) munisā cha uchāvucha-chhamdā
uchāvuch[a]-lāgā
2 (D) [sa]m² va kachhamti (E) [v]i[pul]e [p]i chā³ [d]ā[ne]
[dhi] cha nīche [b]āḍham

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

- (A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin desires(that) all sects may reside everywhere.
(B) For all these desire self-control and purity of mind.
(C) And men possess various desires (and) various passions.
(D) They will fulfil either the whole or (only) a portion (of their duties).
(E) And even one who (practises) great liberality, (but) does not possess self-control and purity of mind, is very mean.

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 विया अन्नानि च एदि मानि हुवंति नं (C) से
देवानंपिये
2 पिय दस ता (E) ततेस होति स
च दाने च वुढानं दसने च
3 हिलंनपटिविधाने च धंसपलिपुछा िलामे
होति देवानंपियस
4 पियदसिने लाजिने भागे अ . . .
- 1 ⁴ [v]i[y]ā [a]mānāni cha e[d]i [m]āni huvaṁti naṁ (C) se
Devānāmpiyē
2 [Piya] [dasa]⁵ [tā] (E) [ta]tesa hoti [sa] cha
dāne⁶ cha vuḍhānaṁ dasane cha
3 hilaṁna-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne [cha] [dha]m̐ma-p[al]i[puchh]ā⁷
ilāme hoti De[v]ānāmpiyasa
4 Piyadasine lājine bhāge [a] . . .

¹ On plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, the two syllables [Piya] are visible before *dasī*.

² The same plate reads [va] *eka-dasaṁ*.

³ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ At the beginning of this line, plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I, reads [a*][t]i *kaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ lājā*.

⁵ The same plate reads *Piyadasī* [l]ājā *dasa*.

⁶ *cha* looks almost like *chu*, and *dāne* like *dāno*.

⁷ -*pālī* Senart and Bühler.

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) In times past, kings used to set out on so-called pleasure-tours.

(B) On these (tours) hunting and other such pleasures were (enjoyed).¹

(C) But when king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed ten years, he went out to Saṃbōdhi.

(D) Therefore tours of morality (were undertaken) here.

(E) On these (tours) the following takes place, (viz.) visiting Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (to them), visiting the aged and supporting (them) with gold, visiting the people of the country, instructing (them) in morality, and questioning (them) about morality, as suitable for this (occasion).

(F) This second period (of the reign) of king Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin becomes a pleasure in a higher degree.

NINTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा पजुपदाये पवाससि एताये
अंनाये च
- 2 हेदिसाये जने बहुकं च मंगलं कलेति (D) से कटविये चेव
खो मंगले
- 3 (E) अपफले चु खो एस हेदिसे म (F) इयं चु सभटकसि
संस्यापटिपति गुलूनं अपचिति पानेसु सयमे
- 4 समनवाभनानं दाने एस अंने पित्तिना पि पुतेन पि भातिना
पि सुवामिकेन पि इयं साधु इयं कटविये
- 5 से दाने अनुगहे वा आदिसे धंमदाने धंमानुगहे च (K) से चु
खो मितेन
- 6 यं साधू इमेन सकिये स्वगे आलाधयितवे (L) किं हि इमेन
कटवियतला
- 7

- 1 (A) Devān[am]piya Piyadasi lā[jā] [pa]jupadāye pavāsasi etāye
amñāye cha
- 2 hedisāye jane [ba]hu[kam] [cha ma]m[ga]m k[a]leti (D) se kaṭaviye
cheva kho maṅgale
- 3 (E) apa-[pha]le chu [kh]o e[sa] he[d]ise ma (F) i[ya]m [chu]²
[sa-bha]takasi saṃmyā-paṭipati gulūnam apachiti pānesu say[a]me
- 4 saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[nam] d[ā]n[e] [esa a]m[n]e [pi]tinā pi putena pi
bhātinā pi suvāmike[na] pi iyaṃ sādhu iyaṃ kaṭaviye

¹ With *huvanānti nam* cf. *etehi na* in the Kārle and Nāsik inscriptions (EI, 7. 64, text l. 4; 8. 65, text l. 14; 71, text l. 4; 73, text l. 11). In the Jaina Prākṛit, *nam* is used as an enclitical particle, and in Śaurasēnī, according to the grammarians, in the sense of *nanu*. Pischel (*Grammatik*, § 150) derives it from Skt. *nūnam*.

² These two words are invisible on plate 68 of ASSI, vol. I.

- 5 [s]e dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhamma-dāne dhammānugahe cha (K)
se chu kho mitena
6 yaṃ sād[h]ū imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiṃ hi imena
kaṭaviyatalā
7

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) Men are practising various ceremonies during illness at the marriage of a daughter, at the birth of a child,¹ (and) when setting out on a journey; on these and other such (occasions) men [are practising] many ceremonies.

(C) But women are practising many and various vulgar and useless ceremonies.

(D) Now ceremonies should certainly be practised.

(E) But such ceremonies as these bear little fruit indeed.

(F) But the following bears much fruit indeed, viz. the practice of morality.

(G) Herein the following (are comprised), (viz.) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, gentleness to animals, (and) liberality to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas; these and other [such] (virtues) are called the practice of morality.

(H) Therefore a father, or a son, or a brother, or a master ought to say:—‘This is meritorious. This [practice] should be observed until the (desired) object is attained.’

(I) And it has been said thus:—‘Gifts are meritorious.’

(J) But there is no [such] gift or benefit as the gift of morality and the benefit of morality.

(K) Therefore a friend [a relative], and a companion should indeed admonish (another) on such and such an occasion:—‘This this is meritorious. By this (practice) it is possible to attain heaven.’

(L) For what is more desirable than this, [viz.] the attainment of heaven?

TENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) यसो वा किटी वा इहति तदत्वाये आयतिये च जने धंमसुसूंसं
सुसूसु मे
2 ति देवानंपिये पालतिकाये वा किंति सकले अपपलिसवे
हुवेया ति
3 (D) लितिजितु खुदकेन वा उसटेन वा (F) उसटेन चु दुकलतले
1 (A) [ya]ṣo vā ki[t]i vā ichh[a]ti tadatvāye ā[ya]tiye cha jane dhamma-
susūsam susūsatu me
2 [t]i Devānāmpiye pālatikāye vā ki[m]ti [sa]kale apa-palisave
[h]uveyā ti
3 (D) [l]itijit[u] khudakena [v]ā u[s]aṭena vā (F) usaṭena chu dukalatale

¹ For *pajupadāye* see above, p. 38, n. 22.

VI

2

4

6

VII

2

VIII

2

4

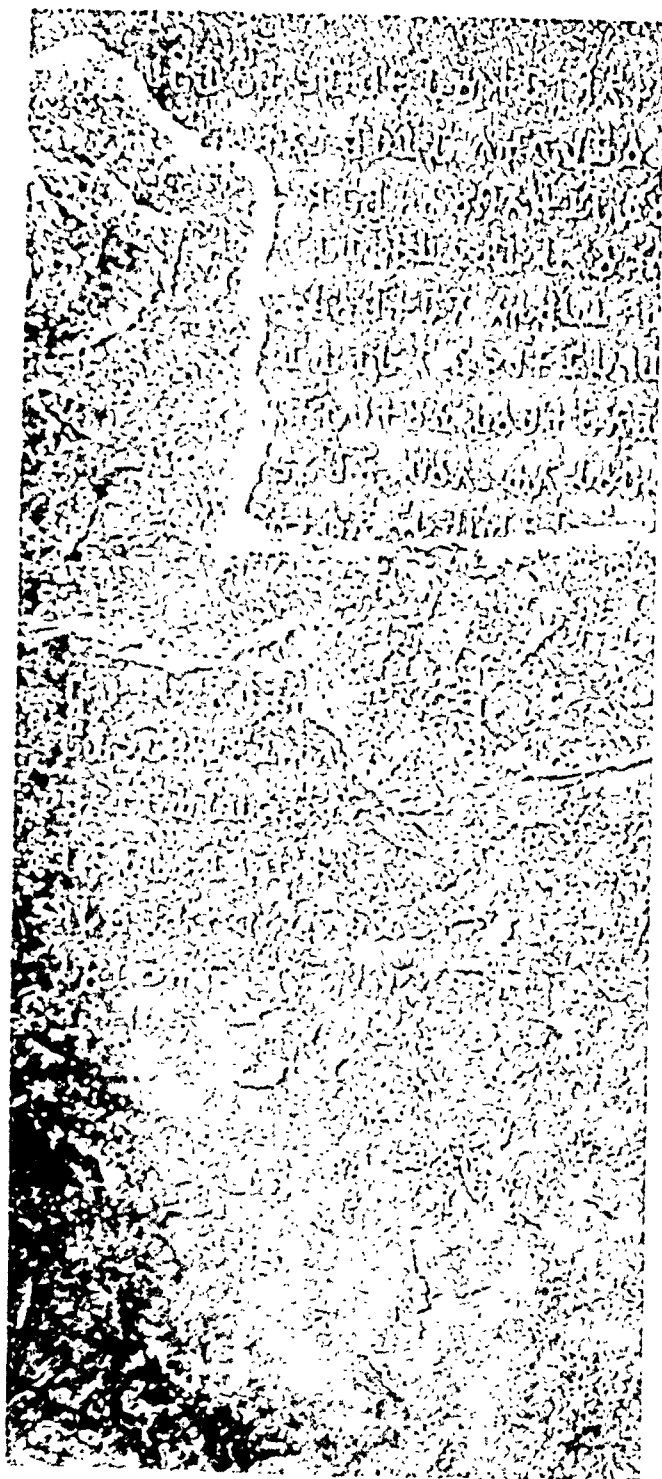
IX

2

4

X

XIV



TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) King Dēvaṇāmpriya Priyadarśin does not think that either glory or fame [conveys much advantage, except whatever] glory or fame he desires (on account of his aim that) at the present time, and in the future, men may (be induced) by him to practise obedience to morality morality.

(B) On this (account) [he is desiring] glory and fame.

(C) [Whatever] effort Dēvaṇāmpriya is making, (is) only for the sake of (merit) in the other (world), (and) in order that all (men) may run little danger.

(D) The danger

(E) difficult to accomplish either for a lowly (person) or for a high one [without] great [zeal] and [without] laying aside every (other aim).

(F) But it is more difficult to accomplish for a high (person).

FOURTEENTH ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) मङ्गिमेन अपि विघटेन (B) नो हि सवे सवत घटिते (C)
महंते हि विजये

2 स माधुलियाये किंति च जने तथा पटिपजेया ति (E) ए पि
चु हेत

3

1 (A) [ma]ṅgime[na] ath[i] vithaṇena (B) [no] hi save savata ghaṭite
(C) mahāṇte hi vijaye

2 [sa] mādhuliyāye kiṁti[ti] cha jane tathā paṭipajeyā ti (E) e pi chu heta

3

TRANSLATION (DHAULI AND JAUGADA)

(A) These re-scripts on morality [have been caused] to be written by king Dēvaṇāmpriya Priyadarśin or of middle (size), or at full length.

(B) For the whole was not suitable everywhere.

(C) For (my) dominions are wide, and much has been written, [and I] shall cause [still] (more) to be written.

(D) has been stated because of the charm of [certain topics], and in order that men should act accordingly.

(E) But whatever of this is written incompletely

FIRST SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

1 (A) देवानंप्रिये हेवं आहा (B) समापायं महामाता नगलवियोहालक हेवं
वतविया (C) अं किञ्चि द्दामि हकं तं द्दामि किंति कं कमन पटिपातयेहं

2 दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवालं अं तुफेसु अनुसयि (E)
फे हि वहसु पानसहसेसु आयत पनयं गहेम सु मुनिसानं (F) सवमुना मे

- 3 पजा (G) अथ पजाये इहामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-
पालल्लोकिकेन हेमेव मे इह सवमुनिसेसु (H) नो चु तुफे एतं पापुनाथ
आवगमुके
- 4 इयं अठे (I) केचा एकमुनिसे पापुनाति से पि देसं नो सवं (J) दखथ हि तुफे पि
सुविता पि (K) बहुक अठि ये एति एकमुनिसे बंधनं पलिकिलेसं पि
पापुनाति (L) तत होति अक-
- 5 स्मा ति तेन वधनंतिक अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (M) तत तुफेहि इहिये
किंति मभं पटिपातयेम (N) इमेहि जातेहि नो पटिपजति इसाय आसुलोपेन
निठूलियेन
- 6 तुलाय अनावुतिय आलस्येन किलमथेन (O) हेवं इहियेविये किंति मे एतानि
जातानि नो ह्येयू ति (P) सवस चु इयं मूले अनासुलोपे अतुलना च
(Q) नितियं एयं किलंते सिय
- 7 संचलितु उथाया संचलितथे तु वटितविय पि एतविये पि नीतियं (R) एवे
दखेया आनंने णिभपेतविये हेवं हेवं च देवानंपियस अनुसथि ति (S) एतं
संपटिपातयं-
- 8 तं महाफले होति असंपटिपति महापाये होति (T) विपटिपातयंतं नो
स्वगआलधि नो लाजाधि (U) दुआहले एतस कंसस स मे कुते मनो-
अतिलेके (V) एतं संपटिपजमीने मम
- 9 च आननेयं एसथ स्वगं च आलाधयिसथा (W) इयं चा लिपी अनुतिसं
सोतविया (X) अला पि खनेन सोतविया एककेन पि (Y)
मीने चघथ
- 10 तवे (Z) एताये च अठाये इयं लिखिता लिपी एन महामाता नगलक सस्वतं
समयं एतं युजेयु ति एन मुनिसानं अ ने पलिकि
. ये
- 11 पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसयानं निखामयिसामि महामातं अचंडं अफलुसं
त पि कुमाले वि . . त मयि
लाते
- 12 वचनिक अद् अनुसयानं निखमिसंति अतने कंसं
यितु तं पि तथा कलंति अथा

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]nampiye he[va]m [ā]hā (B) Sam[ā]pāyam mahāmātā [na]gala-
vivyohālaka he[va]m va[tav[i]y[ā] (C) am kichhi dakhāmi ha[kā]m [tām] ichhām[i]
k]iint[i kam ¹ kamana ² pa]tipātayeham

¹ Senart and Bühler omit *kam*. Cf. the Jaugada separate edict II, end of line 1, and see above,
p. 35, n. 12.

² [*kam*]mana Bühler.

- 2 duvālate cha ālabheham (D) es[a] cha me mokhiya-mata duvālam a[m] tuphesu
anusathi (E) phe hi bahūsu pāna-sahasasu [ā]ya[ta] p[a]na[ya]m gachhema
[su] m[u]n[i]s[ā]na[m] (F) sava-mu[n]ā me¹
- 3 pajā (G) atha pa[jā]ye ichhām[i] kim[t]i me savena hita-sukhena y[ū]jeyū ti
hi[dal]o[g]ik[a]-pālalokikena [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]su (H) no chu²
tu[phe e]tam [p]ā[p]unātha āva-gamu[k]e³
- 4 [i]yam ath[e] (I) kechā eka-[muni]s[e]⁴ pā[p]unāti⁵ se pi desa[m] no savam (J)
dakhatha hi [tuphe] pi⁶ suvitā [p]i (K) bahuka aṭhi⁷ ye eti eka-munise
ba[m]dhanam pali[kile]sam [p]i⁸ pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka-
- 5 sm[ā] ti⁹ ten[a] badhana[m]ti[ka]¹⁰ anye¹¹ cha [va]ge bahuve vedayati (M) tata
tuphe[hi] ichhi]taye kimti majham [pa]tipātayem[a] (N) imehi jāte[hi]¹² no
[pa]tipa[ja]ti¹³ i[s]ā[ya]¹⁴ āsulopena [ni]t[hū]li]ye[na]¹⁵
- 6 t[ul]āya¹⁶ [a]nā[v]uti[ya]¹⁷ āla[s]y[e]na ki]lamath[e]na (O) hevam ichhit[a]vi[y]e
kimti me et[ā]ni jātā[ni] n]o hveyū¹⁸ ti (P) savasa chu¹⁹ iya[m] mū[le]
a[n]ā[s]u[lo]p[e] atulanā cha (Q) ni[ti]ya[m] [e]y[am] k]il[am]t[e] [siya]
- 7 samchalitu uthāy[ā]²⁰ samchalitavye tu v[a]taviya²¹ [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yam (R)
eve dakh[e]yā²² āna[m]ne²³ nīhap[e]ta[vi]ye²⁴ heva[m] hevam cha
Devānam[p]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi] ti (S) [eta]m [sam]pātipā[ta]yam-
- 8 tam mahā-phale hoti sampātipati mahāpāy[e] hoti (T) vipātipātayamtam no
svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi²⁵ (U) du[ā]hale etasa [ka]m]masa sa me k[u]t[e]
ma]n[o]ati]le[ke]²⁶ (V) [eta]m sam]pātipajamīne mama]
- 9 cha ānanyam esatha svagam cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iya[m] chā²⁷ li[p]i anutisam
sot[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā²⁸ [p]i kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y)
m[i]ne²⁹ ch[aghatha]
- 10 tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iya[m] [li]khitā [l]ipi ena mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m]
sama[ya]m [eta]m yu[j]ey[u] t[i] ena [muni]s[ā]nam [a] ne [pal]i[k]i³⁰
. ye
- 11 [pa]mchasu pa[m]chasu va[sesu] anu[s]a]yānam³¹ nikhāma[y]isāmi³² mahāmāta[m]
achamda[m] aphal[usa]m³³ ta³⁴ pi kumāle [v]i³⁵ . . ta
m[ay]i³⁶ [lā]t[ō]³⁷

¹ Read -munisā me; -munise Senart and Bühler.

² cha Bühler.

³ āvā- Bühler; -gamake Senart and Bühler.

⁴ -pulise Senart and Bühler.

⁵ pi manati Senart, pi [ma]nāti Bühler.

⁶ hi Bühler.

⁷ aṭhi Bühler.

⁸ hi Bühler.

⁹ Senart and Bühler omit ti.

¹⁰ baṁdha° Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ Bühler omitted this word.

¹² jātehi Bühler.

¹³ sam]pātipā° Senart, sam]ti° Bühler.

¹⁴ isā[ye] Bühler.

¹⁵ nīthū° Senart, nīthū° Bühler.

¹⁶ tulāye Senart and Bühler.

¹⁷ °tiye Senart and Bühler.

¹⁸ heyū Senart and Bühler.

¹⁹ cha Senart and Bühler.

²⁰ uthā[ye] Bühler.

²¹ vajita° Senart and Bühler.

²² dekheyi Senart and Bühler.

²³ aṁna ne Senart and Bühler.

²⁴ nījha° Senart and Bühler.

²⁵ [ma]ne- Bühler.

²⁷ cha Senart and Bühler.

²⁸ Read aṁtalā.

²⁹ mane Bühler.

³⁰ Restore akasmā baṁdhane palikilese.

³¹ °sanyānam Senart and Bühler.

³² °sāmī Bühler.

³³ aphalaha Bühler.

³⁴ Bühler adds . . vachane; perhaps sakhiṇālambham is intended, as in the corresponding passage at Dhauti.

³⁵ vā Bühler.

³⁶ Restore nikhāmayisati.

³⁷ This is probably a remnant of Takhasilāte.

12 vachanik[a]¹ ada² [anusa]yānaṃ³ n[ikha]mi[sam]ti a[ta]ne ka[mma]ṃ
 [yitu taṃ pi tathā] kalaṃti [athā]

TRANSLATION

(A) *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at *Samāpā*, (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told this.

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) For you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men.

(F) All men are my children.

(G) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(H) But you do not learn this, (viz.) how far this (my) object reaches.

(I) Some single person (only) learns (this), (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole.

(J) Now you must also pay attention (to this), although you are in prosperous circumstances.⁴

(K) It happens frequently that a single person undergoes imprisonment and suffers harsh treatment.⁵

(L) In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while many other people⁶ (continue to) suffer.

(M) In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.

(N) One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness, (and) fatigue.

(O) (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

(P) But the root of all is this: the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

(Q) Whoever is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will [not] move and rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance in the administration (of justice).

(R) He who will pay attention to this,⁷ must exhort⁸ (you) to discharge (your) debt (to the king), (by telling you): 'Such and such is the instruction of *Dēvānāmpriya*.'

¹ *javacha*^o Senart, *ājavacha*^o Bühler; cf. *ī[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* in the Jaugada separate edict II, B.

² *tada* Senart, *adā* Bühler.

³ *saṃyānaṃ* Senart and Bühler.

⁴ For *suṃvita* see Böhtlingk and Roth's Dictionary. Dhauī has the synonym *suṃvilita*.

⁵ Lüders (SPAW, 1914, 862) renders the Dhauī version of this section: 'There is also a single officer who hears of imprisonment or torture'; but, in order to vindicate this translation, he is obliged to change *eti* in the Jaugada version to *eta* (p. 856, n. 17), which gives no sense. The verb *pāpunāti* has the same meaning as here in the rock-edict XIII; cf. above, p. 47, n. 5.

⁶ For *vage* = *jane* see above, p. 40, n. 2.

⁷ As *eve dakḥ[e]jā* corresponds to *hevaṃmeva e da[kheya]* at Dhauī, it seems to represent *evam e dakheya*.

⁸ For *nijhapeti* see above, p. 69, n. 4.

(S) If one observes this, great gain results, (but its) non-observance becomes a great evil.

(T) If one fails to observe (this), (there will be) neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king.

(U) How (could) my mind be pleased if one fulfils this duty badly?

(V) If (you) observe this, you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me, and you will attain heaven.

(W) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) on every (day of) Tishya.

(X) It may be listened to even by a single (person) also on (other) occasions between (the days of Tishya).

(Y) you will be able to

(Z) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* (who are) city-judges may strive at all times for this, that to men [undeserved imprisonment or harsh treatment]

(AA) I shall send out every five years on a complete tour (through-out his charge)¹ a *Mahāmātra* who is neither fierce nor harsh

(BB) also the prince (governor) [will send out]

(CC) from [Takshaśi]lā.

(DD) When, at the word [of the king],² they will set out on tour, (then), [with-out neglecting] their own duties, (they will ascertain³ whether the judicial officers) are carrying out this also just, as

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT: JAUGADA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आह (B) समापायं महमता लाजवचनिक वतविया (C) अं किछि दखामि हकं तं इछामि हकं किंति कं कमन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवालते च आलभेहं (D) एस च मे मोखियमत दुवाल एतस अथस अं तुफेसु अनुसथि (E) सवमुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा (F) अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हितसुखेन युजेयू अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसु-
- 4 खेन युजेयू ति हिदलोगिकपाललोकिकेण हेवंमेव मे इछ सवमुनिसेसु (G) सिया अंतानं अविजिता-
- 5 नं किछांदि सु लाजा अफेसू ति (H) एताका वा मे इछ अंतेसु पापुनेयु लाजा हेवं इछति अनुविगिन ह्येयू
- 6 ममियाये अस्वसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहेयू ममते नो खं हेवं च पापुनेयु खमिसति ने लाजा
- 7 ए सकिये खमितवे ममं निमितं च धमं चलेयू ति हिदलोगं च पललोगं च आलाधयेयू (I) एताये

¹ See above, p. 5, n. 4.

² See below, p. 117, n. 10.

³ The word *jānisanti* seems to be omitted at Jaugaḍa, but is required by the context; see the Dhauli version, CC.

- 8 ' च अढाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अनने एतकेन हकं तुफेनि अनुसासितु छंदं च वेदि-
- 9 तु आ मम धिति पटिंना च अचल (J) स हेवं कटू कंमे चलितविये अस्वासनिया च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अथा पित हेवं ने लाजा ति अथ अतानं अनुकंपति हेवं अफेनि अनुकंपति अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं मये लाजिने (K) तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित छंदं च वेदित आ मम धिति पटिंना चा अचल सकल-
- 12 देसाआयुतिके होसामी एतसि अथसि (L) अलं हि तुफे अस्वासनाये हितसुखाये च तेसं हिद-
- 13 लोगिकपाललोकिकाये (M) हेवं च कलंतं स्वगं च आलाधयिसथ मम च आननेयं एसथ (N) ए-
- 14 ताये च अथाये इयं लिपी लिखित हिद एन महामाता सास्वतं समं युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंमचलनाये च अंतानं (O) इयं च लिपी अनुचातुंमासं सोतविया तिसेन (P) अंतला पि च सोतविया
- 16 (Q) खने संतं एकेन पि सोतविया (R) हेवं च कलंतं चघथ संपटिपातयितवे
- 1 (A) *Devānaṃpiye* hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) *Samāpāyaṃ* mahamatā [[ā]ja-vachanik[a]¹ vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakh[ā]mi hakaṃ taṃ i[chh]āmi hakaṃ k[iṃ]ti kaṃ kamana
- 2 paṭipātayehaṃ duvā[la]te cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa cha me mokhiya-ma[a]² duvāl[a] etasa a[tha]sa a[m]i t[uph]esu anusa[thi] (E) sava-muni-
- 3 sā me pajā (F) atha pajāy[e] ichhāmi kiṃti me savenā hita-su[kh]ena yu[je]yū [a]tha pajāye ichhāmi kiṃ[ti] m[e] savena hita-su-
- 4 kh[e]na yujeyū³ ti hidalogika-pālaloki[k]e[ṇa]⁴ hevaṃmeva me ichha sava-munisesu (G) siyā aṃtānaṃ [a]vijitā-
- 5 naṃ kiṃ-chhānde⁵ su lājā apheṣū ti (H) etākā⁶ [vā] me ichha [a]ṃtesu pāpuneṃyū lājā hevaṃ ichh[a]ti anu[v]i[g]ina hve[yū]⁷
- 6 mamiyāye [a]svaseṃyū cha me sukhaṃ[m]ev[a] cha lahey[ū] mamate [n]o kha[m]⁸ hevaṃ cha pāpuneṃyū kha[m]i[sa]ti ne lājā
- 7 e s[a]kiye⁹ khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ cha dhaṃma[m]¹⁰ chaley[ū] ti hidalog[aṃ] cha palalogam cha ālādhayey[ū]¹¹. (I) etāye

¹ *laja*- Senart and Bühler.

² *-mate* Senart, *-mataṃ* Bühler.

³ Cancel the eight last words ([a]tha to yujeyū), which the writer has repeated by mistake.

⁴ *kena* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *-chhānde* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Read *etākā*, as proposed by Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 867.

⁷ *heṃy* Senart and Bühler.

⁸ Read *dukhaṃ*.

⁹ *chha kiye* Senart, *chakiye* Bühler.

¹⁰ The Anusvāra of *maṃ* stands above the line; *dhaṃma* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ *yeyu* Senart and Bühler.

ed. I

2

4

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8

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- 12



- 8 cha aṭhāye hakaṁ tupheni anusāsāmi ana[ne eta]kena [ha]kaṁ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu
chhamda[m̐ cha] vedi-
- 9 [t]u ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (J) sa hevaṁ [ka]tū¹ k[am̐]me [cha]litaviye
asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te pāpune-
- 10 yu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṁ [n]e lājā ti atha [a]tānaṁ anukāmpat[i he]vaṁ a[ph]eṇi
anuka[m̐pa]ti athā pajā he-
- 11 vaṁ [may]e lā[j]ine (K) tupheni hakaṁ anusāsita² [chh]āmdaṁ³ [cha v]e[dī]ta⁴
[ā⁵ ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m̐]nā chā achala [saka]la-
- 12 desā-āy[ut]ike⁶ hosāmi et[a]si [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṁ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[nā]ye hi[ta]-
sukhāye [cha te]sa[m̐] hida-
- 13 logi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ svaga[m̐ cha ā]lādhayisa[tha]
mama cha āna[n]eyaṁ es[a]tha (N) e-
- 14 tāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m̐ lipi li[kh]i[ta⁷ hi]da e[na ma]h[ā]mātā sāsavataṁ⁸ samaṁ⁹
yujeyū asvāsanāye cha
- 15 dhamma-chala[nā]ye [cha] aṁtā[na]m̐ (O) iyaṁ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tūm̐[m̐]āsaṁ
s[ota]viyā tisenā (P) aṁta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā
- 16 (Q) khane saṁtaṁ eke[na] pi [sota]v[i]yā (R) heva[m̐] cha [ka]laṁ[ta]m̐ chaghatha
saṁpaṭipātayit[av]e

TRANSLATION

(A) Dēvānāmpriya speaks thus.

(B) The *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā have to be told (this) at the word of the king.¹⁰

(C) Whatever I recognize (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means.

(D) And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, viz. (to give) instruction to you.

(E) All men are my children.

(F) As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men.

(G) It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask): 'What does the king desire with reference to us?'

(H) This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers, (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this, (that) they may not be afraid of me, but may have confidence in me; (that) they may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this, (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world.

¹ *kaṭu* Senart and Bühler.

² *chhamdaṁ* Senart and Bühler.

³ Senart and Bühler omit ā.

⁴ *likhitā* Senart and Bühler.

⁵ *sasvatam* Senart and Bühler.

⁶ Read *sāsitu*, which is Bühler's reading.

⁷ Read *veditu*; *vedāta* Senart, *vedit[u]* Bühler.

⁸ Read *desāyutike*.

⁹ Read *samayan*.

¹⁰ The derivative *l[ā]ja-vachanik[a]* seems to convey the same meaning as the two words *Devānāmpriyasa vachanena* at the beginning of each of the two separate edicts at Dhauli, and of the Queen's pillar-edict at Allahabad. Cf. also the opening phrase of the Brahmagiri and Siddāpura rock-inscriptions.

(I) And for the following purpose I am instructing you, (viz. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this, that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow.

(J) Therefore, acting thus, (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence,¹ in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father, (that) he loves them as he loves himself, (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children.

(K) Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, i. e. (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i. e. maintain) officers in all provinces for this object.

(L) For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world.

(M) And if (you) act thus, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me.

(N) And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (viz.) in order that the *Mahāmātras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them) to practise morality.

(O) And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) Tishya.

(P) And it may be listened to also between (the days of Tishya).

(Q) It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers.²

(R) And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders).

VII. THE BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

.....

- 5 निखमिठ स
 6 (E) हेत इयं होति बंभ
 7 वुढानं दसने च हिरंनपटिविधाने च
 8 धंमानुसयि धंम
 9 .. ये रती होति दे
 10 ने भागे अं ..

.....

- 5 nikhamiṭṭha Sa³
 6 (E) heta iyaṃ [ho]ti baṃ[bha]
 7 vuḍhānaṃ dasane⁴ [cha] hiraṃna-paṭivīdhāne cha
 8 [dha*]jmmānusa[thi]⁵ dhamma
 9 .. ye [ra]ti⁶ hoti De
 10 n[e] bhāge aṃ ..

¹ With *asvāsa*[n]iṣā cf. *visvaṇisayitave* on the Sārṇāth pillar, ll. 8 and 9.

² The two words *khane saṃtān* are nominatives absolute; cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

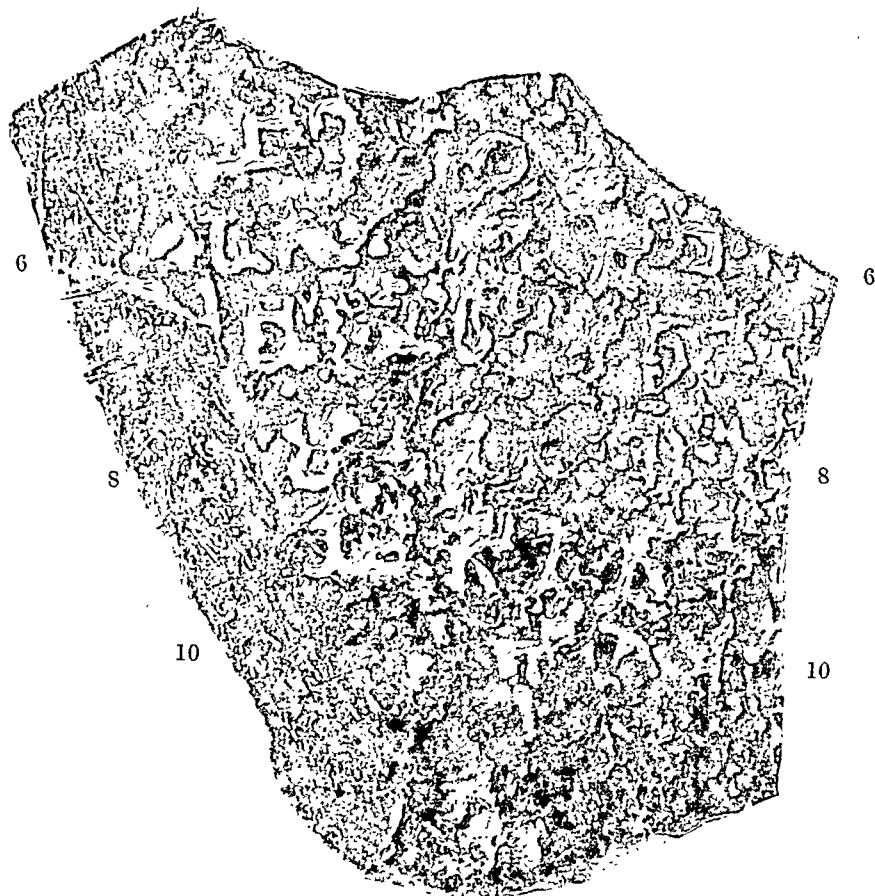
³ *nikhamiṭṭhā saṃ* Bhagvanlal Indraji.

⁴ These two words are entered above the line.

⁵ °*satti* Bh. I.

⁶ °*rati* Bh. I.

BOMBAY-SOPARA FRAGMENT OF THE EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT



SCALE ONE-THIRD

SECOND PART: THE PILLAR-EDICTS

I. THE DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT — DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानांपिमे पियदमि ल्हाह देवं याहा (B) मदुपीयति-
- 2 यमस्तभिनिमित्तं मे इदं धर्मलिपि लिखतपिता
- 3 (C) त्रितपात्तमे द्मपटिपट्टमे संगतं जगताया धर्मदामताया
- 4 एताव पलीयता जगत्तं दुमुयता जगत्तं मेव
- 5 एतेन उमातेना ॥ मम न मे मम ननुयता
- 6 धर्मापिता धर्मदामता ना मुने मुने जट्टया जट्टया मेव
- 7 (A) पुल्लिमा वि न मे वज्जना ना मेवना ना जट्टया ना जट्टया मेव
- 8 मंपटिपट्टमे वि न मे वज्जना ना जट्टया ना जट्टया मेव
- 9 मयामाता वि न मे वज्जना ना जट्टया ना जट्टया मेव
- 10 धर्मेन मुनिपत्ता धर्मि मेव वि

without great love of morality, careful examination, great obedience, great fear (of sin), (and) great energy.

(D) But indeed by my instruction this regard for morality and love of morality have been promoted day by day¹ and will progress still (more).

(E) And my agents² also, both the high ones³ and the low ones,⁴ and those of middle rank, are conforming to and practising (morality), (and are thus) able to stir up⁵ fickle (persons).

(F) In the same way the *Mahāmātras* of the borderers⁶ also (are acting).

(G) For (their) instruction (is) this, viz.⁷ to protect according to morality, to dispose according to morality, to cause pleasure⁸ according to morality. (and) to guard (their speech)⁹ according to morality.

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 10 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
 11 हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधू कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
 12 दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपद-
 13 चतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 14 दाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे वहुनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
 15 अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलं-
 16 धितिका च होतू ती ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कछती ति

- 10 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja¹⁰
 11 hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinaṃve¹¹ bahu kayāne
 12 dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne pi me¹² bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-

¹ For *sure sure* = Skt. *śvaś śvaś* (literally: 'to-morrow to-morrow'), see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *śvaś*.

² I adopt V. A. Smith's translation of *fulisa*; see his *Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 182, n. 3. Cf. the pillar-edict IV, G, and VII. M.

³ *ukasa* (= *utkarsha*) is used in the sense of *utkrishṭa*.

⁴ This meaning of *gacayā* is evident from the context. Bühler (ZDMG, 48. 62) derived *gacayā* (for **gacaka*) from the root *gār*, to which the *Dhātupāṭha* attributes the meaning of *gār*, 'to serve'. For the change of *k* to *y* cf. *saṃśāḍḍaya*, above, p. 33, n. 3. But the existence of the root *gār* is far from certain; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 and n. 1.

⁵ For *saṃśāḍḍeti* see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *saṃśāḍḍeti*.

⁶ Cf. the separate edict II at Dhauli (M) and at Jaugada (N).

⁷ For this meaning of *yā iyaṃ* see Senart, IA, 17. 305, who compares with it the Pāli expression *yad iḍaṃ*.

⁸ Cf. the pillar-edict IV, E. and VII, V.

⁹ Cf. the rock-edict XII, D.

¹⁰ *lāja* Senart and Bühler.

¹¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *sv*.

¹² A vertical stroke is attached to the bottom of *me*.

- 13 chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-
 14 dākhināye (F) amnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
 15 aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-
 16 thitikā cha hotū tī ti¹ (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se sukaṭaṃ kachhatī² ti

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dōvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (To practise) morality is meritorious; but what does morality include?³

(C) (It includes) few sins,⁴ many virtuous deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, (and) purity.

(D) The gift of spiritual insight⁵ also has been bestowed by me in many ways.

(E) On bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals various benefits have been conferred by me, (even) to the boon of life.⁶

(F) And many other virtuous deeds also have been performed by me.⁷

(G) For the following purpose was this rescript on morality caused to be written by me, (viz.) in order that (men) might conform to it, and that it might be of long duration.

(H) And he who will act thus will perform good deeds.⁸

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

North Face of Pillar.

- 17 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
 18 कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
 19 नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि
 20 आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निदूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
 21 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढ देखिये (H) इयं मे
 22 हिदत्तिकाये इयंमन मे पालत्तिकाये

¹ The remaining versions read *hotū tī*. Three verses of Manu in which *itī* is doubled are quoted in Böhlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 790, l. 18. Cf. also *kiti tī* at Kālsī, XII, D.

² An apparent Anusvāra after *ka* is probably accidental.

³ Burnouf (*Lotus*, p. 667) explained *kiyaṃ* = Skt. *kiyān*.

⁴ *āsina* is a dialectic variety of the Jaina term *aṅhaya* which is derived from *ā + snu*; see Weber's *Ind. Studien*, 16, 326, n. 7, and Michelson, IF, 23, 267 f. The corresponding Pāli term is *āsava*, which is Sanskritized by *āsrava* or *āsraṇa*. See Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 822 f.; *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 53 f.; ZDMG, 72, 149. With the compound *apāsina* cf. *apa-iyayātā*, *apa-phalaṃ*, and *apa-parisraṇa* in the Gīrnār edict III, l. 5, IX, l. 3, and X, l. 3, respectively.

⁵ Literally: 'the gift of the eye'. According to the *Itivuttaka* (ed. by Windisch, p. 52), the three *chakkhūni* are *maṃsa-chakkhu*, *dibba-chakkhu*, and *paññā-chakkhu*; see Bühler, ZDMG, 48, 62.

⁶ For details of these regulations see the pillar-edict V.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict V, D.

⁸ Cf. the same edict, E.

- 17 (A) Devānāṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhati iyaṃ me
 18 kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ d[e]khati iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā āsinave
 19 nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni
 20 āsinava-gāminī nāma atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isyā
 21 kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ (G) esa bāḍha dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me
 22 hidatikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāṃpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (Men) regard only (their) virtuous deeds, (thinking): 'This virtuous deed has been performed by me.'

(C) They do not at all¹ regard (their) evil deeds, (thinking): 'This evil deed has been performed by me; this very (act) is called a sin.'²

(D) Now this is indeed difficult to recognize.

(E) But indeed this ought to be regarded thus:

(F) 'These (passions), viz. fierceness, cruelty, anger, pride, envy, are called sinful.³ Let me not⁴ ruin (myself) by (these) very (passions).'

(G) The following ought to be specially regarded:

(H) 'This (action conduces) to my (happiness) in this (world), that other (action)⁵ to my (happiness) in the other (world).'

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) लजूका मे
 3 बहुसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
 4 दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता

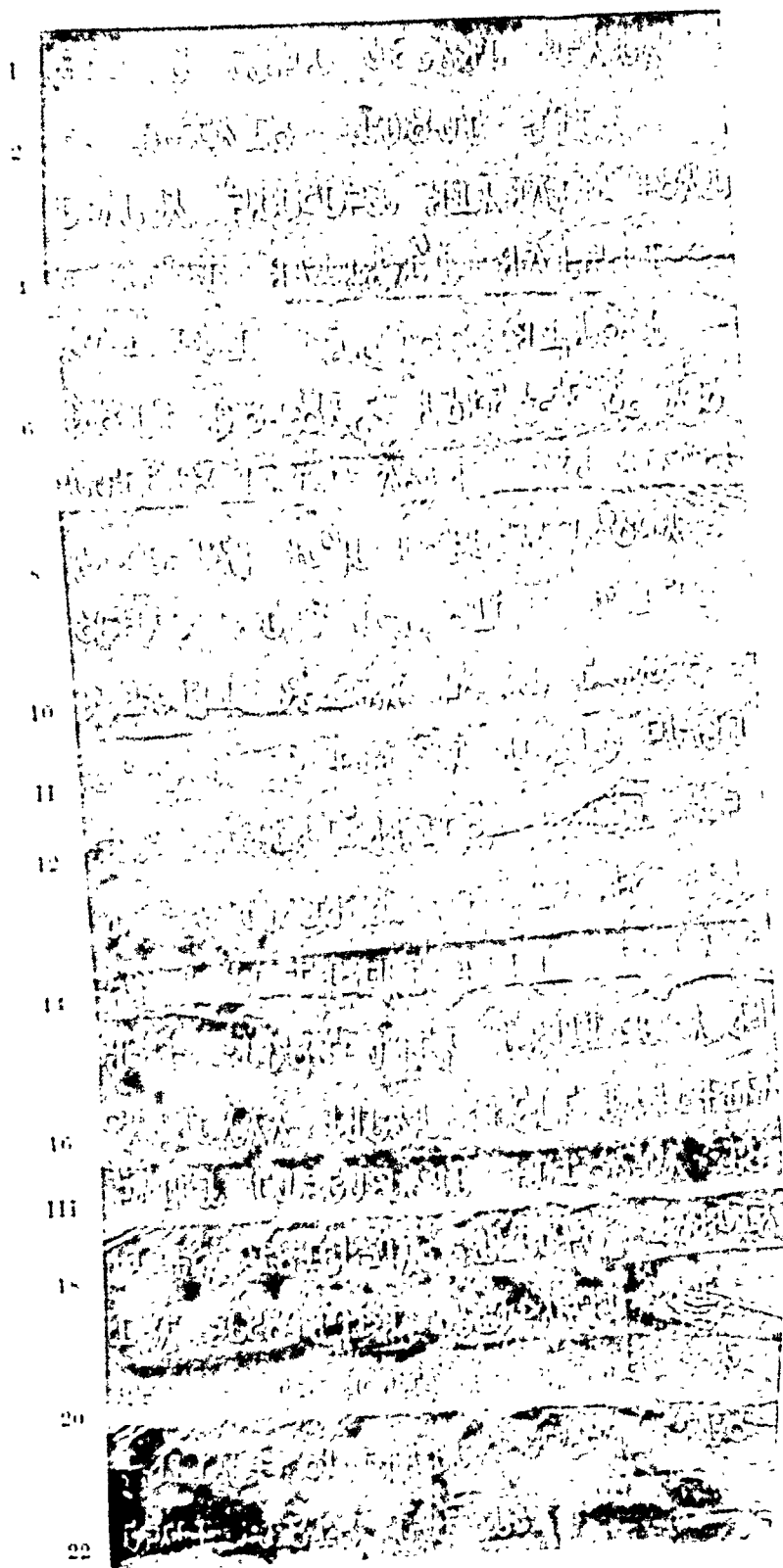
¹ Michelson (IF, 23, 236 f.) dissolves *nomina* into *no amina*, and identifies *amina* with the Pāli *aminā*, to which he attributes the meaning 'also'; but this word rather means 'hereby'. Bühler (EI, 2, 251, n. 21) seems to be right in taking *no mina* = Skt. *na manāk*. For the change of *a* to *i* cf. Pischel's *Grammatik*, §§ 101-103.

² For *āsinava* see above, p. 121, n. 4.

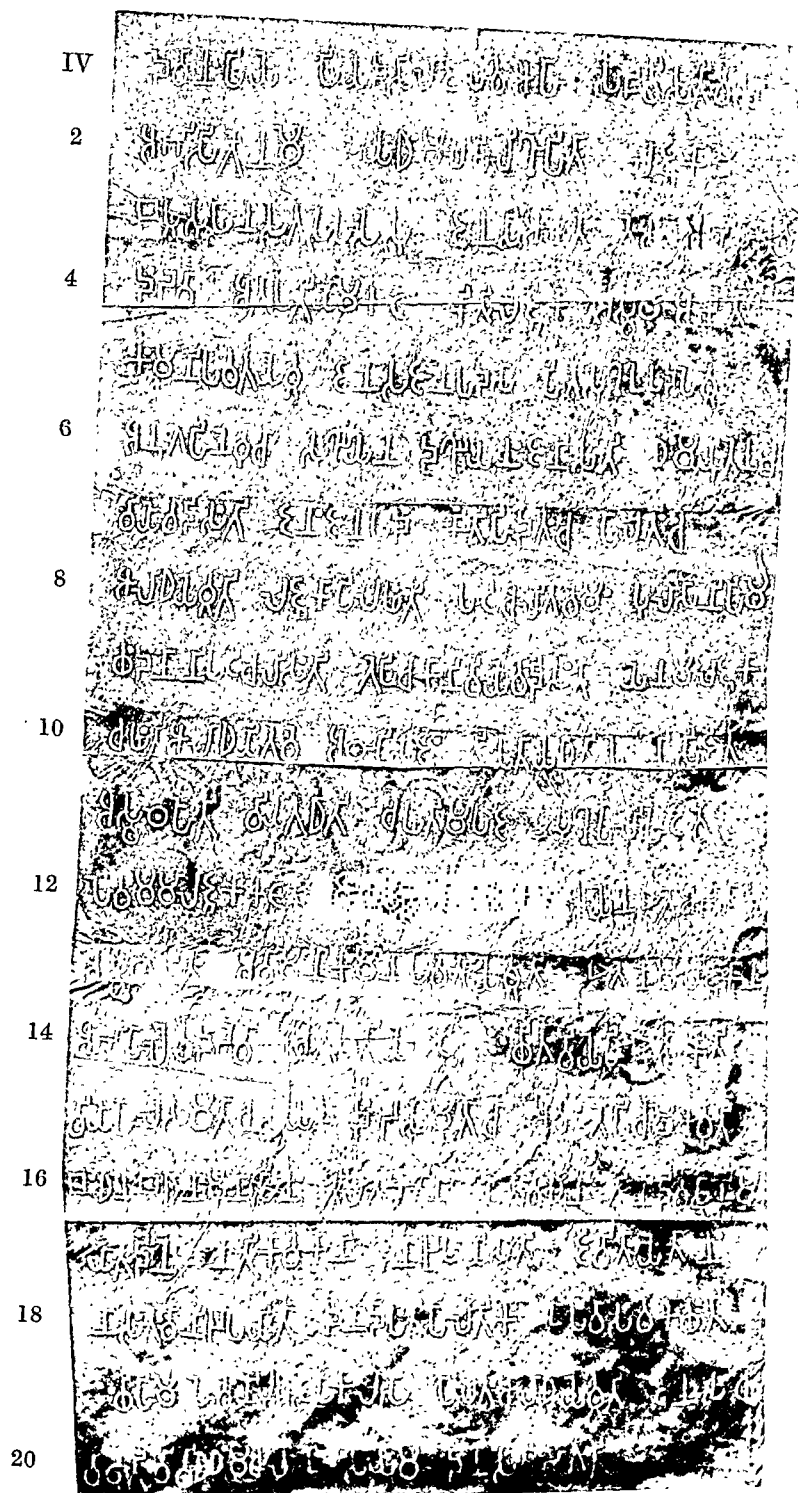
³ With the compound *āsinava-gāminī* cf. *āva-gamuka* in the first separate edict at Dhauri (G) and Jaugaḍa (H).

⁴ See Michelson, IF, 23, 262. To the reasons adduced by him against taking *mā* to be the accusative of the pronoun *mad*, we may add that, if *mā* were the object of *palibhasayisaṃ*, it would be an unidiomatic substitute of Skt. *ātmanam*.

⁵ Michelson (IF, 23, 237 f.) connects *mana* with Skt. *manāk*, and Bühler translated it by 'at least'. The adverb *mana* does occur in the *Jātaka*, vol. I, p. 405, verse 97, where it means 'nearly'. I suspect that *iyaṃmana* represents Skt. *idam anyat*. For the Sandhi cf. *kayānaṃmeva* in line 17; *hevaṃmeva* (or *vā*) in the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar-edict VI, D, the Dhauri separate edict I, l. 13, the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 4, and the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, F; *sukhaṃmeva* in the Dhauri separate edict II, l. 5, and the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, l. 6.



DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; WEST FACE



- 5 कंसानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदमा दित्तमृमं उपरहेयू
 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा (E) सुखीयनदुमीयनं जानिमेहि अयमृमं न
 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं विति दित्तं न पान्तरं न
 8 आलाधयेवू ति (E) लज्जका पि लयंति अरिज्जान्तरं यं (E) अयमृमं न
 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिमंति (E) ते पि न कंसं विद्वंज्जिअं अयं यं अयमृमं
 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे (E) अयं हि अरं विद्वंज्जिअं अरिज्जान्तरं विद्वंज्जिअं
 11 अस्वये होति वियत धाति चघंति मे अरं अयं अयमृमं
 12 हेवं नत्ता लज्जका वत्तं नत्तमृमं विद्वंज्जिअं न अयं अरं अयमृमं
 13 अस्वयं मंतं अविमत्तं वंनंति अरिज्जान्तरं विद्वंज्जिअं अयं अयमृमं
 14 अविद्वंज्जिअं व अरं व अरिज्जान्तरं अरं अयं अरिज्जान्तरं विद्वंज्जिअं अयं
 15 विद्वंज्जिअं लज्जका व अयं अयमृमं न अयं अरं अयं अयमृमं
 16 वंनत्तमृमं सुनिमत्तं वंनत्तमृमं लज्जका वंनत्तमृमं विद्वंज्जिअं अयं
 17 अये अये अयं अयं व अरं विद्वंज्जिअं अरिज्जान्तरं अयं
 18 नत्तं व विद्वंज्जिअं अरं अरिज्जान्तरं लज्जका व अयं
 19 अयं अयं हि मे अरं विद्वंज्जिअं वि अयं लज्जका व अयं अयं अयं
 20 अयं विद्वंज्जिअं वंनत्तमृमं वंनत्तमृमं अयं अयं अयं

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) This rescript on morality was caused to be written by me (when I had been) anointed twenty-six years.

(C) My *Lajūkas*¹ are occupied with the people, with many hundred thousands of men.²

(D) I have ordered that either rewards³ or punishments are left to their discretion,⁴ in order that the *Lajūkas* should perform (their) duties confidently (and) fearlessly, that they should bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and that they should confer benefits (on them).

(E) They will know how to cause pleasure⁵ and to cause pain (to them), and will exhort the people of the country through those who are devoted to morality,⁶ in order that they may attain (happiness) both in this (world) and in the other (world).

(F) The *Lajūkas* also must obey me.⁷

(G) They will also obey the agents⁸ who know (my) wishes.

(H) And these (agents) will also exhort those (people),⁹ in order that the *Lajūkas* may be able to please me.¹⁰

(I) For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent¹¹ nurse, (thinking): 'The intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well', so the *Lajūkas* were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people.¹²

(J) In order that they should perform (their) duties, being fearless, confident, (and) unperturbed,¹³ for this (purpose) I have ordered that either rewards or punishments are left to the discretion of the *Lajūkas*.

¹ For *Lajūka* or *Rājūka* see above, p. 5, n. 2.

² For *āyata* cf. above, p. 95, n. 4.

³ In the *Jātaka* the word *abhihāra* has the meaning of 'a present, an offering'; see Bühler, ZDMG, 46. 539 f., and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 991 f.

⁴ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 990 f.), *ata-patiya* is an adjective formed of *ātman* + *pati* with the affix *-ya*, which seems to stand for *-ka*; see Franke, VOJ, 9. 347. Cf. *nilathiya* in the Kālsī rock-edict IX, C, and *aṭha-bhāgiya* on the Rummindēi pillar, C.

⁵ Cf. *sukhiyanā* in the pillar-edict I, l. 10, and *sukhāyanā*, VII, V.

⁶ Bühler translated *dharmma-yutena* by 'in accordance with the principles of the sacred law'. In the pillar-edict VII, N, *dharmma-yu[ta]ni* is an adjective qualifying *janani*, 'the people who are devoted to morality'. The same translation suits *dhama-yute[na]* at Maski, l. 5, and the substantives *dhrama-yutasa* and *dhrama-yutasi* in the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict V (J, K, N), which, as the variant [*dharmma*]-*yutānani* at Gīrnār (V, K) shows, are used (just as here) in a collective sense. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, sec. ed., p. 185) and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992) understand the word *dharmma-yukta* to be the collective designation of certain officials.

⁷ Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 96) compared *laghani* with Skt. *arhanti*.

⁸ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 992 ff.) has shown that *pulisāni* is the accusative of *pulisā*, which occurs in the pillar-edict I, E, and VII, M; cf. above, p. 30, n. 1.

⁹ For *kāni* see above, p. 35, n. 12.

¹⁰ For *chaghati* = Skt. *śakshyaṭi* see above, p. 97, n. 4.

¹¹ Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 99) first identified *viyata* with Skt. *vyakta*, which, according to the *Amarakōśa*, has also the meaning of *prājña*, and which is used with this meaning in Buddhist Sanskrit; see Böhlingk's *Abridged Dictionary*, s. v. चक्षुः, and Aśvaghōsha's *Saundarananda*, II, 38.

¹² I follow Senart and Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1009 f.) in making this section end here.

¹³ *sanitani* is a nominative singular absolute. See Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1010 f., and cf. above, p. 97, n. 3.

(K) For the following is to be desired, (viz.) that there should be both impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments.

(L) And my order¹ (reaches) even so far² (that) a respite of three days is granted by me to persons lying in prison on whom punishment has been passed,³ (and) who have been condemned to death.

(M) (In this way) either (their) relatives will persuade⁴ those (*Lajūkas*) to (grant) their life, or, if there is none who persuades (them),⁵ they will bestow gifts or will undergo fasts in order to (attain happiness) in the other (world).⁶

(N) For my desire is this, that, even when the time (of respite) has expired,⁷ they should attain (happiness) in the other (world).

(O) And various moral practices, self-control, (and) the distribution of gifts are (thus) promoted among the people.

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) सडुवीसतिवस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इमानि ज्ञातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथा
- 3 सुके सालिका अलुने चकवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे
- 4 जतूका अंवाकपीलिका दळी अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 5 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसयके पंनससे सिमले
- 6 संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते
- 7 सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियती (C) ि

¹ With *āvuti* = *āyukti* (Senart) cf. *-āvutike* in the Dhauli separate edict II, 1. 8 = *-āy[ut]ike* at Jaugaḍa, II, 1. 12; *viśava* at Sārnāth (l. 10), Shāhbāzgarhī, and Mānsehrā, and *viśava* at Kālsī = *vi[sā]ya* at Gīrnār, XIII, R; *supadarave* at Mānsehrā = *supadālaye* at Kālsī, Dhauri, and Jaugaḍa, V, G; *sochave* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, 1. 28 = *sochaye* in edict II, 1. 12.

² Senart (IA, 18. 9) translated *ava ite* (= Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*) by 'from this day'. I follow Bühler's rendering (EI, 2. 254), and compare *āva-gamu[k]e* in the first separate edict at Dhauri (G) and Jaugaḍa (H). Michelson (IF, 23. 236) compares *ava* with Avestan *yavaṭ*, and *āvā*, the reading of three other versions of this edict, with Ancient Persian *yāvā*.

³ With *tilita-damḍa* cf. *tiritam* (*kāryam*), Manu, IX, 233, and *atha-saṁtīraṇā* at Gīrnār, VI, 11. 9, 10.

⁴ Literally: 'will induce to meditate or consider'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1022 f.) quotes *na machchuno nijjhapaṇaṁ karonti* from the *Jātaka*. The means of 'persuasion' was evidently the payment of ransom; cf. the *Kautiliya*, p. 146, last line: पुण्यशीलाः समयानुवद्धा वा दोषनिष्क्रयं [वन्धनस्थानां] दयुः.

⁵ Three other versions read: 'if there is none to persuade (them)'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1023) has explained *nāsamitaṁ* as the nominative singular absolute of the participle present of *nathi* (Skt. *nāstī*).

⁶ As shown by Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1024 f.), the prisoners themselves are the subject of the last sentence.

⁷ Bühler (EI, 2. 254, n. 28) took *niruddhē 'pi kālē* in the sense of *nirōdha-kālē 'pi*, 'even during (their) imprisonment'. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 1026) translates: 'even in limited time', and Thomas (JRAS, 1916. 123): 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed'. In favour of my rendering I may quote Childers, s. v. *niruddho*.

8 एळका चा सूकली चा गभिनी व पायमीना व अवधिय पतके
 9 पि च कानि आसमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 10 नो भूपेतविये (F) दावे अनठाये वा विहिसाये वा नो भूपेतविये
 11 (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुमासीसु तिसायं पुनमासियं
 12 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पनडसं पटिपदाये धुवाये चा
 13 अनुपोसथं महे अवधिये नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येवा दिवसानि
 14 नागवनसि केवढभोगसि यानि अनानि पि जीवनिकायानि
 15 न हंतवियानि (J) अठमीपखाये चावुदसाये पनडसाये तिसाये
 16 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये
 17 अजके एडके सूकले ए वा पि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 18 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुमासिये चातुमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोनसा
 19 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 20 अंतलिकाये पनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

1 (A) Devānāmpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) saḍuvisati-vasa-
 2 abhisitena me imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyathā
 3 suke sālīkā alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe
 4 jatūkā ambā-kapīlikā daḷī¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
 5 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭ[a]-sayake paṃna-sase sīmale
 6 saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote
 7 save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyatī² (C) i³
 8 [e]lakā⁴ chā sūkālī chā gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhi[y . p . ta]ke⁵
 9 pi cha kāni āsamāsīke (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 10 no jhāpetaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no jhāpetaviye
 11 (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisāyaṃ puṇnamāsīyaṃ
 12 tiṃni divasāni chāvudasam paṃnaḍasam paṭipadāy[e] dhuvāye chā
 13 anuposatham machhe avadhiye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yevā⁶ divasāni
 14 nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni
 15 no haṃtavīyāni (J) aṭhamī-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṃnaḍasāye tisāye
 16 punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye
 17 ajake eḍake sūkale e vā pi amne nīlakhīyati no nīlakhitaviye
 18 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasā gonasā
 19 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvisati-vasa-abhisitena me etāye
 20 amṭalikāye paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

¹ *daḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1088. Three other versions read *duḍi*, and the Allahabad-Kōsam pillar *duḍi*.

² *khādiyati* Bühler.

³ Three other versions read *ajakā nāni*.

⁵ Restore *avadhiyā potake*.

⁴ *eḍakā* Bühler.

⁶ *yeva* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarsin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, the following animals were declared by me inviolable, viz.¹ parrots, mainas, the *aruṇa*, ruddy geese, wild geese, the *nandimukha*, the *gelāṭa*, bats, queen-ants,² terrapins,³ boneless fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *Gaṅgā-puṇṇaka*, skate-fish,⁴ tortoises⁵ and porcupines, squirrels (?),⁶ the *śrīmara*,⁷ bulls set at liberty,⁸ iguanas (?), the rhinoceros,⁹ white doves, domestic doves, (and) all the quadrupeds which are neither useful nor edible.

(C) Those [she-goats],¹⁰ ewes, and sows (which are) either with young or in milk, are inviolable, and also those (of their) young ones (which are) less than six months old.

(D) Cocks must not be caponed.

(E) Husks containing living animals must not be burnt.

(F) Forests must not be burnt either uselessly or in order to destroy (living beings).

¹ *seyathā* = Pāli *seyyathā* and Skt. *tadyathā*.

² Michelson (IF, 23. 266 f.) dissolves *ambākapiṭikā* into **ambāka* (an adjective formed of *ambā*) and **piṭikā* (for *pipilikā* by haplology). But it seems easier to divide the word into *ambā* and *kapiṭikā* = Pāli *kipillika*. The Allahabad-Kōsam pillar actually reads *ambā-kipilikā*. Skt. *pipilikā* has been changed to *kapiṭikā*, &c. through dissimilation; cf. Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 59.

³ Monmohan Chakravarti (*Memoirs*, ASB, I. 368) takes *d[ṇ]i* in the sense of 'the female tortoise'. But tortoises are mentioned separately in the sequel.

⁴ With *saṅkujā* Senart (IA, 18. 75) compares Skt. *saṅkuchi* or *sāṅkuchi*, which may be derived from *saṅkuch*, 'to contract'.

⁵ The identification of *kaphaṭa* with Skt. *kamaṭha* is due to Senart; see IA, 18. 75.

⁶ This doubtful explanation of *parṇa-śaśa* was proposed by Bühler; see EI, 2. 260.

⁷ This animal is mentioned in the *Kauṣīliya*, p. 100, l. 12.

⁸ C. M. Mulvany (IA, 37. 211) remarks that this translation of *saṇḍaka* is improbable because 'Hindūs would hardly kill a bull'; but matters may have been different in Aśoka's time. Cf. the reference in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (v. 45) to king Rantidēva who, according to the *Mahābhārata* (7. 67, 5; 12. 29, 123; 13. 66, 42 f.), sacrificed so many cows that their blood formed the river Charmaṇvatī. According to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (III, 1, 2, 21), Yājñavalkya was fond of tender beef. At the beginning of the fourth act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* it is stated that a heifer (*vatsatari*) was slaughtered by Vālmiki in honour of Vasishṭha's visit to his hermitage. According to Pāṇini, III, 4, 73, *gōghna* means 'a guest' because a cow is killed for him. Pāraskara (I, 3, 27) specifies the verse which had to be recited at the killing of the cow. Āpastamba (*Grīhyasūtra*, I, 3, 9) permits the slaughter of a cow at the reception of a guest, at the worship of the manes, and at the celebration of a marriage; cf. Manu, V, 41. For a description of the *śūlagava* or 'spit-ox' offered to Rudra, see Hillebrandt's *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 83 f. The Buddhist *Suttas* mention beef-butchers; see Neumann's translation of the *Dighanikāya*, vol. II, p. 448, n. 5. Cf. also *Memoirs*, ASB, I. 373; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. II, p. 145; Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, article 'cow' by Jacobi.

⁹ According to Trenckner's *Pāli Miscellany*, p. 58, n. 6, *palasata* (= Vedic *parasvat*) is the original of Pāli *palāsāda*, 'a rhinoceros', and the latter, which means literally 'eating leaves', is an etymologizing corruption of the former. The form *palāsāda* occurs in the *Jātaka*, V, p. 406, v. 267, and *palasata* *ibid.*, VI, p. 277, v. 1205; see Kern's *Totvoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers* (Amsterdam, 1916), II, p. 13.

¹⁰ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 13, n. 5. Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 998, n. 1) has refuted a suggestion of Franke (VOJ, 9. 343), who wanted to join *ajakānāni* into one word, and to consider it a Prakṛit form of *ajakā*. Just as the nom. plur. neut. *nāni* is connected here with the nom. sing. fem. *ajakā*, and with the nom. sing. neut. *she* in the Queen's edict, l. 4, *kāni* is combined with the nom. sing. masc. *potake* in l. 9; see Lüders, p. 997, and cf. above, p. 35, n. 12.

(G) Living animals must not be fed with (other) living animals.

(H) Fish are inviolable, and must not be sold, on the three Chāturmasīs¹ (and) on the Tishyā full-moon² during three days, (viz.) the fourteenth, the fifteenth, (and) the first (*tithi*), and invariably on every fast-day.³

(I) And during these same days also no other classes of animals which are in the elephant-park⁴ (and) in the preserves of the fishermen, must be killed.

(J) On the eighth (*tithi*) of (every) fortnight,⁵ on the fourteenth, on the fifteenth, on Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the three Chāturmasīs, (and) on festivals,⁶ bulls⁷ must not be castrated, (and) he-goats, rams, boars, and whatever other (animals) are castrated (otherwise), must not be castrated (then).

(K) On Tishyā, on Punarvasu, on the Chāturmasīs, (and) during the fortnight of (every) Chāturmasī, horses (and) bullocks must not be branded.

(L) Until (I had been) anointed twenty-six years, in this period the release of prisoners was ordered by me twenty-five (times).⁸

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा (B) दुवादस-
- 2 वसअभिसितेन मे धम्मलिपि लिखापिता लोकसा
- 3 हितसुखाये से तं अपहटा तं तं धम्मवढि पापोवा
- 4 (C) हेवं लोकसा हितमुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं
- 5 नातिसु हेवं पतियासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु

¹ i.e. certain full-moon days of each of the three seasons (summer, rains, and winter); see Bühler, EI, 2. 261 ff., and cf. the second separate edict at Dhauī (N) and Jaugada (O).

² *tisā* (i.e. *tishyā*), instead of which three other versions read *tisi* (i.e. **tishī*), is the full-moon of the month Taisha or Pausha; see EI, 2. 264.

³ With the words *dhuvāye chā anuposathan* cf. *anuposathan chā dhuvāye* on the Sarnāth pillar, l. 8.

⁴ For *nāga-vana* see the *Dhammapada*, verse 324, and the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 50.

⁵ In the compound *aṭhami-pakha* the usual order of the two members is reversed. Similar expressions were quoted by Bühler, EI, 2. 266, and by Franke in KZ, 34. 434.

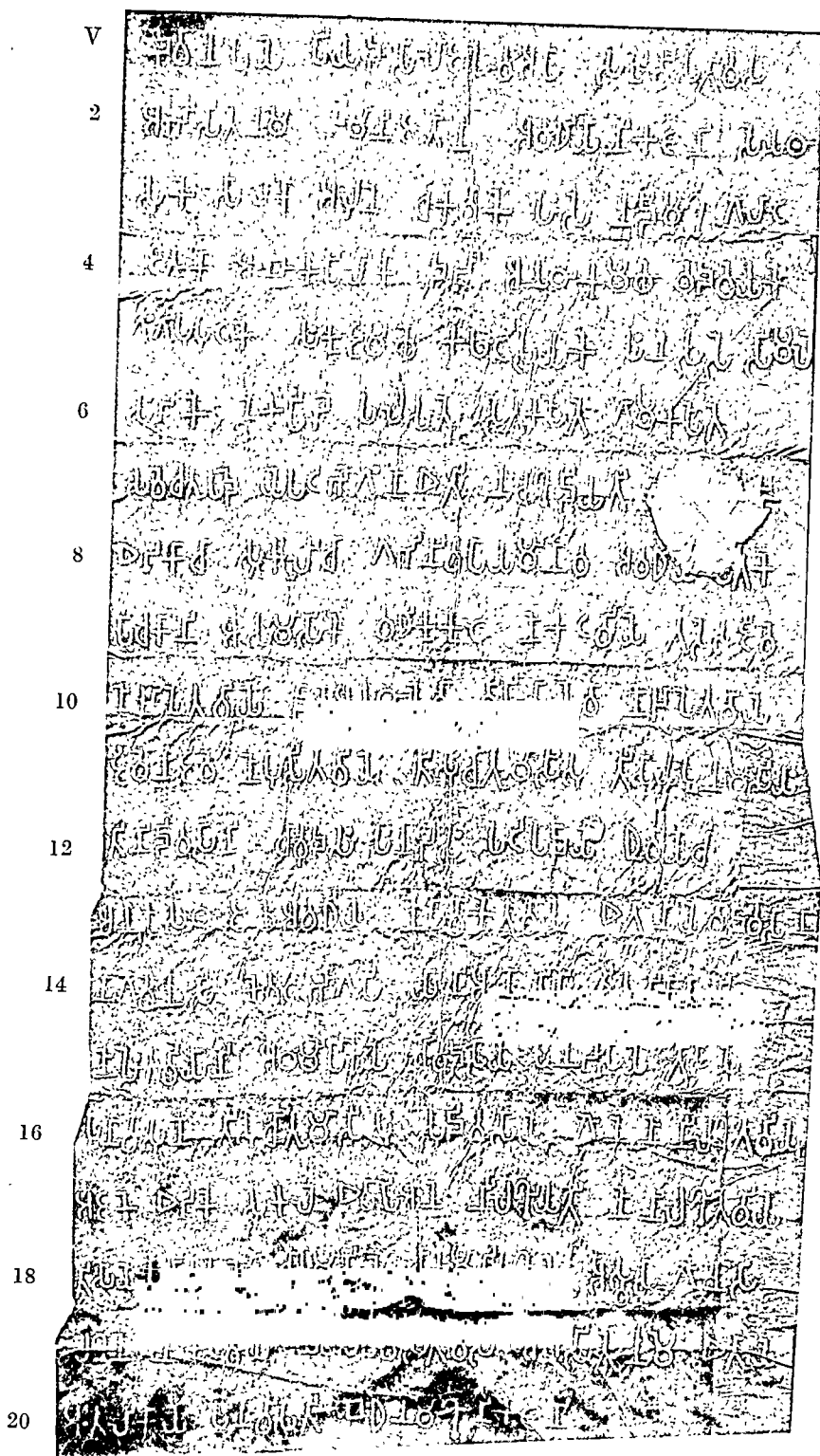
⁶ According to the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407, l. 9 f., the king's birthday and local festivals are meant; see below, n. 8.

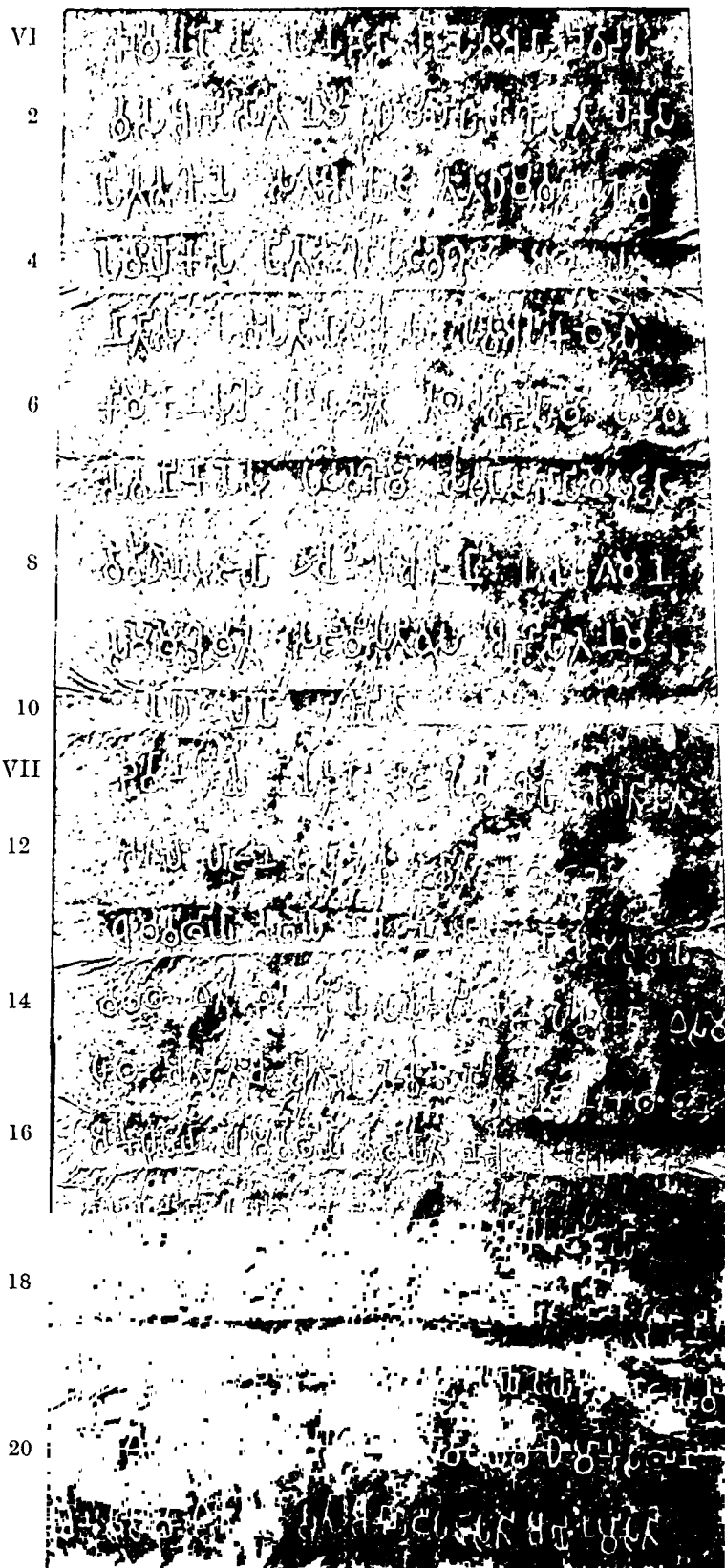
⁷ For *gona*, the Prākṛit and Pāli equivalent of Skt. *gō*, 'an ox', see Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 393.

⁸ The occasions on which it was customary to release prisoners are enumerated in the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 146 f. Cf. also Bühler, ZDMG, 48. 63 f., and Zachariae, VOJ, 27. 406. With sections C, H, J, and L of this edict cf. the *Kaṭṭhiya*, p. 407: [विजिगीषुर्नवमवाय लभं] कारयेत्तत्तर्ववधनमोक्षणं चातुर्मास्येधर्मासिकमघातं पीरमासीषु च चातुरात्रिकं राजदेशनचत्रेविकरात्रिकं योनिवालवधं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्; '[having acquired a new territory, the conqueror] shall order all prisoners to be released and the slaughter (of animals) to be avoided on the Chāturmasīyas during half a month, on full-moon days during four nights, on the king's birthday and on local festivals during one night, (and) shall prohibit the slaughter of females and (their) young ones and the castration of males (on the same occasions).'

DELHI-TOPRA PILLAR; SOUTH FACE

PA





- 6 किमं कानि सुखं अवहामी ति तथ च विदहामि (D) हेमेवा
 7 सवनिकायेसु षटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता
 8 विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए च इयं अतना पचूपगमने
 9 से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे
 10 इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता

- 1 (A) Devānāmpīye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ahā (B) duvāḍḍasa-
 2 vasa-abhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpitā lokasā
 3 hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭā taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpovā
 4 (C) hevaṃ lokasā hita-[sukhe] ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ
 5 nātisu hevaṃ patiyāsāṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 6 kimaṃ kāni sukhaṃ avahāmī ti tatha cha vidahāmi (D) hemevā
 7 sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi¹ (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita
 8 vividhāya pūjāyā (F) e chu iyaṃ at[a]nā² pachūpagamane
 9 se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena me
 10 iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, rescripts on morality were caused to be written by me for the welfare and happiness of the people, (in order that), not transgressing³ those (rescripts), they might attain a promotion of morality in various respects.

(C) (Thinking): 'thus the welfare and happiness of the people (will be secured)', I am directing my attention not only⁴ to (my) relatives, but to those who are near and far, in order that⁵ I may lead them⁶ to happiness, and I am instructing (them) accordingly.

(D) In the same manner I am directing my attention to all classes.⁷

(E) And all the sects have been honoured by me with honours of various kinds.⁸

¹ A superfluous horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower portion of *ve*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 11.

² *atunā* Bühler; but see Fleet's note, IA, 13. 310.

³ Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 92 f.) explained *apahaṭā* by *a-prahartā*, and translated it by 'leaving untouched'. Franke (VOJ, 9. 344, n. 2) suggested two slight modifications: *apahaṭā* may correspond as well to **a-prahṛitvā* (Skt. *a-prahṛitya*), and *pra-hṛi* may be taken in the sense of 'transgressing'. I adopt this translation, but believe that Kern found the correct Sanskrit equivalent. The gerund in *-tvā* would be without parallel in the earlier dialect; see Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1024, n. 1. Cf. also the nominative singular *nīhapayitā* in the pillar-edict IV, M.

⁴ With *atha iyaṃ* cf. *yathayidān*, 'just as', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*.

⁵ *kimān* (or *kinimān* as three other versions read) appears to be used in the sense of *kinnti*, and to be an enlarged form of Skt. *kim*, as Pāli *sudān* of Skt. *svīd*. See the remarks of Senart in IA, 18. 107, and those of Franke in KZ, 34. 430. Bühler (EI, 2. 269) preferred to derive it from **kimva* = *kimiva*.

⁶ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁷ Cf. the rock-edict XIII, J.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict XII, A.

(F) But this is considered by me (my) principal (duty),¹ viz.² visiting (the people) personally.³

(G) (When I had been) anointed twenty-six years, this rescript on morality was caused to be written by me.

SEVENTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-TOPRA

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (B) ये अतिकंतं
 12 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इछिसु कथं जने
 13 धंमवढिया वढेया नो चु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया
 14 वढिया (C) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (D) एस मे
 15 हुथा (E) अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछिसु लाजाने कथं जने
 16 अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
 17 धंमवढिया वढिया (F) से किनसु जने अनुपटिपजेया
 18 (G) किनसु जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति (H) किनसु कानि
 19 अभ्युनामयेहं धंमवढिया ति (I) एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
 20 आहा (J) एस मे हुथा (K) धंमसावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
 21 अनुसासामि (L) एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युनमिसति

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 धंमवढिया च वाढं वढिसति (M) एताये मे अटाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि
 धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य सिा पि बहुने जनसि
 आयता ए ते पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि (N) लजूका पि बहुकेसु
 पानसतसहसेसु आयता ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ
 23 जनं धंमयुतं (O) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (P) एतमेव मे अनुवेखमाने
 धंमथंभानि कटानि धंममहामाता कटा धंम कटे (Q) देवानंपिये
 पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (R) मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपापितानि
 छायोपगानि होसंति पसुमुनिसानं अंबावडिक्या लोपापिता (S) अढ-
 कोसिक्यानि पि मे उदुपानानि
 24 खानापापितानि निंसिढया च कालापिता (T) आपानानि मे बहुकानि तत
 तत कालापितानि पटीभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं (U) ल एस पटीभोगे

¹ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, P.

² Cf. above, p. 120, n. 7.

³ Cf. the rock-edict VIII, E, and *atana āgācha* on the Rumminderī and Nigālī Sāgar pillars. Senart (IA, 18. 107 f.) translated *atanā pachūpagamane* by 'the personal adherence (to the sects)', and Bühler (EI, 2. 268) by 'the approach through one's own free will'.

- नाम (V) विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुलिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते लोके (W) इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 25 एस कटे (X) देवानंपिये पियदसि हेवं आहा (Y) धंममहामाता पि मे ते बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चैव गिहिथानं च सव डेसु पि च वियापटासे (Z) संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 26 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति निगंठेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नानापासंडेसु पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु ते माता (AA) धंममहामाता चु मे एतेसु चैव वियापटा सवेसु च अंनेसु पासंडेसु (BB) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा
- 27 (CC) एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दानविसगसि वियापटासे मम चैव देविनं च सवसि च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आकालेन तानि तानि तुठायतनानि पटी हिद चैव दिसासु च (DD) दालकानं पि च मे कटे अंनानं च देविकुमालानं इमे दानविसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति
- 28 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपटिपतिये (EE) एस हि धंमापदाने धंमपटीपति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साधवे च लोकस हेवं वढिसति ति (FF) देवानंपिये प स लाजा हेवं आहा (GG) यानि हि कानिचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपंने तं च अनुविधियंति (HH) तेन वढिता च
- 29 वढिसंति च मातापितिसु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयोमहालकानं अनुपटी-पतिया बाभनसमनेसु कपनवलकेसु आव दासभटकेसु संपटीपतिया (II) देवानंपिय यदसि लाजा हेवं आहा (JJ) मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंमनियमेन च निरुत्तिया च
- 30 (KK) तत चु लहु से धंमनियमे निरुत्तिया व भुये (LL) धंमनियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि (MM) अंनानि पि चु बहुक धंमनियमानि यानि मे कटानि (NN) निरुत्तिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता अविहिंसाये भुतानं
- 31 अनालंभाये पानानं (OO) से एताये अथाये इयं कटे पुतापपोतिके चंदमसुलियिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति (PP) हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हिदतपालते आलधे होति (QQ) सतविसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिबि लिखापापिता ति (RR) एतं देवानंपिये आहा (SS) इयं
- 32 धंमलिबि अत अथि सिलाथंभानि वा सिलाफलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिलठितिके सिया

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 11 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) ye atikaṃtaṃ
 12 aṃtalaṃ lājāne husu hevaṃ ichhisu kathaṃ jane.
 13 dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā no chu jane anulupāyā dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā
 14 vaḍhithā (C) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (D) esa me
 15 huthā (E) atikaṃtaṃ cha aṃtaṃl[a]ṃ¹ hevaṃ ichhisu lājāne kathaṃ jane
 16 anulupāyā dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti no cha jane anulupāyā
 17 dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā vaḍhithā (F) se kinasu jane anu[pa]ṭipajeyā²
 18 (G) kinasu jane anulupāyā dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā vaḍheyā ti (H) k[i]nasu kāni
 19 abhyuṃnāmayehaṃ dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā ti (I) etaṃ Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ
 20 āhā (J) esa me huthā (K) dhaṃma-sāvanāni sāvāpayāmi dhaṃmānusathini
 21 anus[ā]sāmi (L) etaṃ jane sutu anupaṭipajisati abhyuṃnamisati

B.—Round the Pillar.

- 22 dhaṃma-vaḍhiyā cha bāḍhaṃ vaḍhisat[i] (M) etāye me aṭhāye dhaṃma-sāvanāni
 sāvāpitāni dhaṃmānusathini vividhāni ānapitāni [ya] [is]ā³ pi bahune
 janasi āyatā e te⁴ paliyovadisanti pi pavithalisanti pi (N) lajūkā pi bahukesu
 pāna-sata-sahasu āyatā te pi me ānapitā hevaṃ cha hevaṃ cha paliyovadātha
 23 janam dhaṃma-yu[ta]ṃ (O) [Dev]ānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (P) etameva me
 anuvekhamāne dhaṃma-thaṃbhāni kaṭāni dhaṃma-mahāmātā kaṭā dhaṃ[ma]
 . ā . . . e⁵ kaṭe (Q) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (R) magesu pi
 me nigohāni lopāpitāni chhāyopagāni hosanti pasu-munisānaṃ aṃbā-vaḍḍikya
 lopāpitā (S) adha-[kos]ikyāni pi me udupānāni
 24 khānāpāpitāni nimsi[dha]yā⁶ cha kālāpitā (T) āpānāni me ba[h]ukāni tata tata
 k[ā]lāpitāni paṭibhogāye p[a]su-munisānaṃ (U) [la]⁷ esa paṭibhoge nāma
 (V) vividhāyā hi sukhāyanāyā pulimehi pi lājīhi mamayā cha sukhayite loka
 (W) imaṃ chu dhaṃmānupaṭipatī anupaṭipajanti tu etadathā me
 25 esa kaṭe (X) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi hevaṃ āhā (Y) dhaṃma-mahāmātā pi me
 te bahuvidhesu aṭhesu ānugahikesu viyāpaṭāse pavajitānaṃ cheva gihithānaṃ
 cha sava [d]esu⁸ pi cha viyāpaṭāse (Z) saṃghaṭhasi pi me kaṭe ime
 viyāpaṭā hohanti ti hemeva bābhanesu ā[j]ivikesu pi me kaṭe
 26 ime viyāpaṭā hohanti ti nigamṭhesu pi me kaṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohanti nānā-
 pāsāṃdesu pi⁹ me [ka]ṭe ime viyāpaṭā hohanti ti paṭivisiṭhaṃ paṭivisiṭhaṃ
 tesu tesu [te] mātā¹⁰ (AA) dhaṃma-mahāmātā chu me etesu cheva
 viyā[pa]ṭā savesu cha aṃnesu pāsāṃdesu (BB) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lājā
 hevaṃ āhā

¹ Read *aṃtalaṃ*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler.

² The *pa* of *°pajeyā* is inserted above the line.

³ Restore *yathā pulisā*.

⁴ *ete* (in one word) Senart and Bühler.

⁵ Restore *dhaṃma-sāvana*.

⁶ *nimsiḍhiyā* Bühler.

⁷ Restore *lahuke chu*.

⁸ Restore *sava-pāsāṃdesu*.

⁹ *pi* looks almost like *ghi*.

¹⁰ Restore *te te mahāmātā*. When Fleet's plate (IA, 13. 310) was prepared, the missing letters were still visible.

- 27 (CC) etc cha añne cha bahukā mukhā dāna-visagasi viyāpaṭṭase mama cheva devinañ cha savasi cha me olodhanasi te bahuvidhena ā[kā]lena tāni tāni tuṭṭhāyatan[ā]ni paṭi¹ hida cheva disāsu cha (DD) dālakānañ pi cha me kaṭe añnānañ cha devi-kumālānañ ime dāna-visagesu viyāpaṭṭa hohanti ti
- 28 dhammāpadānaṭṭhāye dhammānupaṭṭipatiye (EE) esa hi dhammāpadāne dhammāpaṭṭipati cha yā iyañ dayā dāne sacche sochave madave sādha[v]e cha lokasa hevañ vaḍḍhisati ti (FF) Dvānāmpīyo [P s .² 1]āḥā hevañ āhā (GG) yāni hi [k]āñichi mamiyā sādhaṇāni kaṭāni tañ loke anūp[a]ṭṭipatiñne tañ cha anuvuddhiyañti (HH) tena vaḍḍhitā cha
- 29 vaḍḍhisanti cha mātā-pit[i]su sususāyā gulusu sususāyā vayo-mahālakānañ anupaṭṭipatiyā bābhana-samanesu kapana-valākesu āva dāsa-bhaṭṭakesu sampaṭṭipatiyā (II) Dvānāmpī[ly . . . ya]dañ³ lāḥā hevañ āhā (JJ) munisānañ chu yā iyañ dhamma-vaḍḍhi vaḍḍhitā duvehi yeva ākālehi dhamma-niyamena cha nijhatiyā [cha]
- 30 (KK) tata chu lahu se dhamma-niyame nijhatiyā va bhuye (LL) dhamma-niyame chu kho esa ye me iyañ kaṭe imāni cha imāni jātāni avadhiyāni (MM) añnāni pi chu bahu[k] . . .⁴ dhamma-niyamāni yāni me kaṭāni (NN) nijhatiyā va chu bhuye munisānañ dhamma-vaḍḍhi vaḍḍhitā avihiṃsāye bhutānañ
- 31 anālambhāye pānānañ (OO) se etāye a[th]āye⁵ iyañ kaṭe putā-papotike chañdama-suliyike hotu ti tathā cha anupaṭṭipajantū ti (PP) hevañ hi anupaṭṭipajantañ hi[da]ṭṭa-[pā]ḥāte āladhe hoti (QQ) satavisati-vasābhāṭṭa[ḥ]iṭṭa me iyañ dhamma-libi likhāpāpitā ti (RR) etañ Dvānāmpīyo⁶ āhā (SS) iyañ
- 32 dhamma-libi ata athi silā-thambhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa chila-ḥḥitike siyā

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) The kings who were in times past, had this desire, that⁷ men might (be made to) progress by the promotion of morality; but men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

(C) Concerning this,⁸ king Dvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(D) The following occurred to me.

(E) On one hand, in times past kings had this desire, that men might (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality; (but) on the other hand, men were not made to progress by an adequate promotion of morality.

¹ Bühler (EI, 2. 274, note k) restored *paṭiṭṭhāyanti*, which he translated by 'they point out'. I suspect that the actual reading of the pillar was *paṭiṭṭhāyanti*; cf. *paṭiṭṭhāyanti* in the Jaugada rock-edict VI, D.

² Restore *Piyadasi*.

³ Restore *°piye Piyadasi*.

⁴ Restore *bahukāni*.

⁵ *aṭṭhāye* Bühler.

⁶ The late Dr. Fleet drew my attention to the fact that a peculiar mark is attached to the top of the *de* of *Dvānāmpīye*, and that there is a corresponding mark above the word *a[th]āye* in section OO. This double *kākaṭāda* or caret (cf. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, IV, 117) suggests that the writer wanted us to place sections RR and SS before section OO.

⁷ Franke (GN, 1895. 537) attributes to *kathaṃ* the meaning of 'that'. Bühler translated it by 'in some way'.

⁸ Cf. the Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XI, D.

(F) How¹ then might men (be made to) conform to (morality)?

(G) How might men (be made to) progress by an adequate promotion of morality?

(H) How could I elevate² them³ by the promotion of morality?

(I) Concerning this, king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(J) The following occurred to me.

(K) I shall issue proclamations on morality,⁴ (and) shall order instruction in morality (to be given).

✓(L) Hearing this, men will conform to (it), will be elevated, and will (be made to) progress considerably by the promotion of morality.

(M) For this purpose proclamations on morality were issued by me, (and) manifold instruction in morality was ordered (to be given), [in order that those agents] (of mine)⁵ too, who are occupied⁶ with many⁷ people, will exhort (them) and will explain (morality to them) in detail.

(N) The *Lajūkas*⁸ also, who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men, —these too were ordered by me: 'In such and such a manner⁹ exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality'.

(O) Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(P) Having in view this very (matter),¹⁰ I have set up pillars of morality,¹¹ appointed *Mahāmātras* of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality.

(Q) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(R) On the roads banyan-trees were caused to be planted by me, (in order that) they might afford shade to cattle and men,¹² (and) mango-groves¹³ were caused to be planted.

¹ Senart (IA, 18. 302) explains *kinasu* = Pāli *kenassu* and Skt. *kēna-svit*; cf. Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *assu*. For *su* = *svit* see above, p. 99, n. 14.

² With the optative °*nāmayehaṃ* cf. [pa]ṭi[pāday]ehaṃ and ālabhehaṃ in the Dhauḷi separate edict I, B, and *yehaṃ* in four versions of the rock-edict VI, L.

³ See above, p. 35, n. 12.

⁴ Bühler translated: 'Sermons on the sacred law I will order to be preached'. With the meaning which I assign to *sāvāpayāmi*, cf. *iyaṃ sāvāṇe sāvāpīte* at Brahmagiri (l. 5), for which the Śiddhāpura edict (l. 11) reads [iya]ṃ sāvāṇe sāvīte, and the Rūpnāth edict (l. 3) *sāvāṇe kaṭe*. These three records and the Sahasrām, Bairāt, Maski, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara rock-inscriptions are actual specimens of the *dhaṃma-sāvanāni* to which Aśoka is alluding here.

⁵ See above, p. 120, n. 2.

⁶ See above, p. 95, n. 4.

⁷ With the locative *bahune* Bühler (EI, 2. 270, n. 68) compared *punāvasune* in the pillar-edict V, ll. 16 and 18, which, however, might be a dative.

⁸ See above, p. 124, n. 1.

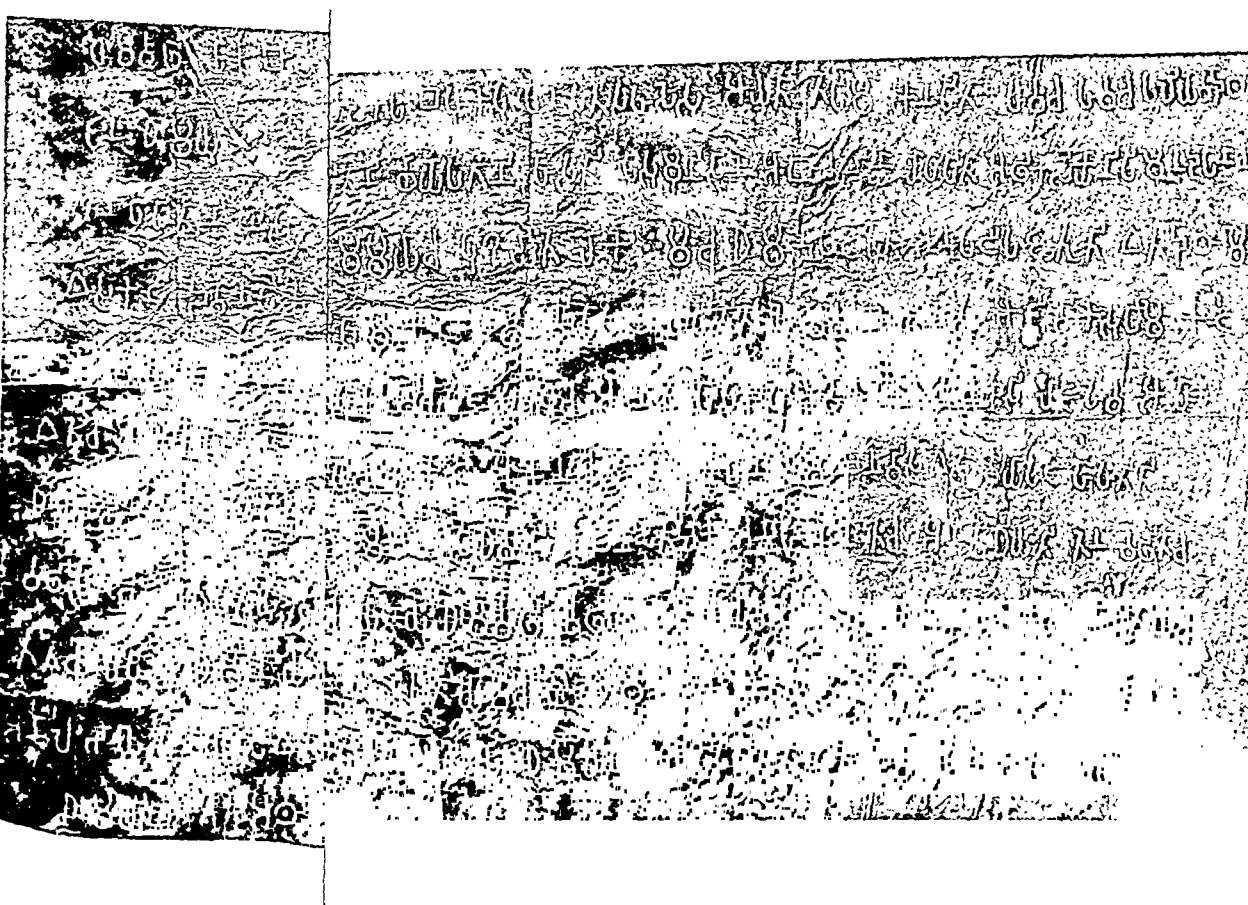
⁹ Cf. the Dhauḷi separate edict I, l. 12.

¹⁰ *anuvekhamāne* is a nominative singular absolute. See above, p. 96, n. 11, and Lüders, SPAW, 1913. 1013.

¹¹ As noted by Bühler (ZDMG, 46. 90), this is a reference to the pillars bearing the six first edicts.

¹² Cf. the rock-edict II, D.

¹³ In *ambā-vaḍikā* and *aḍha-[kos]ikā* (below, section S) the *k* of the two affixes *-kā* and *-ikā* is palatalized through the influence of the preceding vowel *i*, as frequently at Kālsī; see there *nātikā*, *pālāntikā*, &c. The form *ambā-vaḍikā* occurs in the Queen's pillar-edict, l. 3. The first member of this compound, *ambā* (for the Sanskrit masculine *āmra*), seems to be used as feminine; cf. *ābikā-bhati* (= **āmrikā-bhṛiti*) at Junnar (ASWI, 4. 97, No. 26). The second member, *vaḍikā*, is the regular Prākṛit equivalent of Skt. **vṛitikā* (= *vṛiti*, 'a hedge'), while its usual Sanskrit synonym, *vāṭikā*, presupposes the form **vartikā*; cf. Wackernagel's *Altind. Grammatik*, I, p. 168.



(Z) Some (*Mahāmātras*) were ordered by me to busy themselves¹ with the affairs of the *Samgha*; ² likewise others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Brāhmaṇas (and) Ājīvikas; ³ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas; ⁴ others were ordered by me to busy themselves also with various (other) sects; (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations).⁵

(AA) But my *Mahāmātras* of morality are occupied with these (congregations) as well as with all other sects.

(BB) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(CC) Both these and many other chief (officers)⁶ are occupied with the delivery of the gifts of myself as well as of the queens, and among my whole harem [they are reporting] in divers ways different worthy recipients of charity⁷ both here⁸ and in the provinces.

(DD) And others⁹ were ordered by me to busy themselves also with the delivery of the gifts of (my) sons and of other queens' sons,¹⁰ in order (to promote) noble deeds of morality (and) the practice of morality.

(EE) For noble deeds of morality and the practice of morality (consist in) this, that (morality), viz.¹¹ compassion, liberality, truthfulness, purity, gentleness, and goodness, will thus be promoted among men.

(FF) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(GG) Whatsoever good deeds have been performed by me, those the people have imitated, and to those they are conforming.

(HH) Thereby they have been made to progress and will (be made to) progress in obedience to mother and father, in obedience to elders, in courtesy to the aged, in courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, to the poor and distressed, (and) even to slaves and servants.

¹ Literally: 'it has been made by me that these will be occupied'. In the subsequent sentences I have translated *ime* by 'others'.

² i. e. the Buddhist clergy.

³ For the Ājīvika sect see my last note on the first Barābar Hill cave-inscription.

⁴ i. e. the Jaina monks.

⁵ As remarked by Senart (IA, 18. 305), the officers mentioned in this section are distinct from the *Dharma-mahāmātras* of sections Y and AA.

⁶ As at Shālbāzgarhī (XIII, 8) and Mānsehrā (XIII, 9), *mukha* corresponds to Skt. *mukhya*. Michelson (IF, 23. 263 f.) prefers to identify it with Skt. *mukha*, because in *mukhya* (= Skt. *maukhya*, Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VI, l. 9) the group *khy* is not assimilated. But Skt. *mukha* is always neuter, and the masculine *mukha* seems to be a fiction of the Kōśas. Thomas renders *balukā mukhā* by 'many departments'; see JRAS, 1915. 99.

⁷ Kern and Bühler (EI, 2. 274) explained *tuthāyatan[ā]ni* by *tushty-āyatanāni*, 'sources of contentment', i. e. 'opportunities for charity'. I adopt this suggestion, but prefer to take *āyatana* as a synonym of *pātra* or *tīrtha*, and follow Lüders (SPAW, 1914. 853) in considering the first member of the compound to be *tushtā* in the sense of *tushtī*.

⁸ viz. in Pāṭaliputra. Cf. above, p. 33, n. 10.

⁹ Literally: 'these'. Cf. above, n. 1.

¹⁰ Cf. the Kālsī edict V, M, where Aśoka mentions the harems of his brothers, sisters, and other relatives.

¹¹ See above, p. 120, n. 7. Before *yā iyaṁ* we may have to supply *dhamme*, which includes the virtues that are enumerated after it; cf. the pillar-edict II, C. I differ here slightly from Lüders, SPAW, 1914. 854.

हुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनु-
 हे कटे आ पानदाखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे वहूनि कयानानि
 तटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता
 प्रनुपटिपजंतू चिलंधितिका च होतू ति (H) ये च
 तति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piyo Piyadasi lāja¹ [hevaṃ ā] . . (B) dh[am]me s[ā]dh[u] k[iya]m̐
 [m]e ti
 C) a[pā]śinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) [chakhu-dā]nā² [pi me]
 bahuvīdhe diṃne (E) du[pa]da-ch[a]tu[pa]desu pakhi-vālichale[su viv]i[dhe me anu]-
 jāhe kaṭe ā pāna-dākhināye (F) a[m̐]nāni pi cha me bah[ūni kayānāni]
 taṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi lī[khāpitā]
 nupaṭipajantū chil[am-th]itika cha hot[ū] ti (H) ye [cha]
 sa]ti se sukaṭam ka[chha]ti ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा (B) कयानंमेव दे
 कयाने कटे ती (C) नो मिना पापं देखति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व
 आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
 F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे
 नाने इस्या कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) वाढं
 लिखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयं मे पालतिकाये

A) Devānam̐piyo Piyadasi lāja³ hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānam̐[eva de]
 kayāne kaṭe ti⁴ (C) no min[ā] pāpaṃ dekhati iyaṃ me pāp[e⁵ kaṭe ti iyaṃ va]
 sinave nāmā ti (D) [du]paṭivekhe chu kho esā (E) hevaṃ chur kho [esa⁶ de]khiye
 F) imāni āsinav[a-gāmīni] nāma atha chaṇḍ[i]ye nī[ṭhū]lī[y]e k[o]dhe
 nāne isyā kālanena [va] hakaṃ mā palibha[sa]yi[sa]m̐ (G) bā[ḍham]
 lekhiye (H) iyaṃ me [hi]dat[i]kāye iyaṃ me pālatikāye

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

.
 क चघंति आलाधयितवे
 तु अस्वये होति
 वय लिहटवे हेवं ममा
 लज्जूक ये (J) येन एते अभीता

¹ lāja Bühler.
³ lāja Bühler.
⁵ . . sā Bühler.

² -[dā]nam̐ Bühler.
⁴ ti Bühler.
⁶ pāpaṃ Bühler.

I

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II

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III

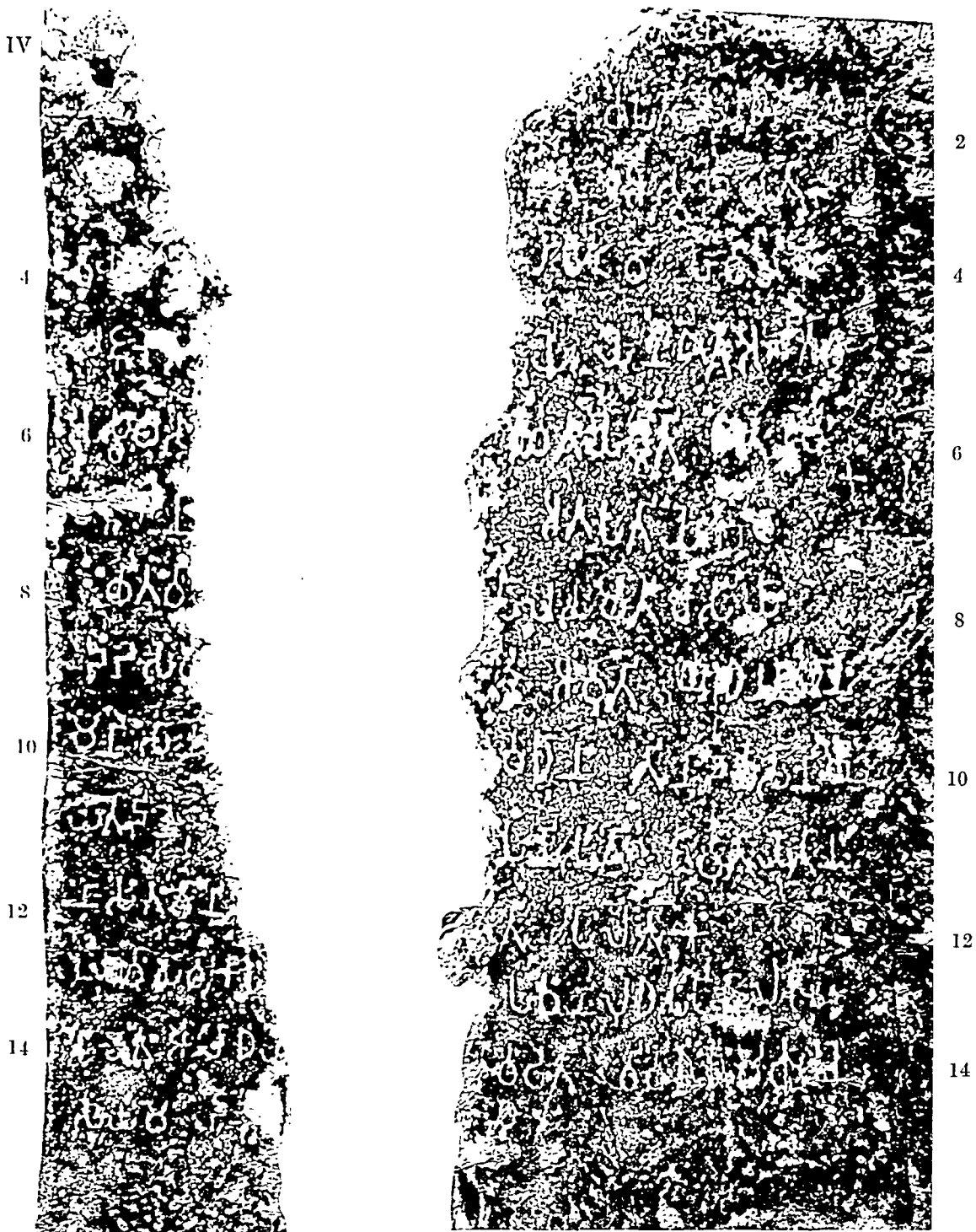
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DELHI-MIRATH PILLAR ; WEST FACE



SCALE ONE-FOURTH

- 9 (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये
 10 पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने
 11 नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए वा पि
 12 अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने
 13 चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वसा गोन्सा लखने
 14 नो विये (L) यावसुदुवीसतिवसअभिसितेन मे एताये
 15 अंतलिकाये पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 [potake¹ pi cha] k[ā]n[i]
 2 ke (D) [vadh]i-kukūṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse saji[ve]
 3 ta[v]iye (F) dāve [a]naṭhāye vā vihisāye vā no
 4 [jhāpe]ta[vi]ye (G) ji[v]ena j[iv]e no pusi[ta]viye (H) tīsu chātammāsīsu²
 5 [t]isāya[m] pu[m]na[m]mā[si]ya[m] ti[m]ni divasāni chāvudasa[m] paṇṇaḍasa[m]
 6 p[a]ṭipadā dh[r]uvāye³ cha anuposātha[m] machhe avadhiye no pi
 7 viketav[i]ye (I) etān[i] yeva divasāni n[ā]ga-van[a]si kevaṭa-bhogasi
 8 y[ā]ni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyān[i] no [ha]mtaviyāni⁴
 9 (J) aṭham[i]-pakhā[ye] ⁵ [chā]vudasāye paṇ[na]ḍasāye tisāye
 10 punāvasune tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone
 11 no nīlakhitavi[y]e ajake eḷake⁶ sūkale e vā pi
 12 am[n]e nī[la]khi[ya]ti [no] nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasun[e]
 13 chātummāsiye chātu[m]māsi-pakhāye asvasā gonasā lakhane
 14 no [v]iye (L) yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena me etāye
 15 a[m]talikāye paṇnavīsati baṇdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: DELHI-MIRATH

-
 1 उपगमने से मे मोख्यमते (G) सडु
 2 णिसितेन मे इयं धम्मलिपि लि
 1 ūpagamane se me mokhya-mate (G) saḍu
 2 isitena me iya[m] dhamma-li[pi] li

¹ On Fleet's plate (IA, 19. 124), portions of the preceding word *avadhiyā* are also visible.

² Read *chātum*°.

³ *dhuvāye* Bühler. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 1.

⁴ °*yāni* Bühler.

⁵ *aṭham*[i]- Bühler.

⁶ *eḷake* Bühler; but see Lüders, JRAS, 1911. 1088.

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VI
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III. THE LAURIYA ARARAJ-PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि
- 2 लिखापित (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय
- 3 अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख
- 4 धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति
- 5 संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन
- 6 धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-li[p]i
- 2 likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāy[a]
- 3 agāya susūsāya aḡena bhayena aḡena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya dhammāpekha¹
- 4 dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita² vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti
- 5 saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṇṇa-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhī yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana
- 6 dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukh[i]yana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे
- 2 सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे

¹ dhammāpekha Bühler.² vaḍhita Bühler.

- 3 आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि (G) एताये मे
अठाये इयं धमलिपि लिखापित हेवं
4 अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं
कछति ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache
2 socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-
vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe
3 ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) a[m]nāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni (G) etāye me
aṭhāye iyaṃ dhama-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ
4 anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampaṭipajisati se
sukataṃ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
(F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये
3 निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं
देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti
2 iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa
dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye
3 niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṃ mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṃ
dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hitikāye iyaṃmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक
अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
3 हितमुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च
4 पालतं च आलाधयेवु (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि
पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं

- 4 पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिडे पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे
 5 ये पटिपोगं नो एति नो च खादियति (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च
 गभिनी व पायमीना व
 6 अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे
 नो ज्ञापयितविये (F) दावे
 7 अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H)
 तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं
 8 पुंनमासियं तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनठसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
 महे अवध्ये नो पि
 9 विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि
 पि जीवन्निक्कायानि
 10 नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु
 चातुंमासीसु
 11 सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एठके सूकले ए वा पि अने
 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये
 12 (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस लखने
 नो कटविये
 13 (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे एताये अंतलिक्काये पंनवीसति बंधन-
 मोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me
 imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni
 2 kaṭāni seyatha suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdimukhe gelāṭe jatūka
 3 ambā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe
 kaphaṭa-seyake
 4 paṇṇa-sase sīmale saṃḍake okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save
 chatupade
 5 ye paṭipogaṃ² no eti no cha khādiy[a]ti (C) ajakā nāni eḍakā cha sūkālī cha
 gabhinī va pāyamīnā va
 6 avadhyā potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve
 no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve
 7 anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tisu
 chātummasīsū tisyāṃ
 8 puṇṇamāsīyaṃ tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṇṇaḥasaṃ³ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha
 anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye no pi
 9 vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṇṇāni pi
 jīva-nik[ā]yāni

¹ *duḍi* Bühler ; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

² Read *paṭibhogam*.

³ *paṇṇaḥasaṃ* Bühler.

V

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12

VI

2

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- 10 no haṁtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye paṁnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune
tisu chātummasīsu
- 11 sudivasāye gone no nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake¹ sūkale e vā pi aṁne nilakhiyati no
nilakhitaviye
- 12 (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummasīye chātummasī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa lakhane
no kaṭaviye
- 13 (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa me etāye aṁtalikāye paṁnavīsati baṁdhana-
mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-ARARAJ

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदस्ति लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि
लिखापित लोकस
- 2 हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति
पटिवेखामि
- 3 अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेव अपकठेसु किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति
तथा च विदहामि
- 4 (D) हेमेव सवनिक्कायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) संवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय
पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
- 5 से मे मुख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित
- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) duvā[ḍa]sa-vasābhisitena me
dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita lokasa
- 2 hita-sukhāye se taṁ apahaṭa taṁ taṁ dhaṁma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṁ lokasa
hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi
- 3 athā iyaṁ nātisu hevaṁ patyāsaṁnesu hevaṁ apakaṭhesu kiṁmaṁ kāni sukhaṁ
āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi
- 4 (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsaṁḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya
pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṁ atana pachūpagamane
- 5 se me mukhya-mute² (G) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhāpita

IV. THE LAURIYA-NANDANGARH PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

A.—East Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिततपालते दुसंपटिपादये अनंत अगाय धंमकामताय
- 2 अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु
खो मम

¹ eḷake Bühler.² See above, p. 35, n. 10.

- 4 अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा
पि मे
- 5 उकसा च गेवया च मग्गिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं
समादपयितवे
- 6 (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन
विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन
- 7 धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me
iyaṃ
- 2 dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṃpaṭipādaye aṃnata agāya dhamma-
kāmatāya
- 3 agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu
kho mama
- 4 anusathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva
(E) pulisā pi me
- 5 ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ
chapalaṃ samādapayitave
- 6 (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena
vidhāne dhammena sukhīyana
- 7 dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु किय चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने
- 2 दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखि-
वालिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे
बहूनि कयानानि
- 4 कटानि (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु
चिलंथितीका च होतू ति
- 5 (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiya¹ chu dhamme
ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne
- 2 daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me bahuvidhe diṃne (E) dupada-
chatupadesu pakhi-
- 3 vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) aṃnāni pi cha me bahūni
kayānāni

- 4 kaṭāni (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṃ anupaṭipajamtu
chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti
- 5 (H) ye cha hevaṃ sampāṭipajisati se sukataṃ kachhati

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे
ति (C) नो मिन पापं
- 2 देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस
(E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये
- 3 (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्य
कालनेन व हकं
- 4 मा पलिभसयिसं ति (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हितिकाये इयंमन मे
पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) kayānaṃmeva dekhamti iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṃ
- 2 dekhamti iyaṃ me pāpe kaṭe ti iyaṃ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho
esa (E) hevaṃ chu kho esa dekhiye
- 3 (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni¹ nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye kodhe māne isya
kālanena va hakaṃ
- 4 mā palibhasayisaṃ ti (G) esa bāḍhaṃ dekhiye (H) iyaṃ me hidatikāye iyaṃmana
me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे
- 2 बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये
मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ
- 3 अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस हितसुखं उपदहेवू अनुगहिनेवु च
(E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं
- 4 जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हितं च पालतं च
आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति
- 5 पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि
च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक चघंति आलाधयितवे

¹ āsinave Bühler.

- 6 (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं मुखं पलिहटवे ति
- 7 हेवं मम लजूक कट जानपदस हितमुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति
- 8 एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च
- 9 (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि
- 10 निरूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं व निरूपयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कछंति (N) इछा हि मे हेवं
- 11 निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस च वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति

- 1 (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me
- 2 bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu janasi āyata (D) tesam ye abhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka asvatha
- 3 abhīta kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa hita-sukhaṃ upadahevū anugahinevu cha (E) sukhīyana-dukkhīyanaṃ
- 4 jānisaṃti dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisaṃti janaṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha pālataṃ cha ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti
- 5 paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulis[ā]ni pi me chhamdaṃnāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisaṃti yena maṃ lajūka chaghaṃti ālādhayitave
- 6 (I) athā hi paḍaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti viyata dhāti chaghati me paḍaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti
- 7 hevaṃ mama lajūka kaṭa jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṃtaṃ avimana kaṃmāni pavatayevū ti
- 8 etena me lajūkānaṃ [a]bhihāle va daṇḍe va ata-patiye kaṭe (K) ichhitaviye hi esa kiṃti viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṇḍa-samatā cha
- 9 (L) āvā ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhaṇa-badhānaṃ munisaṇaṃ tīlita-daṇḍānaṃ pata-vadhānaṃ timni divasāni me [yo]te diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni
- 10 nijhapayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayi[tav]e dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālataṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ
- 11 niludhasi pi [kālas]i pālataṃ ālādhayevū t[i] (O) janasa cha vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

[illegible]

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT : LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

B.—West Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितस मे
इमानि पि
- 2 जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथा सुके सालिक अलुने चकवाके हंसे
3 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि अनठिकमछे वेदवेयके
4 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंनससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे
5 पलसते सेतकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति
6 (C) अजका नानि एडका च सूकली च गभिनी व पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके
च कानि
- 7 आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये (E) तुसे सजीवे नो ऋपयितविये (F)
दावे अनठाये व
- 8 विहिसाये व नो ऋपयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये (H) तीसु
चातुंमासीसु तिसियं
- 9 पुंनमासियं तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनळसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं
मछे अवध्ये
- 10 नो पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि
अंनानि पि
- 11 जीवनिकायानि नो हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये पंनळसाये
तिसाये पुनावसुने
- 12 तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो नीलखितविये अजके एळके सूकले ए
वा पि अंने
- 13 नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये चातुंमासि-
पखाये अस्वस गोमस
- 14 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिंकाये
पंनवीसति
- 15 बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitasa me
imāni pi
- 2 jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyath[ā] suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse
3 naṃdīmukhe gelāte jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi¹ anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
4 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okapimḍe

¹ *duḍi* Bühler; but see his *Ind. Pal.*, § 16, C, 41, and Lüders in JRAS, 1911. 1087.

- 5 palasate seta-kapote gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati
 6 (C) ajakā nāni edakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va pāyamīnā va avadhya potake cha kāni
 7 āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukute no kaṭaviye (E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye (F) dāve anaṭhāye va
 8 vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye (H) tīsu chātummāsīsu tisiyaṃ
 9 puṃnamāsiyaṃ tiṃni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ¹ paṭipadaṃ dhuvāye cha anuposathaṃ machhe avadhye
 10 no pi vīketaviye (I) etāni yeva divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni aṃnāni pi
 11 jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni (J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḷasaṃ² tisāye punāvasune
 12 tīsu chātummāsīsu sudivasāye gone no nīlakhitaviye ajake eḷake³ sūkale e vā pi aṃne
 13 nīlakhiyati no nīlakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātummāsīye chātummāsī-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
 14 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye aṃtalikāye paṃnavīsati
 15 baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT : LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवाळसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित
 2 लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस
 3 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथा इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकटेसु
 4 किंमं कानि सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि

- 5 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं अतन पचूपगमने
 6 से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvā[la]s[a-va]sābhisitena⁴ me dhamma-lipi likhāpita
 2 lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lokasa
 3 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi athā iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ paṭyāsaṃnesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu
 4 kiṃmaṃ kāni sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-nikāyesu paṭivekhāmi
 5 (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ atana pachūpa-gaṃane
 6 se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

¹ paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.² paṃnaḷasaṃ Bühler.³ edake Bühler.⁴ duvāḍasa- Bühler.

V. THE RAMPURVA PILLAR

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

A.—North Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेव आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) हिदत्तपालते
- 2 दुसंपटिपादये अन्नत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पल्लीखाय अगाय सुसूसाय अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन
- 3 (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिय धंमापेख धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढित वढिसति चेव (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च
- 4 गेवया च मज्झिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि
- 5 या इयं धंमेन पालन धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयन धंमेन गोती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye P[i]yadasi lāja heva¹ āha (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate
- 2 dusaṃpaṭipādaye annata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya agena bhayena agena usāhena
- 3 (D) esa chu kho mama anuṣathiya dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍhita vaḍhisati cheva (E) pulisā pi me ukasā cha
- 4 gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhīyaṃti saṃpaṭipādayaṃti cha alaṃ chapalaṃ samādapayitave (F) hemeva aṃta-mahāmātā pi (G) eṣā hi vidhi
- 5 yā iyaṃ dhammena pālana dhammena vidhāne dha[m]m[e]na sukhīyana dhammena gotī ti

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C) अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दय दाने सचे सोचेये ति (D) चखुदाने पि मे
 - 2 बहुविधे दिंने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
 - 3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिलंथितीका च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कळती ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) dhamme sādhu kiyāṃ chu dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne daya dāne sache socheye ti (D) chakhu-dāne pi me

- 2 bahuvidhe diṁne (E) dupada-chatupadesu pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe kaṭe ā pāna-dakhināye (F) aṁnāni pi cha me bahūni kayānāni kaṭāni
 3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita hevaṁ anupaṭipajamtu chilam-thitikā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṁ sampāṭipajisati se sukaṭaṁ kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) कयानंमेव देखंति इयं मे कयाने कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापं देखंति इयं मे पापे कटे ति
 2 इयं व आसिनवे नामा ति (D) दुपटिवेखे चु खो एस (E) हेवं चु खो एस देखिये (F) इमानि आसिनवगामीनि नामा ति अथ चंडिये निठूलिये
 3 कोधे माने इस्य कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं (G) एस बाढं देखिये (H) इयं मे हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṁ āha (B) kayānaṁmeva dekhamti iyaṁ me kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpaṁ dekhamti iyaṁ me pāpe kaṭe ti
 2 iyaṁ va āsinave nāmā ti (D) dupaṭivekhe chu kho esa (E) hevaṁ chu kho esa dekhiye (F) imāni āsinava-gāmīni nāmā ti atha chaṇḍiye niṭhūliye
 3 kodhe māne isya kālanena va hakaṁ mā palibhasayisaṁ (G) esa bāḍhaṁ dekhiye (H) iyaṁ me hidatikāye iyaṁmana me pālatikāye ti

FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित (C) लजूका मे बहूसु पानसतसहसेसु
 2 जनसि आयत (D) तेसं ये अभिहले व दंडे व अतपतिये मे कटे किंति लजूक अस्वथ अभीत कंमानि पवतयेवू ति जनस जानपदस
 3 हितसुखं उपदहेवु अनुगहिनेवु च (E) सुखीयनदुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पालतं च
 4 आलाधयेवू ति (F) लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं (G) पुलिसानि पि मे छंदनानि पटिचलिसंति (H) ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूक
 5 चघंति आलाधयितवे (I) अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे ति हेवं मम लजूक कट
 6 जानपदस हितसुखाये (J) येन एते अभीत अस्वथा संतं अविमन कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लजूकानं अभिहाले व दंडे व अतपतिये कटे
 7 (K) इछितविये हि एस किंति वियोहालसमता च सिय दंडसमता च (L) आवा इते पि च मे आवुति बंधनबधानं मुनिसानं तीलितदंडानं पतवधानं

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- 8 तिंनि दिवसानि मे योते दिंने (M) नातिका व कानि निर्पयिसंति जीविताये
तानं नासंतं व निर्पयितवे दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कच्छंति
- 9 (N) इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवू ति (O) जनस
च वढति विविधे धम्मचलने सयमे दानसविभागे ति
- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhīsitenā me
iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) lajūkā me bahūsu pāna-sata-sahasasu
- 2 janasi āyata (D) tesāṃ ye abhihale¹ va daṃḍe va atā-patiye me kaṭe kiṃti lajūka
asvatha abhīta kammāni pavatayevū ti janasa jānapadasa
- 3 hita-sukhaṃ upadahevu anugahinevu cha (E) sukhiyana-dukhiyanaṃ jānisaṃti
dhamma-yutena cha viyovadisāṃti janāṃ jānapadaṃ kiṃti hidataṃ cha
pālataṃ cha
- 4 ālādhayevū ti (F) lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭichalitave maṃ (G) pulisāni pi me
chhammaṃnāni paṭichalisaṃti (H) te pi cha kāni viyovadisāṃti yena maṃ
lajūka
- 5 chaghaṃti ālādhayitave (I) athā hi paṇaṃ viyatāye dhātiye nisijitu asvathe hoti
viyata dhāti chaghati me paṇaṃ sukhaṃ palihaṭave ti hevaṃ mama lajūka
kaṭa
- 6 jānapadasa hita-sukhāye (J) yena ete abhīta asvathā saṃtaṃ avimana kammāni
pavatayevū ti etena me lajūkānaṃ abhihāle va daṃḍe va atā-patiye kaṭe
- 7 (K) ichhitaviye hi esa ki[m]ti² viyohāla-samatā cha siya daṃḍa-samatā cha (L) āvā
ite pi cha me āvuti baṃdhana-badhānaṃ munisānaṃ tīlita-daṃḍānaṃ
pata-vadhānaṃ
- 8 tiṃni divasāni me [y]ote diṃne (M) nātikā va kāni nijhapayisaṃti jīvītāye tānaṃ
nāsaṃtaṃ va nijhapayitave dānaṃ dāhaṃti pālatakaṃ upavāsaṃ va kachhaṃti
- 9 (N) ichhā hi me hevaṃ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṃ ālādhayevū ti (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge ti

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

B.—South Face of Pillar.

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इमानि
पि जातानि अवध्यानि कटानि सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्राके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंबाकपिलिक दुळि
अनटिकमछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफटसेयके पंसससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते
सेतकपोते
- 4 गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति (C) अजका नानि
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व

¹ Read *abhihāle*.² *kitti* Bühler.

- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके (D) वधिकुकुटे नो कटविये
(E) तुसे सजीवे नो ज्ञापयितविये
- 6 (F) दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो ज्ञापयितविये (G) जीवेन जीवे नो
पुसितविये (H) तीसु चातुंमासीसु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिंनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनुपोसथं महे अवध्ये नो
पि विकेतविये (I) एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नागवनसि केवटभोगसि यानि अन्नानि पि जीवनिक्कायानि नो
हंतवियानि (J) अठमिपखाये चावुदसाये
- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये
अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वा पि अंने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये (K) तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासिपखाये अस्वस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये (L) यावसडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति बंधनमोखानि कटानि

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) saḍuvīsati-[va]sābhisitena me
imāni pi jātāni avadhyāni kaṭāni seyatha
- 2 suke sālika alune chakavāke haṃse naṃdīmukhe gelāṭe jatūka ambā-kapilika duḷi
anaṭhika-machhe vedaveyake
- 3 Gaṃgā-pupuṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭa-seyake paṃna-sase simale saṃḍake
okapiṃḍe palasate seta-kapote
- 4 gāma-kapote save chatupade ye paṭibhogam no eti na cha khādiyati (C) ajakā nāni
eḷakā cha sūkālī cha gabhinī va
- 5 pāyamīnā va avadhyā potake cha kāni āsaṃmāsike (D) vadhi-kukuṭe no kaṭaviye
(E) tuse sajīve no jhāpayitaviye
- 6 (F) dāve anaṭhāye va vihisāye va no jhāpayitaviye (G) jīvena jīve no pusitaviye
(H) tīsu chātumṃā[s]īsu tisyam puṃnamāsiyam
- 7 timni divasāni chāvudasaṃ paṃnaḍasaṃ paṭipadam dhuvāye cha anuposatham
machhe avadhye no pi viketaviye (I) etāni yeva
- 8 divasāni nāga-vanasi kevaṭa-bhogasi yāni amnāni pi jīva-nikāyāni no haṃtaviyāni
(J) aṭhami-pakhāye chāvudasāye
- 9 paṃnaḍasāye tisāye punāvasune tīsu chātumṃāsīsu sudivasāye gone no
nilakhitaviye ajake eḷake sūkale
- 10 e vā pi amne nilakhiyati no nilakhitaviye (K) tisāye punāvasune chātumṃāsiye
chātumṃāsi-pakhāye asvasa gonasa
- 11 lakhane no kaṭaviye (L) yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me etāye amtalikāye
paṃnavīsati baṃdhana-mokhāni kaṭāni

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: RAMPURVA

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे धंमलिपि लिखापित लोकस हितसुखाये से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंमवढि पापोव (C) हेवं लोकस हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु हेवं पत्यासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किंमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि (D) हेमेव सवनिकायेसु पटिवेखामि (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय (F) ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोख्यमुते (G) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापित

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasi lāja hevaṃ āha (B) duvāḍasa-vasābhisitena me dhamma-lipi likhāpita lokasa hita-sukhāye se taṃ apahaṭa
- 2 taṃ taṃ dhamma-vaḍhi pāpova (C) hevaṃ lok[a]sa hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha iyaṃ nātisu hevaṃ patyāsaṇṇesu hevaṃ apakaṭhesu kiṃmaṃ kāni
- 3 sukhaṃ āvahāmi ti tathā cha vidahāmi (D) hemeva sava-n[i]kāyesu paṭivekhāmi (E) sava-pāsāṇḍā pi me pūjita vividhāya pūjāya (F) e chu iyaṃ
- 4 atana pachūpagamane se me mokhya-mute (G) saḍuvisat[i]-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpita

VI. THE ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR

A. THE SIX FIRST PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिपि लिखापिता (C) हिदतपालते दुसंपटिपादये
- 2 अंनत अगाय धंमकामताय अगाय पलीखाय अगाय सुसूसाया अगेन भयेन अगेन उसाहेन (D) एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 3 धंमापेखा धंमकामता च सुवे सुवे वढिता वढिसति चेवा (E) पुलिसा पि मे उकसा च गेवया च मझिमा च अनुविधीयंति संपटिपादयंति च
- 4 अलं चपलं समादपयितवे (F) हेमेव अंतमहामाता पि (G) एसा हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने धंमेन सुखीयना धंमेन गुति ति च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiye Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvisati-vasābhisitena me iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā (C) hidata-pālate dusampaṭipāda[y]e
- 2 aṇṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāyā aghena bhayena a[g]hena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathi[y]ā

- 3 dhammāpekkhā dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vaḍḍhitā vaḍḍhisati ch[e]vā (E) pulisā
pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhimā cha anuvīdhiyānti saṃpaṭiṭṭhāyānti cha
4 alam chapalam samādapayitave (F) hemmeva¹ amta-mahāmātā pi (G) esā hi vidhi
yā [i]yam dhammena pālanā dhammena vidhāne dhammena sukhīyanā
dhammena [gut]i [ti² cha]³

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) धंमे साधु कियं चु धंमे ति (C)
अपासिनवे बहु कयाने दया दाने सचे सोचये (D) चखुदाने पि मे
2 बहुविधे दिने (E) दुपदचतुपदेसु पखिवाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ
पानदखिनाये (F) अन्नानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि
3 (G) एताये मे अठाये इयं धम्मलिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चिल्लितीका
च होतू ति (H) ये च हेवं संपटिपजिसति से सुकटं कच्छती ति

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) dhamme sādhu kiyam chu
dhamme ti (C) apāsinave bahu kayāne dayā dāne sache sochaye (D) chakhu-dāne
pi me
2 bahuvidhe diṇne (E) dupada-chatupadesu⁴ pakhi-vālichalesu vividhe me anugahe
kaṭe ā pāna-dakhiṇāye (F) annāni pi cha me bahūni⁵ kayānāni kaṭāni
3 (G) etāye me aṭhāye iyaṃ dhamma-lipi likhāpitā hevaṃ anupaṭipajantū chila-
ṭṭhīkā cha hotū ti (H) ye cha hevaṃ saṃpaṭipajisati se sukaṭam kachhati ti

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) कयानमेव देखति इयं मे कयाने
कटे ति (C) नो मिन पापकं देखति इयं मे पापके कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
नामा ति

.....

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyo Piyadasī lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) kayānameva dekhati iyaṃ me
kayāne kaṭe ti (C) no mina pāpakam dekhati iyaṃ me pāpake kaṭe ti iyaṃ vā
āsinave nāmā ti

.....

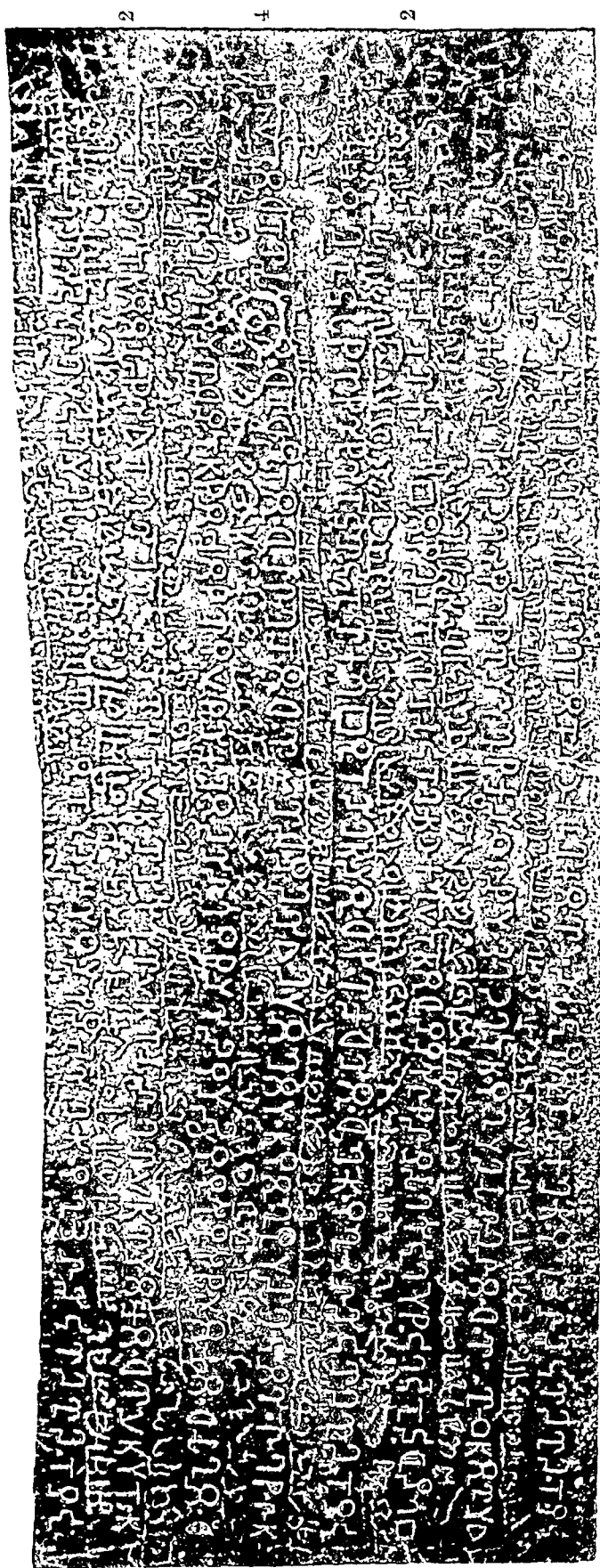
¹ *hemmeva* Bühler.

² As remarked by Fleet (IA, 13. 310, note), the vowel *i* is attached before, not after the *t*.

³ *chu* Bühler.

⁴ The apparent Anusvāra after *da* of *dupada-* is probably accidental.

⁵ *bahuni* Bühler.



SCALE ONE-FIFTH

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FOURTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 कानं अभिहाले वा दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे (K) इच्छितविये हि
एस किंति
- 2 लसमता च सिया दंडसमता च (L) आव इते पि च मे आवुति
बंधनवधानं मुनिसानं तीलीतदंडानं पतवधानं तिंनि दिवसानि योते दिंने
- 3 (M) का व कानि निभूपयिसंति जीविताये तानं नासंतं वा निभूपयिता
दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं वा कच्छंति
- 4 (N) हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि पालतं आलाधयेवु (O) जनस च
वढति विविधे धंमचलने सयमे दानसविभागे

- 1 [kānaṁ abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā ata-pa]t[i]y[e kaṭe] (K) [i]chh[i]t[a]v[i]y[e]
h[i] e]s[a] k[iṇ]t[i]¹
- 2 la-sama[t]ā cha² siyā da[m]ḍa-samatā cha (L) āva³ ite pi cha me āvuti
baṇḍhana-badhānaṁ munisānaṁ tilīta-daṇḍānaṁ pata-vadhānaṁ tiṇni divasāni
yote diṇne
- 3 (M) [k]ā va kāni nijhapayisaṁti jīvitāye tānaṁ nāsaṁtaṁ vā nijhapayitā dānaṁ
dāhaṁti pālatikaṁ upavāsaṁ vā [ka]chha[m]ti
- 4 (N) [h]i me hevaṁ niludhasi pi kālasi pālataṁ ālādhaṇev[u] (O) janasa cha
vaḍhati vividhe dhamma-chalane sayame dāna-savibhāge

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) पिये पियदसी लाजा हेवं आहा (B) सडुवीसतिवसाभिसितेन मे
इमानि जातानि अवधियानि कटानि सेयथ सुके सालिका अलुने चक्रवाके
- 2 नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूका अंवाकिपिलिका दुडी अनटिकमछे वेद्वेयके
गंगापुपुटके संकुजमछे कफट के पंनससे सिमले संड ..
- 3 तकपोते गामकपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो
ना पायसी ..
- 4 सजीवे नो भाप
5 नि चावुदसं पंचद
6 नि
7
8 लखने नो कटविये (L) या

¹ Bühler omitted this line.

² chā Bühler.

³ ara Bühler.

- 1 (A)[p]iyo Piyadasi lājā hevaṃ āhā (B) saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena me
imāni jātāni avadhiyāni kaṭāni seyatha suke sālikā alune chaka[v]āke
2[naṃdi]m[u]khe gelāte jatūk[ā]¹ ambā-kipilikā duḍi² anāṭhika-machhe³
vedaveyake Gaṃgā-p[u]p[u]ṭake saṃkuja-machhe kaphaṭak[e] p[a]mna-
sase simale saṃḍa ...
3[ta]-kapote gāma-kapote sa[v]e chatu[pa]de ye paṭ[i]bhogaṃ [no]
.....nā[p]ā[ya]mī ...
4sajīve no jhā[pa]
5[n]i chā[v]u[da]saṃ [pa]mcha[da]
6[n]i :
7
8 [lakha]n[c no kaṭaviye] (L) [y]ā

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A)पिये पियदसी ला तं ढि पा
(C) हेवं लोकस
2 हितसुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं वं पत्थासंनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु
किमं कानि विदहामि (D) हेवंमेव सव कायेसु
पटिवेखामि
3 (E) सवपासंडा पि मे पूजिता विविधाय पूजाया (F) ए चु इयं अतना पचुपगमने
से मे मुख्यमुते (G) लिपी लिखापिता ति
1 (A)[p]iyo [P]iyada[s]i l[ā][am][dh]i [pā]
(C) heva[m lokasa]
2 hita-sukhe ti paṭivekhāmi atha [iya]m[va]m [paty]āsa[m]ne[su heva]m
apaka[th]e[su] kimam [k]ā[ni][v]i[dah]āmi (D) hevaṃmeva [sa]va
...[k]āyesu paṭivekhāmi
3 (E) [sa]va-pāsaṃḍā pi me pūjitā vividhāya [pū]jāyā (F) e chu iy[a]m atana
pachupagamane se me mukhya-mute (G) lipi⁴ likhāpitā ti

B. QUEEN'S PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
2 वतविया (B) ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
3 अंवावडिका वा आलमे व दानगहे व ए वा पि अंने
4 कीछि गनीयति ताये देविये षे नानि (C) हेवं .. न ..
5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवलमातु कालुवाकिये

¹ jatūke Bühler.² dadī Bühler.³ anathika- Bühler.⁴ lipi Bühler.

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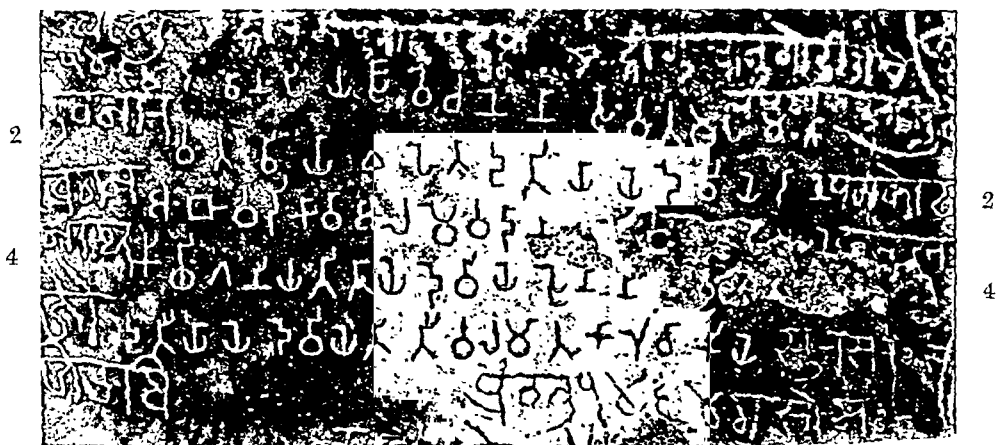
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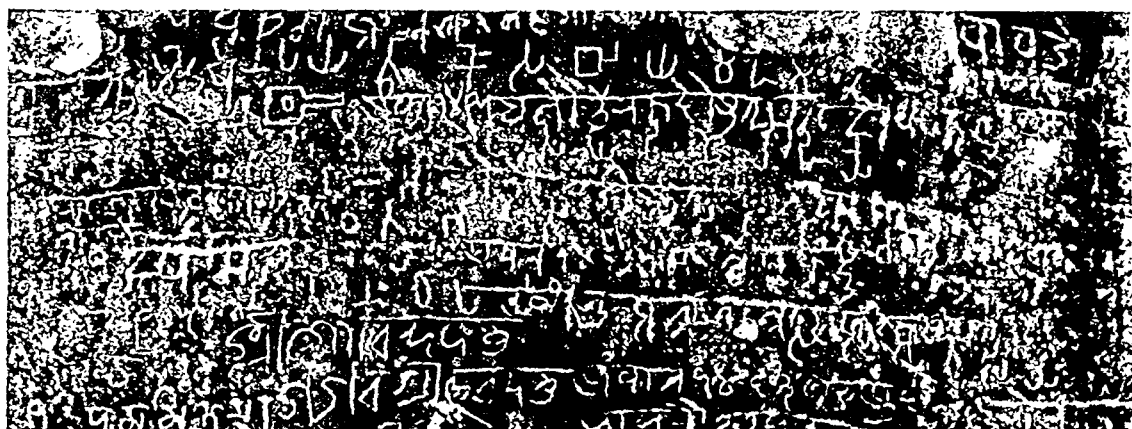
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ALLAHABAD-KOSAM PILLAR; MINOR EDICTS

QUEEN'S EDICT



KAUSAMBI EDICT



- 1 (A) Devānāmpiyashū v[a]chanenā savata mahamatā¹
- 2 vataviyā (B) e hetā² dutiyāye deviye dāne
- 3 anbhā-vadikā vā ālame va dāna-[gah]e [va³ e vā pi a]jine
- 4 kichhi ganīyati taye deviye she nāni (C) [he]vam . . [na] . .⁴
- 5 dutiyāye deviye ti Tivala-mātu Kāluvākiyo

TRANSLATION

(A) At the word of Dōvānāmpriya, the *Mahāmātras* everywhere have to be told (this).

(B) What gifts (have been made) here by the second queen, (viz.) either mango-groves,⁵ or gardens, or alms-houses, or whatever else, these⁶ (shall) be registered⁷ (in the name) of that queen.

(C) This (is) [the request] of the second queen, the mother of Tivala,⁸ the Kāluvāki.⁹

C. KAUSAMBI PILLAR-EDICT: ALLAHABAD-KOSAM

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये आनपयति (B) कोसंबियं महामात
- 2 समगे कटे (D) संघसि नो लहिये
- 3 संघं भाखति भिखु वा भिखुनि वा से पि चा
- 4 औदातानि दुसानि सनंधापयितु अनावाससि आवासयिये

- 1 (A) [Devānām*]pīye ānapayati (B) Kosambiyam¹⁰ mahām[ā]ta¹¹
- 2 [sa]ma[ge] ka[te] (D) sa[ṁ]gh[a]si no¹² l[ā]hiye¹³
- 3 [sa]ṁgham bhā[kha]ti¹⁴ bhikh[u] v[ā]¹⁵ bhikh[u]ni¹⁶ vā [se pi] chā¹⁷
- 4 [o*]dāt[ā]ni¹⁸ dūsāni [sa]nāndhāpayitu a[nāvā]sas[i]¹⁹ āv[ā]sayiy[e]²⁰

¹ *mahāmāta* Senart and Bühler.

² *hetā* Senart and Bühler.

³ *etā* Bühler.

⁴ Restore perhaps *vinati* (= Skt. *vijñapti*); see JRAS, 1911. 1113.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 134, n. 13.

⁶ For the pronoun *nāni* see above, p. 127, n. 10.

⁷ With *ganīyati* cf. *gāṇana* or *gāṇanā* in the rock-edict III, E.

⁸ Bühler (IA, 19. 124) noted that Tivara occurs (a thousand years after Aśoka) as the name of a king of Kōśala; see Fleet's *Gupta Insers.*, p. 293, and EI, 7. 103.

⁹ As stated by Bühler (IA, 19. 123), this is probably the name of the queen's family, and it may be connected with the Vedic *gōtra* of the Kārus.

¹⁰ *etja* Bühler and Boyer.

¹¹ *mahāmāta* Bühler and Boyer.

¹² *na* Bühler and Boyer.

¹³ *chi ye* Bühler.

¹⁴ *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

¹⁵ *etā* Bühler.

¹⁶ *bhik[khu]ni* Bühler.

¹⁷ [fa]chā Boyer; Bühler and Boyer add *o* at the end of the line.

¹⁸ The syllable *dā* is missing in my materials, but is visible on the plate in IA, 19. 125.

¹⁹ *āna[se]sa* Bühler, *ānāvasasi* Boyer.

²⁰ *arā* Boyer.

- 4 [po*]like chaṃ[da]m[a-sū]ri[yi]ke¹ (D) ye saṃghaṃ
 5 bh[ā]khati² bhikhu³ vā bhikhuni vā odātā-
 6 ni dus[ān]i sanāṃ[dhāpay]itu anā[vā]-
 7 sasi vā[sā]petaviy[c] (E) ichhā hi me kiṃ-
 8 ti saṃghe samage⁴ chila-thitike siyā ti

TRANSLATION

(A)

(B) [cannot] be divided.⁵

(C) The *Saṃgha* both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as (my) sons and great-grandsons (shall reign, and) as long as the moon and the sun (shall shine).⁶

(D) The monk or nun who shall break up the *Saṃgha*, must be caused to put on white robes and to reside in a non-residence.⁷

(E) For my desire is that the *Saṃgha* may be united⁸ (and) of long duration.

II. THE SARNATH PILLAR

1 (A) देवा

2 ए ल

3 पाट ये केनपि संघे भेतवे (D) ए चुं खो

4 भिखू वा भिखुनि वा संघं भाखति से ओदातानि दुसानि संनंधापयिया
 आनावाससि

5 आवासयिये (E) हेवं इयं सासने भिखुसंघसि च भिखुनिसंघसि च विन-
 पयितविये

6 (F) हेवं देवानंपिये आहा (G) हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवाति
 संसलनसि निखिता

7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकानंतिकं निखिपाथ (H) ते पि च उपासका
 अनुपोसथं यावु

8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे अनुपोसथं च धुवाये इक्किे महामाते पोसथाये

¹ See JRAS, 1911. 167 f.

² *bhokhati* Bühler and Boyer.

³ *bhikkū* Boyer.

⁴ *saṃghasa mage* Bühler and Boyer; see JRAS, 1911. 168.

⁵ Cf. the Sarnāth pillar, C.

⁶ Cf. *putā-papotike chaṃdama-suliyike hotu ti* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, l. 31. Other instances of the Prākṛit affix *-ika* are *vadhanike* and *vejayike* in two Pallava inscriptions and in the Koṇḍamudi plates. See EI, I. 6, text l. 9; 6. 87, text l. 5 f.; 6. 317, text, l. 8 f.

⁷ With this section cf. above, p. 160, n. 4, 5, 7.

⁸ Cf. *saṃaggo hi saṃgho phāsu viharati* in the *Pātimokkha*, JRAS, 1876. 75, § 10; *sukkhā saṃghassa sāmaggī samaggānaṃ tapo sukho* in the *Dhammapada*, verse 194; *saṃgho samaggo hutvāna taddākāsi uposathaṃ* in the *Mahāvaiśa*, V, 274.

- 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च (I) आवते च तुफाकं
आहाले
- 10 सवत विवासयाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन (J) हेमेव सवेसु कोटविषवेसु एतेन
- 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयथा
- 1 (A) Devā¹
- 2 e l
- 3 Pāṭa² ye³ kenapi saṃghe bhetave (D) e chuṃ kho
- 4 [bhikh]ū [vā bhikh]uni vā saṃghaṃ bh[ākha]t[i]⁴ s[e] odātāni dus[ān]i
[sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā ānāvāsasi⁵
- 5 āvāsaiye (E) hevaṃ iyaṃ sāsaṇe bhikhu-saṃghasi cha bhikhuni-saṃghasi cha
viṃṇapayitaviye
- 6 (F) hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye āhā (G) hedisā cha ikā lipī tuphākāntikaṃ huvāti
saṃsalanasi nikhitā
- 7 ikāṃ cha lipiṃ hedisameva upāsakānaṃtikaṃ nikhipātha (H) te pi cha upāsakā
anuposathaṃ yāvu
- 8 etameva sāsaṇaṃ visvaṃsayitave anuposathaṃ cha dhuvāye ikike mahāmāte
posathāye
- 9 yāti etameva sāsaṇaṃ visvaṃsayitave ājānitave cha (I) āvate cha tupaḥkāṃ
āhāle
- 10 savata vivāsaiyātha tuphe etena viyaṃjanena (J) hemeva savesu koṭa-vishavesu⁶
etena
- 11 viyaṃjanena vivāsāpayāthā

TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvā[nāṃpriya]
- (B) Pāṭa[liputra]⁷
- (C) the *Samgha* [cannot] be divided by any one.⁸
- (D) But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the *Samgha*, should be
caused to put on⁹ white robes and to reside¹⁰ in a non-residence.¹¹

¹ These are the two first syllables of the title *Devānaṃpiya*.

² These are probably the two first syllables of the name *Pāṭaliputa*.

³ Boyer ingeniously restores *na sakiye*.

⁴ The correct reading of this word is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart read *bhikhati*, and Boyer *bhokhati*.

⁵ The Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *anāvāsasi*.

⁶ Venis justly remarked that the second syllable of this word differs from *sa*, and is probably meant for *sha*.

⁷ This is the ancient name of the city of Pāṭnā, the capital of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It is mentioned also in the Gīrā edict V, M. The Sārnāth edict was probably addressed by the king to the *Mahāmātras* at Pāṭaliputra, as the Kauśāmbī edict to the *Mahāmātras* at Kauśāmbī.

⁸ With *saṃghe bhetave* cf. *saṃghaṃ bhindati*, 'to cause divisions among the priesthood', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *bindati*; *saṃghaṃ bhinditvā* in the *Jātaka*, vol. IV, p. 200, l. 6; *saṃagghassa saṃghassa bhedāya* in the *Pāṭimokkha*, JRS, 1876. 75, § 10; *Buddha-vachanaṃ bhindimsu* in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, VII, 54.

⁹ [sa]ṃnaṃdhāpayiyā, instead of which the Sāmchī and Kauśāmbī edicts read *sanāṃdhāpayitu*, corresponds to Skt. *saṃnāhya*; cf. Senart, CR, 1907. 28.

¹⁰ For *āvāsaiye* see above, p. 160, n. 6.

¹¹ See above, p. 160, n. 7.

10

8

6

†

予

10

୩

(E) Thus this edict must be submitted both to the *Samgha* of monks and to the *Samgha* of nuns.

(F) Thus speaks Dēvānāmpriya:

(G) Let one copy of this (edict)¹ remain² with you³ deposited⁴ in (your) office;⁵ and⁶ deposit ye another copy of this very (edict) with the lay-worshippers.

(H) These lay-worshippers may come on every fast-day (*posatha*)⁷ in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict;⁸ and invariably on every fast-day,⁹ every *Mahāmātra* (will) come to the fast-day (service) in order to be inspired with confidence in this very edict and to understand (it).¹⁰

(I) And as far as your district¹¹ (extends), dispatch ye (an officer)¹² everywhere according to the letter of this (edict).¹³

¹ Literally: 'one writing of this description.'

² Senart (CR, 1907. 30) explains *huvāti* as a subjunctive.

³ As remarked by Vogel (EI, 8. 170), *tuphākānāntikān* stands for *tuphākān* *āntikān*, and *upāsakānāntikān* in l. 7 for *upāsakānān* *āntikān*. Cf. E. Müller's *Pāli Grammar*, p. 64, and Geiger's *Pāli*, § 71.

⁴ Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *ni-kship* by 'inscribing'. Cf. the *Raghuvaṃśa*, VII, 65, where Mallinātha explains *nikshēpita* by *lekhitā*, and *nikkhitta-vanṇan* in the *Śakuntala*, ed. by Cappeller, p. 32, l. 16. But as the word *nikhitā* is placed after *saṃsalanasi*, and *nikhipātha* in the next sentence after *upāsakānāntikān*, it is more natural to take *ni-kship* in the sense of 'depositing'.

⁵ Senart (CR, 1907. 30 ff.) is probably right in considering *saṃsalana* (= Skt. *saṃsaraṇa*) the designation of some locality. Venis (JPASB, 3. 4) translated it by 'place of assembly'.

⁶ As remarked by Senart (CR, 1907. 30), the double *cha* in *hedisā cha ikā lipi* and *ikān cha lipin* *hedisameva* co-ordinates the two sentences. The same is the case in the next section, where the *cha* after *te pi* corresponds to the *cha* after *anuposathan* in l. 8. Cf. also above, p. 47, n. 9.

⁷ In the form *posatha*, which occurs also in the *Jātaka* (ZDMG, 48. 63), the initial *u* of Skt. *upavasatha* has been dropped. Cf. *posaha* in Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 141, and the artificial form *pōshadha* (Böhtlingk's two dictionaries, s. v.) in the language of the Northern Buddhists.

⁸ With *visvānīyātare* cf. *asvāsa[n]īyā* in the Jaugaḍa separate edict II, section J.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 128, n. 3.

¹⁰ Sections E to H do not add anything new to the king's order, of which two other specimens are preserved at Sārnāth and Allahabad, but provide merely for the proper circulation of the edict among all the parties concerned. This the king tries to ensure (1) by communicating his edict to the monks and nuns, whom it chiefly concerns, and (2) by ordering that one copy of it should be retained by the *Mahāmātras* and another by the lay-worshippers, to be studied by both of them respectively at the fast-day services. The two last sections of the inscription contain further provisions for ensuring a still wider circulation to the king's edict. The preceding paragraphs had arranged for its publicity among the citizens of Pāṭaliputra. In sections I and J the king orders the *Mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra to make it known in the district surrounding Pāṭaliputra and in the jungle tracts beyond this district.

¹¹ Kern pointed out that *āhāla* (spelt *ahāla* at Rūpnāth) corresponds to the well-known territorial term *āhāra*, 'a district'; see EI, 8. 170. The meaning 'food' is excluded here, because the words *tuphākān* *āhāle* are contrasted with *saveṣu koṭa-vishaveṣu* in the next section. For other ancient inscriptions in which the word *āhāra*, 'a district', occurs, see Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (EI, 10. Appendix), p. 214, s. v.

¹² As Thomas states (JA (10), 15. 517), the usual Pāli equivalent of *vivasati* is *vip̐pavasati*; see Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. The verb *vivāsayaṭi* (*vivaseti* in the Rūpnāth edict, l. 5) is the causative, and *vivāsāpayati* in section J a double causative, of *vivasati*. Venis (JPASB, 3. 2) translated *vivāsayaṭi* by 'making known'; but this meaning is not supported by other instances. Thomas (JRAS, 1915. 112) renders it by 'expelling'. But it would be hazardous to assign to it a different meaning from *vivasetaviye* at Rūpnāth. I supply the missing object of the verb from the first separate rock-edict (Dhauḷi, Z-CC; Jaugaḍa, AA-DD), viz. *mahāmātram*.

¹³ Literally: 'by this letter'. The word *vyañjana* is used in Buddhist literature in the sense of

(7) In the same way cause (your subordinates) to dispatch (an officer) according to the letter of this (edict) in all the territories (surrounding) forest.

III. THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदत्तिन लाजिन वीत्ततिवत्तानिस्सितेन
- 2 अत्तन आगाव महीपिते हिद वुधे जाते सत्त्वसुनी ति
- 3 (B) तिला विगडनी वा कालपित तिलाप्पने च उत्तपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुंनिनिगाने उवलिके कटे
- 5 अट्ठमागिमे च

- 1 (A) Devānaṃpiyaṃ Piyaḍassina Lājina Vīttatīvattānissitaṃ
- 2 attana āgāva mahīpita hida vudhe jāte sattivasunī ti
- 3 (B) tila viḡaḍḡnī vā kālapiṭa tilappaṇe ca uttapaṇite
- 4 hida bhagavaṃ jāte ti (C) Luṇṇiniḡāṇe uvalike kaṭe
- 5 aṭṭamaḡime ca

TRANSLATION

(A) When King Devānaṃpiyaṃ Piyaḍassina had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped (his spot), because the Buddha Sākyamuni was born there.

(B) (He) both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse (B) and caused a stone pillar to be set up (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.*

* *Stone* as opposed to *stone* *mark*: see Collins *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *upāśānaṃ*. In the rock edict III, B, it is coupled with *hita* 'worship'. A number of such sentences in which it occurs, were collected by the late Dr. Nauman (J.M.S. 67, pp. 51), who rendered it by 'specification'. See also (J.M.S. 1907, 37) *upāśānaṃ*: 'with the aim of my inscription', i.e. he takes the inscriptional *upāśānaṃ* in the sense of the *upāśānaṃ*; cf. Spitzer's *Samśrīṭi* (Vienna, 1955), § 33.

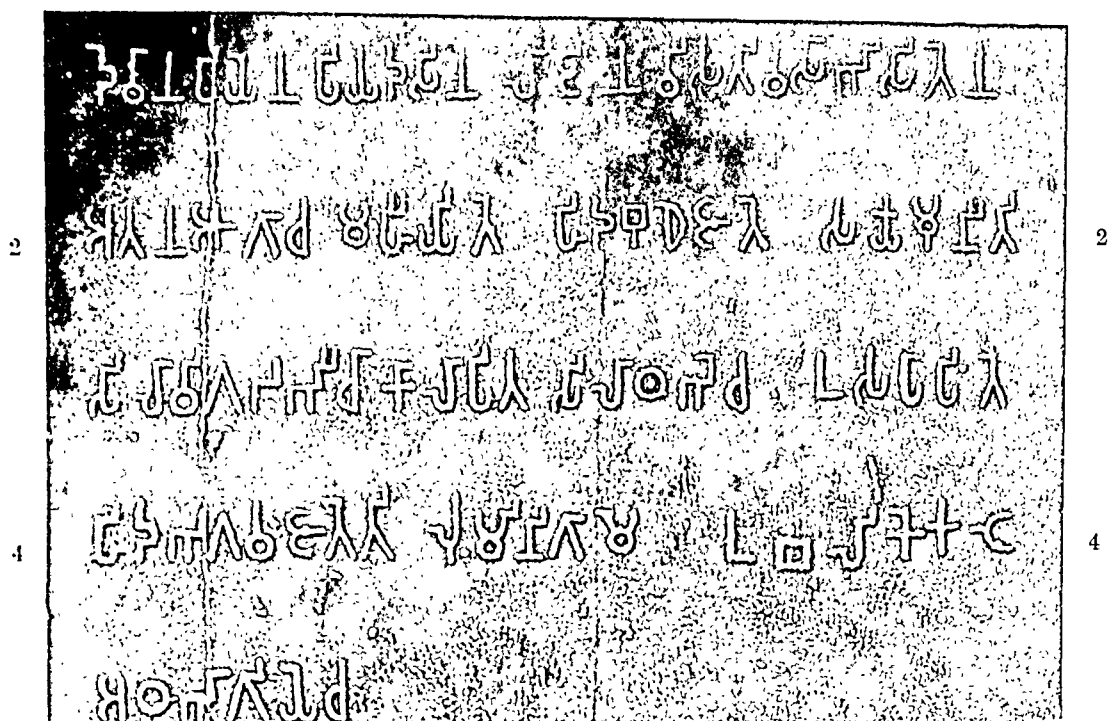
* This seems to refer to cutting jungle trees (perhaps in the Nepalese Terai) which were not fully paid for but were held by means of military posts, such as the 'forest' mentioned in the Śālistambā edition XIII, M.

* In the *Uḡāḡapāṭiṭṭhaṃsaṃ* (J.B.S. 1975, 22), the Buddha himself is reported to have said: 'Evaṃvantaṃ khaṃ Anantaṃ sabbhaṃ bhikkhū-bhikkhāṇaṃ upāśāna-upāśāṇaṃ vāta Uḡāḡaṇa vāta ti'. In accordance with this quotation I connect the words *hida* to *ti* with section A, while Breen (J.B.S. 1908, 135) joined them to B.

* This is Champetier's explanation of the obscure and much-discussed word *vīḡaḡḡāṇa*; see L., 42, 17. The syllable *-hiḡ* might certainly represent Skt. *-bhīḡ*; but this *vīḡaḡḡāṇa* means 'a horse', remains to be proved by more substantial evidence. Sir R. Shendriker (J.B.S. 1905, 22, p. 55 n. 14) and Breen (J.B.S. 1908, 17, 82), joined *hidaḡḡ* into one word, and explained it by Skt. **bhīḡḡāṇa* 'a wall'. As according to Fischer's *Grammatik*, § 10, 119, *vīḡaḡḡāṇa* is an Archaism of the form of Skt. *vīḡḡāṇa*, *vīḡ-vīḡḡāṇa* *hidaḡḡ* might mean 'a (brick) wall decorated with stone'. But as Champetier (L., 42, 17) remarks, the change of **bhīḡḡāṇa* to *hidaḡḡ* is wholly improbable from a linguistic point of view, as consonants were not changed to such an extent in the early stage of Pāli as Collins.

* With the words *hida* *Siḡḡaṇaṃ* *hita* cf. Dharmapala, p. 153: 'Anantaṃ mahāḡḡaṇaṃ *pradīḡḡa* *Siḡḡaṇaṃ* *hita* ti'.

RUMMINDEI PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



NIGALI SAGAR PILLAR-INSCRIPTION



FOURTH PART: MINOR ROCK-INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपिये हेवं आहा (B) सातिरकेकानि अढतियानि व य सुमि प्रकास
सके (C) नो चु बाढि पकते (D) सातिलेके चु छवछरे य सुमि हकं
सघ उपेते
- 2 बाढि च पकते (E) या इमाय कालाय जंबुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु ते
दानि मिसा कटा (F) पकमसि हि एस फले (G) नो च एसा महतता
पापोतवे खुदकेन
- 3 पि पकममिनेना सकिये पिपुले पा स्वगे आरोधेवे (H) एतिय अठाय च
सावने कटे खुदका च उडाला च पकमतु ति अता पि च जानंतु इय
पकरा व
- 4 किति चिरटितिके सिया (I) इय हि अठे वढि वढिसिति विपुल च वढिसिति
अपलधियेना दियढिय वढिसत (J) इय च अठे पवतिसु लेखापेत वालत
(K) हध च अथि
- 5 सालाठभे सिलाठभसि लाखापेतवय त (L) एतिना च वयजनेना यावतक
तुपक अहाले सवर विवसेतवाय ति (M) व्युठेना सावने कटे (N) २००
५० ई स-
- 6 त विवासा त

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye heva[m] āhā (B) sāti[ra]kekāni¹ adhati[y]āni va² ya sumi
prakāsa [Sa]k[e]³ (C) no chu bādhi pakate (D) sātīleke chu chhavachhare⁴
ya sumi haka[m] sagh[a] up[e]te
- 2 bādhi ch[a]⁵ pakate (E) yā⁶ [i]māya kālāya Jambudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni
m[i]s[ā] kaṭā (F) pakamasī⁷ hi [e]sa phale (G) no cha esā mahatātā p[ā]potave
khudakena⁸

¹ sāti[le]kāni Senart and Bühler ; read sātirekāni.

² This seems to be an abbreviation for *vasāni*, which is the reading of the Bairāt, Brahmagiri, and Śiddāpura rock-inscriptions.

³ The first *akshara* of *prakāsa* looks like *pā* ; but cf. above, p. 9, l. 10. There is a vacant space after this word. Bühler read *pākā* (which he considered a mistake for *hakā*, i. e. *hakani*) [*sava*]ke. The reading [Sa]k[e] was suggested to me by the new Maski rock-inscription, which reads Bu[dha]-Śake.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri and Śiddāpura versions prove, this is a clerical mistake for *savachhare* ; see IA, 37. 23, and JRAS, 1910. 145 f.

⁵ *chu* Bühler.

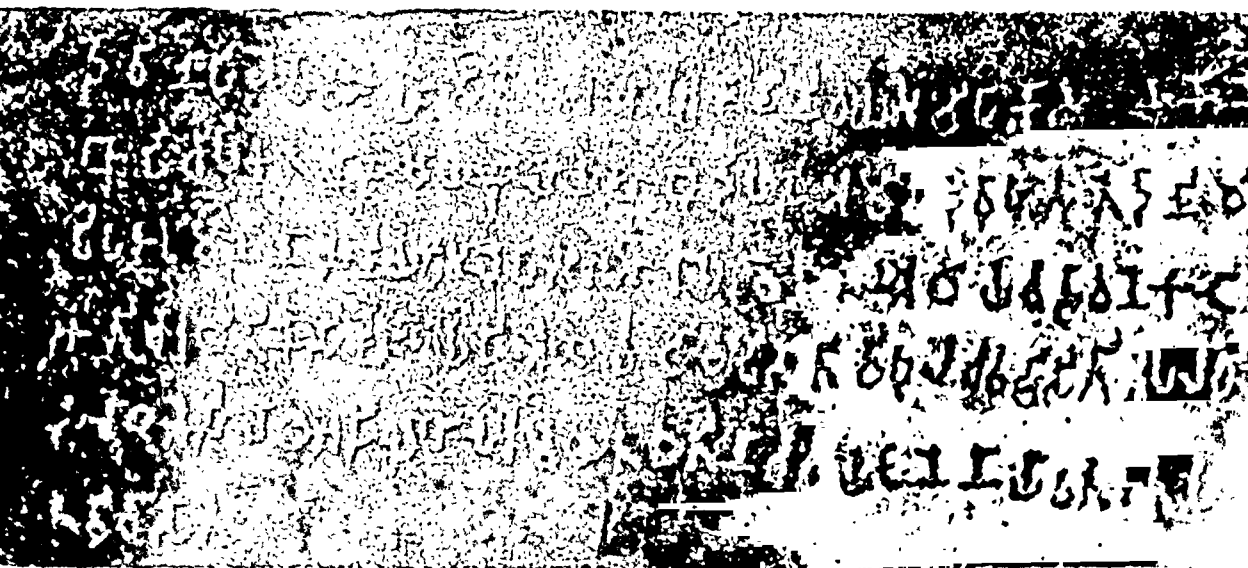
⁶ *y[i]* Bühler.

⁷ Three other versions of this edict read *pakamasa*.

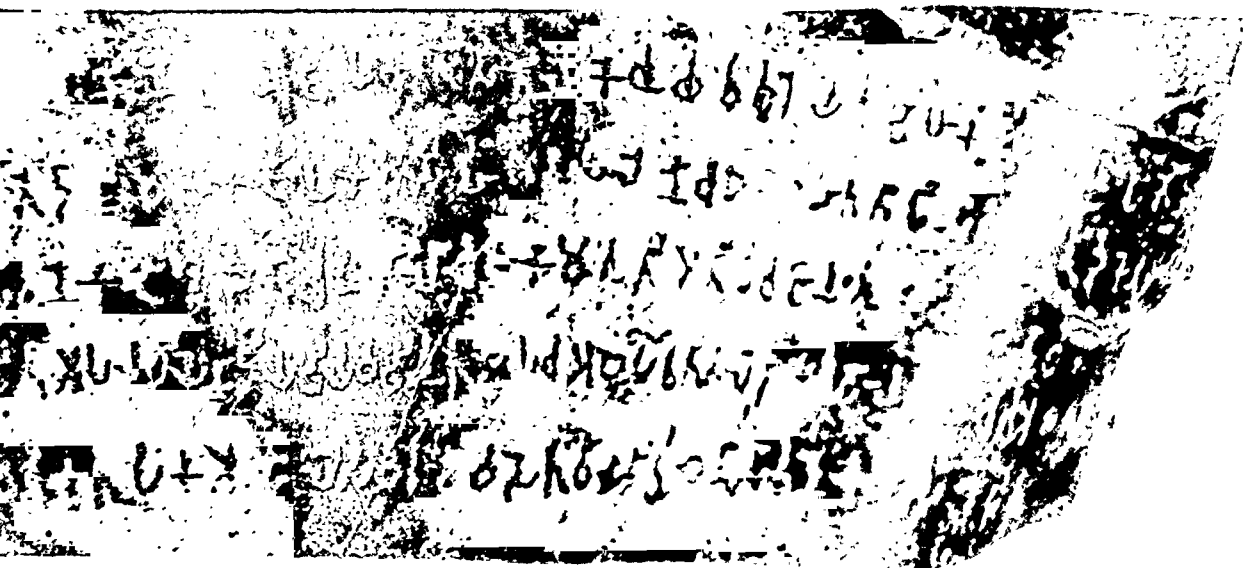
⁸ Senart and Bühler add the two syllables *hi ka*. I believe these are in reality meaningless scratches, beyond the proper area of the inscription.

RUPNATH ROCK-INSCRIPTION

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



- 3 pi pa[kajamam] [H] sakiye pipule² pa³ svage ārodheve⁴ (H) etiya apāya cha
sāvane kaṭe kō[ṭ]aka cha udālā cha pakamatu⁶ ti atā pi cha [H]
paka[ra] va]
4 kiti chira[ṭi]ke siya (I) iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula cha vaḍhisiti apāya
diyadhiya va [H] (J) iya cha aṭhe pavatis[u] lekhāpeta vālaṭa [H]
cha aṭhi
5 salā[ṭi] [H] [H] lakkhāpetavaya¹¹ ta¹² (L) etinā cha [H]
yāvataka [H] savara¹⁴ vivasetavā[ya]¹⁵ ti (M) [H]
kaṭe (N) 200 50 6 sa-
6 ta vivāsā ta¹¹

TRANSLATION

(A) Dərəcəliyyə qədər təhs.

(B) Two and a half years" and somewhat more (have passed since I =
opened a "Singapore"

(C) But (i) has to be taken very seriously."

(D) For a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the
Straits and have been very zealous.

* Read *triple*.

[Illegible handwritten signature]

Reading, 1914. Printed by Smart and Bühler.

3. pakartinti šiuo metu ne įvyksta

1. *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.

1. 1945-1946

² See, e.g., *Shankar v. State of Madhya Pradesh*, 1959 Cr. L.J. 1007 (S.C.).

1. 1940-1941

¹ Böhler: "I should agree with you." Instead of it, the context seems to require you = you (suo); but this does not seem to be violent that it cannot be seriously examined.
² Böhler: "I should agree with you." Instead of it, the context seems to require you = you (suo); but this does not seem to be violent that it cannot be seriously examined.
³ Böhler: "I should agree with you." Instead of it, the context seems to require you = you (suo); but this does not seem to be violent that it cannot be seriously examined.

* Read *also*, which is the reading of Senart and Bühler; *the* same.

1. Red Sea,
2. Red Sea

B. Read 1972.
B. Read 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651,

1. The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the above-mentioned affidavits as having been in the possession of the same at the time of the same being seized, and the date of the seizure of the same:

* Read of Uttara-pitaka, Introduction -

* As the first was done by Oldenberg, (Hiraya-fifaka, introduced by Oldenberg, 1914), 'two and a half'.

ZDMG, 57-67; 1907, p. 108. The Pali addition, "two and a half,"
Buddhi and Siddhapura versions read

but the Muṣṣī version reads *śaṅkha* [śaṅkha] *śaṅkha*. On the Rummīnī pillar the Buddha name *śaṅkha* is the same as his well-known epithet *śaṅkha*. Vāṭāhira uses the tribal name *śaṅkha* in the same sense. In the *Kaṇṇikā* the word *śaṅkha* is 'a Buddha's' see *Śaṅkha* and *Śaṅkha* Dictionary, s.v. In the *Kaṇṇikā* the word *śaṅkha* is the same meaning; see *Śaṅkha* and *Śaṅkha* Translation, p. 251, n. 2. As Professor *Śaṅkha* the Muṣṣī version *śaṅkha* *śaṅkha*, which is meant for *śaṅkha* *śaṅkha*.

(p. 199, l. 3 f.) has मन्त्रः संस्तुतिः. The Mesore versions.

3. The Mysore was also added 'for one year'. Thomas (JA) has been asked to be informed.

[illegible]

Saharun and I have been asked to suggest that the Elected remain in the position of the party.

rock-ette. In section G the

or palakamandana. See *palakamandana*, corresponds to *dharmā*, 6, 156, 252.

22. Baking was done by _____ entered by _____

(E) Those gods who during that time had been unmingled (with men)¹ in Jambudvīpa,² have now been made (by me) mingled (with them).³

(F) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(G) And this cannot be reached by (persons of) high rank⁴ (alone), (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.⁵

(H) And for the following purpose has (this) proclamation been issued,⁶ (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers⁷ may know (it), (and) that this same zeal may be of long duration.

(I) For, this matter⁸ will (be made by me to) progress,⁹ and will (be made to) progress considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.¹⁰

¹ Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17, 124 f.) first showed that *misā* represents Skt. *miśrāḥ*; but his translation of *devā* by 'kings' is inadmissible. The word *deva* is not used anywhere else in the Aśoka edicts except in the title *Devānaṃpriya*, where it certainly does not mean 'a king', for which the word *rājā* is regularly employed; see JRAS, 1911. 1114. Senart (JA (11), 7, 438 ff.) still upholds Bühler's view that *misā* stands for Skt. *mrishā*, which is represented by *musā* in Pāli, in Ardhamāgadhī (Pischel's *Grammatik*, § 78), and in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription, l. 6. Granted that this explanation might account for the curious compounds *misāṃ-deva* and *amimisāṃ-deva* at Sahasrām,—the nasalized final occurring also in the Ardhamāgadhī form *musāṃ*,—it would create two serious difficulties: (1) the compound *miśbhūtā* at Maski would offend against the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VII, 4, 32, which prohibits the change of the final *ā* of indeclinables to *i* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on I, 1, 41), and (2) it forces Senart (loc. cit., p. 441) to render the words *misā devēhi*, 'mingled with the gods', in the Mysore edicts, by 'out été (réduits à apparaître comme) faussement (mis au nombre) des dieux', and to consider the instrumental *devēhi* an ablative partitive (?).

² i. e. in India.

³ As I have shown in JRAS, 1913. 652 f., this enigmatical sentence can be explained by comparing a similar, but more explicit statement in the fourth rock-edict. It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of *Dharma*. The word *devā* corresponds to *divyāni rūpāni* in the Girnār edict IV, B.

⁴ As the Brahmagiri version suggests, *maḥatātā* corresponds to Skt. *mahātmatvāt*.

⁵ Cf. the parallel passage in the rock-edict X, E.

⁶ Fleet (JRAS, 1909. 1014) and Thomas (JA (10), 15, 510) were of opinion that the few following words: 'let both the lowly and the exalted be zealous' represent the text of an address delivered by Aśoka himself on a previous occasion, and quoted succinctly by him here. But a glance at the parallel passages collected by Thomas himself on the next page (511) will suffice to show that Senart was right in believing that the following words are rather referred to by *etiya aḥhāya*, and that here, as well as in section M, the word 'proclamation' refers to the whole of the Rūpnāth edict itself.

⁷ According to the Kālsī and Shāhbāzgarhī rock-edict XIII, Q, these borderers were Antiochus II of Syria and four other Greek kings (in the west), and the Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas in the south. Cf. also the rock-edict II, A, and V, J.

⁸ i. e. apparently the subject-matter or contents of Aśoka's proclamation, viz. the Buddhist propaganda; see section J.

⁹ With *vaḍhi[ni*]* *vaḍhisiti* cf. *dhanima-vaḍhi vaḍhitā* in the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, JJ and NN.

¹⁰ Cf. above, p. 165, n. 7.

(J) And cause ye this matter¹ to be engraved on rocks where an occasion presents itself.²

(K) And (wherever) there are stone pillars here,³ it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars.⁴

(L) And according to the letter of this (proclamation)⁵ (you) must dispatch (an officer)⁶ everywhere, as far as your district⁷ (extends).

(M) (This) proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.⁸

(N) 256 (nights)⁹ (had then been) spent on tour.¹⁰

II. THE SAHASRAM ROCK-INSCRIPTION.

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये हेवं आ ······ ियानि सवखलानि । अं उपासके
सुमि । (C) न चु बाढं पलकंते
2 (D) सवखले साधिके । अं ······ ते (E) एतेन च अंतलेन । जंबुदीपसि ।
अमिसंदेवा । संत

¹ Instead of the nominative *iya cha aṭhe* we should have expected the accusative *ima cha aṭhañ*, as at Sahasrām, l. 7. The nominative would be in its proper place if we adopt Senart's conjecture *lekhāpetaviye ti* for *lekhāpeta vālata*; but this change is so extensive that it must be pronounced doubtful.

² Literally: 'in consequence of an occasion' (*vāratali*); see JRAS, 1911. 1116.

³ viz. 'in my territory'. Cf. above, p. 2, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, SS.

⁵ See above, p. 163, n. 13.

⁶ See above, p. 163, n. 12. Fleet (JRAS, 1911. 1106) translated *vivaseti* by 'spending a night in worship'. I have shown that this meaning is rendered improbable by the context of the corresponding passage of the Sārnāth edict; see JRAS, 1912. 1053 ff.

⁷ Cf. above, p. 163, n. 11.

⁸ Cf. the rock-edict VIII. For the two terms *vynṭha* and *vivāsa*, which have greatly exercised all earlier interpreters, see now Thomas, JA (10), 15. 512 ff. The instrumental *vy[ṇ]thenā*, which depends on *sāvane kaṭe*, must refer to Aśoka himself, because the preceding text of the proclamation shows the latter to have been the edict of a king to his officers, who are addressed in the second person plural (*tupaka*, l. 5); see JRAS, 1909. 729. I therefore follow Thomas (IA, 37. 22) in supplying *mayā*.

⁹ The three figures '256' were explained by Bühler as a date after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Other scholars interpreted them in different ways (see Fleet, JRAS, 1908. 817), until in 1910 (JA (10), 15. 507 ff.) Thomas showed that the Sahasrām version of the Rūpnāth edict combines with them the word *lāti* = Skt. *rātri*, 'a night'. On the (redundant) word *sata*, 'a hundred', see Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 521, and Fleet, JRAS, 1911. 1104, n. 2. Since the publication of Thomas' discovery of the word *lāti* at Sahasrām, the '256 nights' have been discussed by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 1301 ff., 1911. 1091 ff., and 1913. 655 ff.), Sylvain Lévi (JA (10), 17. 119 ff.), D. R. Bhandarkar (IA, 41. 170 ff.), Neumann (translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 225 f., and *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti*, 22. 695 ff.), Thomas himself (JRAS, 1916. 113 ff.), and Senart (JA (11), 7. 434 f.), who takes *lāti* = Skt. *ratī*, as at Kālsī, VIII, F.

¹⁰ In JRAS, 1910. 1309, I interpreted the word *vivāsā*, which corresponds to *vivuthā* at Sahasrām, as an ablative singular. But it seems more natural to follow Thomas, who considers it a nominative plural.

- 3 मुनिसा मिसंदेव कटा । (F) पल इयं फले (G) नो यं
महतता व चकिये पावतवे । खुदकेन पि पल-
- 4 कममीनेना विपुले पि सुअग .. किये आला वे । (H) से एताये
अटाये इयं सावाने । खुदका च उडाला चा प-
- 5 लकमंतु अंता पि च जानंतु । चिलढितीके च पलाकमे होतु । (I) इयं च अठे
वढिसति । विपुलं पि च वढिसति
- 6 दियाढियं अवलधियेना दियढियं वढिसति । (J) इयं च सवने विवुथेन (K) दुवे
सपंना लाति-
- 7 सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६ (L) इम च अठं पवतेसु लिखापयाथा (M) य ..
वा अ-
- 8 थि हेता सिलाथंभा तत पि लिखापयथ ति

- 1 (A) Devānāmpiye he[vaṃ] [[ā]]¹ [[iyāni savachhalā]][ni | a]ṃ
upāsake sumi | (C) na chu bādham [palaka]ṃ[t]e
- 2 (D) sav[a]chhale² sādhi[kə] [[i am]] [[te]] (E) [ete][[na cha aṃta]]lena |
Jambudīpasi | aṃmisam-[de]vā³ | samta⁴
- 3 munisā [m]isam-deva [[kaṭā | (F) pala]] [[iyam phale (G) [n]o]]
[[yam]] mahatata va chakiye pav[a]t[ā]ve | khudakena pi pala-
- 4 kamamīnenā vipule pi s[u]ag ... [k]iye⁵ [ā][[lā]] [[ve]] [i] (H) se etāye
aṭh[ā]ye iyaṃ sāvāne⁶ | khudakā cha uḍālā chā pa-
- 5 [la]kamaṃtu aṃtā pi ch[a] jānaṃtu | chila-ṭhit[ike]⁷ cha p[a]l[ā]kame⁸ hotu | (I)
iya[m] cha [aṭhe] vaḍhisati | vipulaṃ pi cha vaḍhisati
- 6 diyāḍhiyaṃ aval[a]dhiyenā diy[a]dhiyaṃ vaḍhisati | (J) iyaṃ [[cha savane]]
[v]ivuthena (K) duve sapannā lāti-
- 7 satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6 (L) ima cha aṭham pavatesu [l][[ikhā]][pa]yāthā (M)
ya .⁹ [vā] a-
- 8 th[i] hetā silā-tham[bh]ā tata pi¹⁰ [likhāpayatha t]i

¹ The letters enclosed in double brackets are now broken away, but are still visible on an old photograph of the rock which I owe to the kindness of Sir John Marshall.

² The top of *va* is damaged by a slanting cross-line, and there happens to be a faint vertical stroke behind it which gave rise to the imaginary syllable *vim* in Cunningham's copy. A later idea of Bühler's (IA, 22. 299), the group *ḍva*, is equally non-existent; as stated by Fleet (JRAS, 1910. 147), it is already impossible because the *ḍa* would then have to stand on the level of the line, but not above it, and the *va* would have to be entered below, but not on the level of the line. These tedious details have to be noted here because the fanciful reading *saḍvachhale*, combined with the actual blunder *chhavachhare* at Rūpnāth, is the starting-point of a (now exploded) theory which has obscured the chronology of Aśoka's inscriptions for a long time.

³ Read *amisan-*.

⁴ *sam[tā]* Bühler.

⁵ Restore *suage chakiye*.

⁶ Read *sāvane*.

⁷ *-[ṭh]itik*. Bühler.

⁸ *palakame* Senart and Bühler.

⁹ Restore *yata*.

¹⁰ The syllable *pi* was entered above the line.

वे

मिने

सरे

दुवे

य

ajin

lena

....

etāye

1 (I)

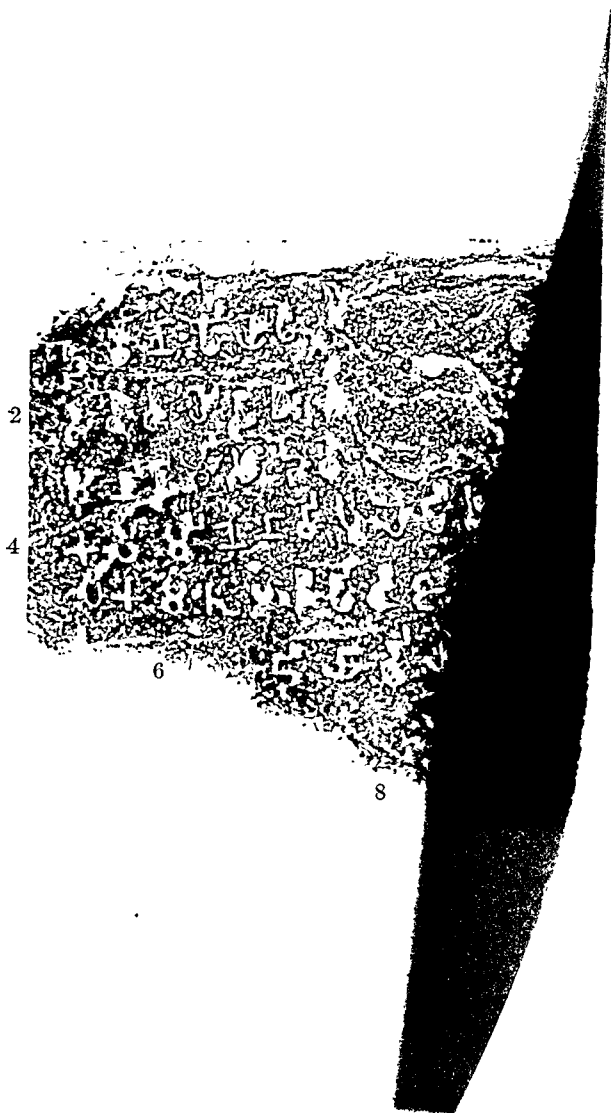
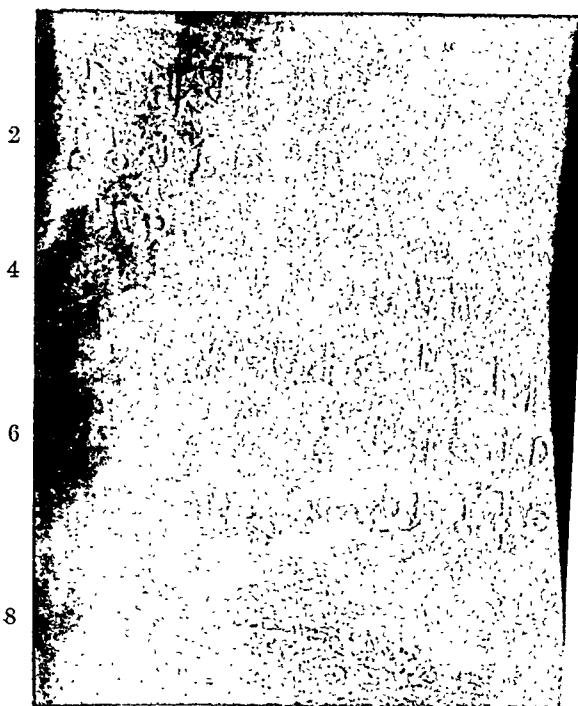
vac

1 (M)

an old

vertical
later idea
AS, 1910
line, but
These
ed with the
which has

Asiya



TRANSLATION

- (A) Dēvānāmpriya [speaks] thus.
 (B) years since I am a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).
 (C) But (I had) not been very zealous.
 (D) A year and somewhat more (has passed) since
 (E) And men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled with the gods, have (now) been made (by me) mingled with the gods.
 (F) [For] this is the fruit [of zeal].
 (G) cannot¹ be reached by (persons of) high rank alone, (but) even a lowly (person) is able to attain even the great heaven if he is zealous.
 (H) Now, for the following purpose (has) this proclamation (been issued), (that) both the lowly and the exalted may be zealous, and (that) even (my) borderers may know (it), and (that this) zeal may be of long duration.
 (I) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to one and a half, to at least one and a half.
 (J) And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour.
 (K) Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour,²—(in figures) 256.³
 (L) And cause ye this matter to be engraved on rocks.
 (M) And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved.

III. THE BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानांपिये आहा (B) साति
 2 वसानि य हकं उपासके (C) नो चु वाढं
 3 अं ममया सघे उपयाते वाढ च
 4 जंबुदिपसि अमिसा न देवेहि मि कमस एस . . ले
 5 (G) नो हि एसे महत्तनेव चकिये कममिनेना
 6 विपुले पि श्वगे चक्ये आलाधेतवे (H) का च उडाला चा
 पलकमतु ति

¹ For *chak*, a variant of the root *śak*, see above, p. 97, n. 4.

² Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520, note) compares the word *vivuthā* (corresponding to *vivāsā* at Rūpnāth) with *vyushṭam*, a division of time which is mentioned in the *Kautilīya*, p. 60, l. 3 from bottom. His suggestion that the latter may have the sense of *νυχθημερον*, 'a night and a day', is perhaps correct. At any rate, in Aśoka's time both *vivutha* and *vivāsa* apparently meant 'a civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twenty-four hours from headquarters'.

³ The actual purport of this important passage was cleared up by Thomas (JA (10), 15. 520), who discovered in it the word *lāti*, 'a night', which had escaped the attention of his predecessors for thirty-three years. He pointed out, at the same time, that *pañnā* is a recognized Prākṛit form of *pañchāśat*, and that expressions like *dvē shatpañchāśe rātri-śatē* are used in archaic Sanskrit as well. Cf. *ekaṁ rattinī vipavasati*, 'to spend a night away from home', in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 581.

- 7 अन्ता पि च जानंतु ति चिलठित लं पि वढिसति
 8 दियदियं वढिसति
 1 (A) Devānāṃpiye āh[ā] (B) s[ā]ti
 2 vasān[i] ya hakaṃ¹ upāsake (C) [no chu] bādham
 3 aṃ mamayā saghe² [u]payāte [bā]dha cha
 4 Jambudīpasi³ amisā⁴ na devehi [m]i [ka]masa esa ... l[e]
 5 (G) [no] hi e[s]e ma[ha]taneva chakiye kamaminenā
 6 vipule pi śvage [cha]kye [ā]lādheta[v]e (H) kā cha [u]d[ā]lā chā⁵
 [pala]kamatū [t]i
 7 [aṃ]tā pi cha jānaṃtu ti [ch]ila-ṭhit laṃ pi vaḍhisati
 8 diyaḍhiyaṃ vaḍhi[s]a]ti

IV. THE CALCUTTA-BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादेतूनं आहा अपावाधतं च फासु-
 विहालतं चा
 2 (B) विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च
 (C) ए केचि भंते
 3 भगवता बुधेन भासिते सर्वे से सुभासिते वा (D) ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
 हेवं सधंमे
 4 चिलठितीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं वातवे (E) इमानि भंते धंस-
 पलियायानि विनयसमुक्से
 5 अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसूते उपतिसपसिने ए चा
 लाघुलो-
 6 वादे मुसावादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंसपलियायानि
 इहामि
 7 किंति बहुके भिखुपाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं मुनेयु चा उपधालयेयू चा
 8 (F) हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा (G) एतेनि भंते इमं लिखापयामि
 अभिप्रेतं मे जानंतू ति

- 1 (A) Pr[i]yadas[i]⁶ l[ā]jā Māgadhe⁷ saṃghaṃ abhivāde[tū]naṃ⁸ āhā ap[ā]bādhatam
 cha phāsu-vihālatam chā
 2 (B) vidite v[e] bhaṃte āvatake h[a]mā Budhasi dhammasi saṃghasi ti gālave.⁹
 chaṃ prasāde¹⁰ cha (C) e kechi¹¹ bhaṃte

¹ *haka* Bühler.

² *sa[in]ghe* Bühler.

³ *dīpasi* Bühler.

⁴ The syllable *mi* was entered above the line.

⁵ *cha* Bühler.

⁶ *Piya*^o Senart.

⁷ *Māgadham* Senart; but the *e* of *dhe* is quite distinct, and what has been taken for an Anusvāra is in reality a horizontal dash.

⁸ *abhivādanam* Senart; but see JRAS, 1909. 727.

⁹ *gālave* Senart.

¹⁰ *pasāde* Senart.

¹¹ *kechi* Senart.

BAIRAT ROCK-INSCRIPTION



(6) the *Upatisa-pasina*, and (7) the *Lāghulovāda* which was spoken by the blessed Buddha concerning falsehood,¹—I desire, Sirs, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them).

(F) In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act).

(G) For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written, (viz.) in order that they may know my intention.

V. THE MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) देवानंपियस असोकस अढति-
- 2 .. नि वषानि । अं सुमि बुधशके (C) तिरे
- 3 .. मि संघं उपगते उठ मि उपगते (D) पुरे जंबु-
- 4 सि ये अमिसा देवा हुसु ते दानि मिसिभूता (E) इय अठे खुद-
- 5 केन पि धमयुतेन सके अधिगतवे (F) न हेवं दखितविये उडा-
- 6 लके व इम अधिगहेया ति (G) खुदके च उडालके च वत-
- 7 विया हेवं वे कलंतं भदके से अ तिके च वढि-
- 8 सिति चा दियदियं हेवं ति

- 1 (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa Asok[a]sa² [a]dh[a]t[i]-
- 2 .. ni³ vashā[ni] । aṁ⁴ sum[i] Bu[dha]-Śake⁵ (C) [t]ire
- 3 .. [m]i⁶ [s]aṁgha[m] u[pa]gate [uṭh] m[i] u[pa]gate⁷ (D) pure Jambu-
- 4 s[i]⁸ ye amisā devā husu te [dā]n[i] misibhūtā (E) iya a[the khu]da-

¹ For identifications of these texts see Oldenberg, *Vinaya-piṭaka*, Introduction, p. xl, n. 1; Sylvain Lévi, JA (9), 7. 475 ff.; Neumann, VOJ, 11. 159 f.; Rhys Davids, JRAS, 1898. 339 f.; Oldenberg, ZDMG, 52. 634 ff.; Bloch, id., 63. 325 ff. As the late lamented Mr. V. A. Smith kindly informed me, No. 1, *Vinaya-samukasa*, is identified by A. J. Edmunds (*Buddhist Bibliography*, San Francisco, 1904) with Buddha's First Sermon. According to Dharmaranda Kosambi (IA, 41. 40), Nos. 2 and 3 occur in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, Nos. 4-6 in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and No. 7 in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

² Senart fills up this break by *vachanena adbhikāni*. As the instrumental *vachanena* would require a verb, for which there is no room on the stone, I suggest reading *sāvane* (or *sāsane*) (B) *adbhikāni*.

³ Restore *aḍhatiyāni*.

⁴ *vasāni* [ya]ni aṁ Krishna Sastri.

⁵ *buṁ[pā]śake* K.S. The point after *bu* does resemble an Anusvāra, but it stands on a higher level than the other Anusvāras of this inscription. Besides, an Anusvāra would make no sense here. Krishna Sastri remarks that 'the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other', and Senart (JA (11), 7. 428) suggests that the writer may have wavered between *upāsake* and *Budhupāsake*. I agree with him in believing that the writer originally wanted to write *upāsake*, which is the reading of Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Śiddāpura. On second thoughts he changed *upā* to *Budha* and added *Śake*, which corresponds to [Sa]k[e] at Rūpnāth. The abnormal shape of the *dha* of *Budha* is due to its having been corrected from *pā*.

⁶ Restore *sātireke aṁ sumi* and, before these three words, perhaps *samvachhare*.

⁷ Restore perhaps *uṭhānaṁ cha sumi upagate*, which would convey the same meaning as the corresponding passage at Brahmagiri: *bāḍhaṁ cha me pakānte*. Krishna Sastri and Senart restore *bāḍhaṁ cha sumi upagate*.

⁸ Restore *Jambudīpasi*. Of the four next words faint traces are visible.

MASKI ROCK-INSCRIPTION



- 5 ke[na pi]¹ dhama-yute[na] sake adhigatave (F) na hevaṃ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-
 6 lake va ima adhigachh[e]yā ti (G) [khudak]e [cha uḍ]ālake cha vata-
 7 viyā hevaṃ ve kalamāṇaṃ bha[dak]e [se a]² t[i]k[e]³ cha va[ḍhi]-
 8 siti chā diya[ḍhi]yaṃ he[vaṃ] ti⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) [A proclamation] of Dēvānāmpriya Aśōka.

(B) Two and a half years [and somewhat more] (have passed) since I am a *Buddha-Sākya*.⁵

(C) [A year and] somewhat more (has passed) [since] I have visited the *Samgha* and have shown zeal.

(D) Those gods who formerly had been unmingled (with men) in *Jambudvīpa*, have now become mingled (with them).

(E) This object can be reached even by a lowly (person) who is devoted to morality.⁶

(F) One must not think thus,—(viz.) that only an exalted (person) may reach this.

(G) Both the lowly and the exalted must be told: 'If you act thus,' this matter (will be) prosperous and of long duration, and will thus progress to one and a half'.

VI. THE BRAHMAGIRI ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवर्णगिरीति अयपुत्तस महामाताणं च वचनेन इस्सिलसि महामाता आरोगियं
 वत्तविया हेवं च वत्तविया (B) देवाणंपिये आणपयति
 2 (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि य हकं सके (D) नो तु खो वाढं
 प्रकंते हुसं एकं सवद्धरं (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवद्धरं
 3 यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना
 मुनिसा जंबुदीपसि
 4 मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले (H) नो हीयं सक्के महात्पेनेव पापोतवे
 कामं तु खो खुदकेन पि
 5 पकमि खेण विपुले स्वगे सक्के आराधेतवे (I) एतायठाय इयं सावणे
 सावापिते
 6 महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अंता च मै जानेयु चिरठितीके
 च इयं

¹ h[ī] K. S.

² [the ti] K. S.

³ Restore perhaps *se aṭhe chira-ṭhitike*.

⁴ *diyadhiya h[e]sati* K. S.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 167, n. 18.

⁶ Instead of this, the other versions of the short edicts read 'if he is zealous'. This correspondence is valuable, because it confirms indirectly the meanings which I have assigned to *pra-kram* or *parā-kram* and to *dharma-yukta*; cf. above, p. 167, n. 20, and p. 124, n. 6.

⁷ For the nominative singular absolute *kalaiṇaṃ* see above, p. 35, n. 9. Its subject, *ve* (= Skt. *valī*), is originally an oblique case of the plural.

- 7 पक (J) इयं च अठे वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अवरधिया
दियढियं
- 8 वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) से हेवं
देवाणंपिये
- 9 आह (N) मातापितिसु सुसूसितविये हेमेव गरुसु प्राणेषु द्रह्यितव्यं सचं
- 10 वतवियं से इमे धंमगुणा पवतितविया (O) हेमेव अंतेवासिना
- 11 आचरिये अपचायितविये जातिकेसु च कं य . . रहं पवतितविये
- 12 (P) एसा पोराणा पकिती दीघावुसे च एस (Q) हेवं एस कटिविये
- 13 (R) चपडेन लिखिते लिपिकरेण

- 1 (A) [S]uv[a]m̐nagiriṭe¹ ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachan[e]na Isilasi
mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā hevaṃ cha vataviyā (B) Devāṇaṃpiye
ānapayati
- 2 (C) adhikāni adhātiyāni v[a]sāni ya hakaṃ s[ke]² (D) no tu kho
bāḍhaṃ prakam̐te³ husaṃ ekaṃ savachcharaṃ (E) sātireke tu kho
saṃvachhareṃ⁴
- 3 yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayīte bāḍhaṃ cha me pakam̐te (F) iminā chu kālena amisā
samānā munisā Jambudīpasi
- 4 mi[s]ā devehi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale (H) no hiyaṃ sakye mahātpeneva
pāpotave kamaṃ tu kho khudakena pi
- 5 paka[m]ji⁵ vipule svage sakye ārādhetaṃ (I) e[t]āyathāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe
sāvāpīte
- 6⁶ mahāt[p]ā cha imaṃ pakame[yu t]i am̐tā cha mai⁷ jāneyu chira-
t̐itike cha iyaṃ
- 7 [paka]⁸ (J) iyaṃ cha aṭhe vadhisiti vipulaṃ pi cha vadhisiti avaradhiyā
diyaḍhiyaṃ
- 8 [vaḍh]isiti (K) iyaṃ cha sāvaṇ[e] sāv[ā]p[i]te vyūthēna (L) 200 50 6 (M) se hevaṃ
Devāṇaṃpiye
- 9 āha (N) mātā-pitisu susūs[i]taviye hemeva garu[su]⁹ prāṇesu drahyitavyaṃ
sacham̐
- 10 vataviyaṃ se ime dham̐ma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (O) hemeva am̐tevāsina
- 11 āchariye apachāyitaviye nātikesu cha [ka]m̐¹⁰ ya . . rahaṃ¹¹ pavatitaviye

¹ This word looks almost like *Suveniṇṇa*^o, but the Śiddhāpura version reads *Suvanṇa*^o distinctly.

² Restore *upāsake*, as at Śiddhāpura.

³ *pakam̐te* Bühler.

⁴ Read *saṃvachhare*; *sa[m̐]vachhar[a]m̐* Bühler.

⁵ *paka[m̐mī]ṇeṇa* Bühler; read *pakamam̐ṇeṇa* and cf. the Sahasrām edict, l. 3 f.

⁶ The Śiddhāpura version reads *yathā khu[dakā cha]*.

⁷ Read *me*.

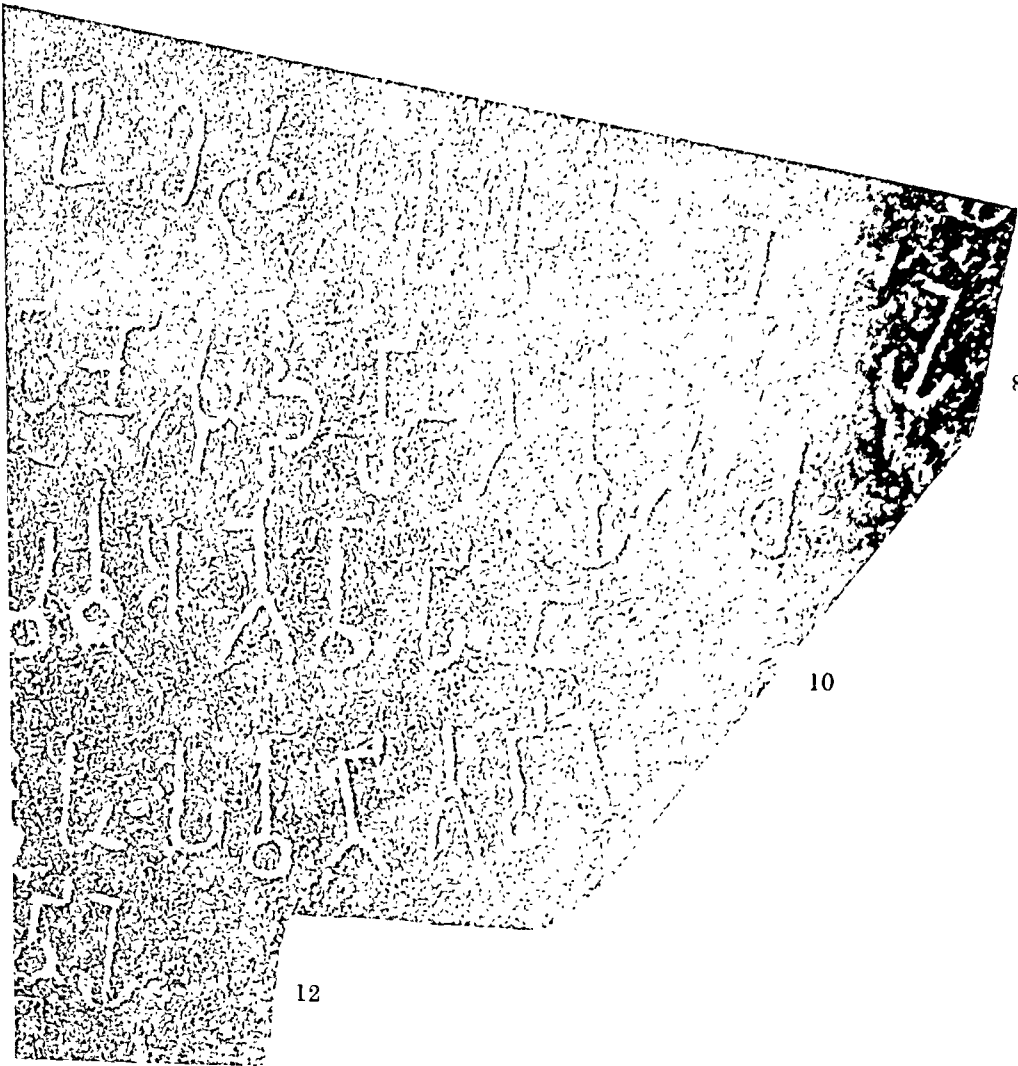
⁸ The Śiddhāpura version reads *pakame hoti (hotu at Sahasrām)*.

⁹ *garu[su]* Bühler.

¹⁰ *k[u?]* Bühler; see above, p. 31, n. 6.

¹¹ Restore *yathārahāṃ* and cf. the Śiddhāpura version, l. 20, and the Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara version, l. 18.





- 12 (P) esā porā[ñ]ā pa[k]itī d[īgh]āvuse¹ cha esa (Q) hevañ esa kaṭiviye²
 13 (R) Chapaḍona likhite³ li[pi]kareṇa⁴

TRANSLATION

(A) From Suvarṇagiri,⁵ at the word of the prince (*āryaputra*)⁶ and of the *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila must be wished good health⁷ and be told this:

(B) Dēvānāmpriya commands (as follows).

(C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am)⁸ a lay-worshipper (*upāsaka*).

(D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.⁹

(E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Saṅgha* and have been very zealous.

(F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled, (are now) mingled with the gods.¹⁰

(G) For this is the fruit of zeal.

(H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.

(I) For the following purpose has this proclamation been issued,¹¹ [that both the lowly] and those of high rank may be zealous in this manner,¹² and (that even) my borderers may know (it), and (that) this zeal may be of long duration.

(J) And this matter will (be made by me to) progress, and will (be made to) progress even considerably; it will (be made to) progress to at least one and a half.

(K) And this proclamation was issued by (me) on tour.

¹ *d[īgh]āvuse* Bühler.

² Read *kaṭaviye*.

³ *li[pi]kareṇa* Bühler.

⁴ This word is written in Kharoṣṭhī characters.

⁵ This place seems to have been the capital of the province administered by the *Āryaputra* and his *Mahāmātras*. Bühler (EI, 3. 137) compared the second separate edict at Dhauli, according to which a *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras* resided at Tōsalī. The separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada were addressed by the king to the local authorities themselves, while in the Mysore edicts the king commands the authorities of the Suvarṇagiri province to communicate his orders to their subordinates at Isila. In Fleet's opinion the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarṇagiri by Aśoka himself; and he identified this place with one of the hills, still known as Sōnagiri, near Rājagriha in Bihār; see JRAS, 1909. 998. H. Krishna Sastri connects Suvarṇagiri, i.e. 'the gold mountain', with the country around Maski, which abounds in ancient gold-workings; see his remarks on the Maski edict, p. 1. Perhaps it may be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara; see Constable's *Hand-Atlas of India*, plate 34, C, b.

⁶ Bühler (VOJ, 12. 75 f.) traced the word *āryaputta*, 'a prince', in the *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 146 f.

⁷ Cf. the preamble of the Calcutta-Bairāt rock-inscription.

⁸ The word *sumi* is added in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, and Maski edicts.

⁹ The words 'for one year' are missing at Rūpnāth and Sahasrām. As Senart (JA (8), 19. 481 f.) has shown, they are of great importance for the chronology of the Aśoka inscriptions, because they imply that the period of 'more than two and a half years', for which, at the time of the Sahasrām, Bairāt, and Siddāpura edicts, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (or Śākya, as the Rūpnāth and Maski edicts read), must be subdivided into two shorter periods, viz. (1) one year (with, no doubt, a little more) during which he had not been very zealous, and (2) a year with the balance of the whole period, during which he displayed great zeal, and which commenced from his visit to the *Saṅgha*. Cf. chapter IV of the Introduction.

¹⁰ For the meaning of this section see above, p. 168, n. 3.

¹¹ Cf. the Delhi-Tōprā pillar-edict VII, K and M, and above, p. 168, n. 6.

¹² With *imam* supply *pakamañ*; cf. *vaḍḍhi[ñi*] vaḍḍhisiti* in the Rūpnāth edict, section I, and above, p. 168, n. 9.

(L) 256 (nights had then been spent on tour).¹

(M) Moreover, *Dēvānāmpriya* speaks thus.²

(N) Obedience must be rendered to mother and father, likewise to elders; firmness (of compassion) must be shown towards animals; the truth must be spoken: these same moral virtues must be practised.

(O) In the same way the pupil must show reverence to the master, and one must behave in a suitable manner towards relatives.

(P) This is an ancient rule, and this conduces to long life.

(Q) Thus one must act.³

(R) Written by *Chapaḍa* the writer.

VII. THE SIDDAPURA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) सुवङ्गगिरीते अयपुत्तस महामाता-
- 2 णं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता
- 3 आरोगियं वतविया (B) देवानंपिये हेवं
- 4 आह (C) अधिकानि अढातियानि वसानि
- 5 य हकं उपासके (D) नो तु खो वाढ पकंते हुसं एकं सवछ . .
- 6 (E) सातिरेके तु खो संवछरे यं मया संघे उपयीते वाढं
- 7 च मे पकंते (F) इमिना चु कालेन अमिसा समाना सु
- 8 जंवुद मिसा देवेहि (G) पकमस हि इयं फले H) नो हि इ-
- 9 य सके म नेव पापोत्तवे कामं तु खो खुदकेन
- 10 पि प न विपुले स्वगे सके आराधेतवे
- 11 (I) से य इयं सावणे साविते यथा खु-
- 12 दका च महात्पा च इमं पकमेयु ति अता च,
- 13 चिरठितीके च इयं पकमे होति
- 14 (J) वढिसिति विपुलं पि च वढिसिति अ
- 15 यढियं वढिसिति (K) इयं च सावणे
- 16 (L) २०० ५० ६ (M) मा सितविये
- 17 हितथं शचं वत . . यं इमे धंमगु
- 18 (N) हेमेव अं आचरिये अपचायितविये सु
- 19 (O) एसा पोराणा . . किती दीघावुसे च (P) हेमेव . .
- 20 तेविसिने च
- 21 आचरिये थारहं पवतितव म . .
- 22 स तथा कटविये (R) चप
- 23 ण

¹ Cf. section J of the *Sahasrām* edict.

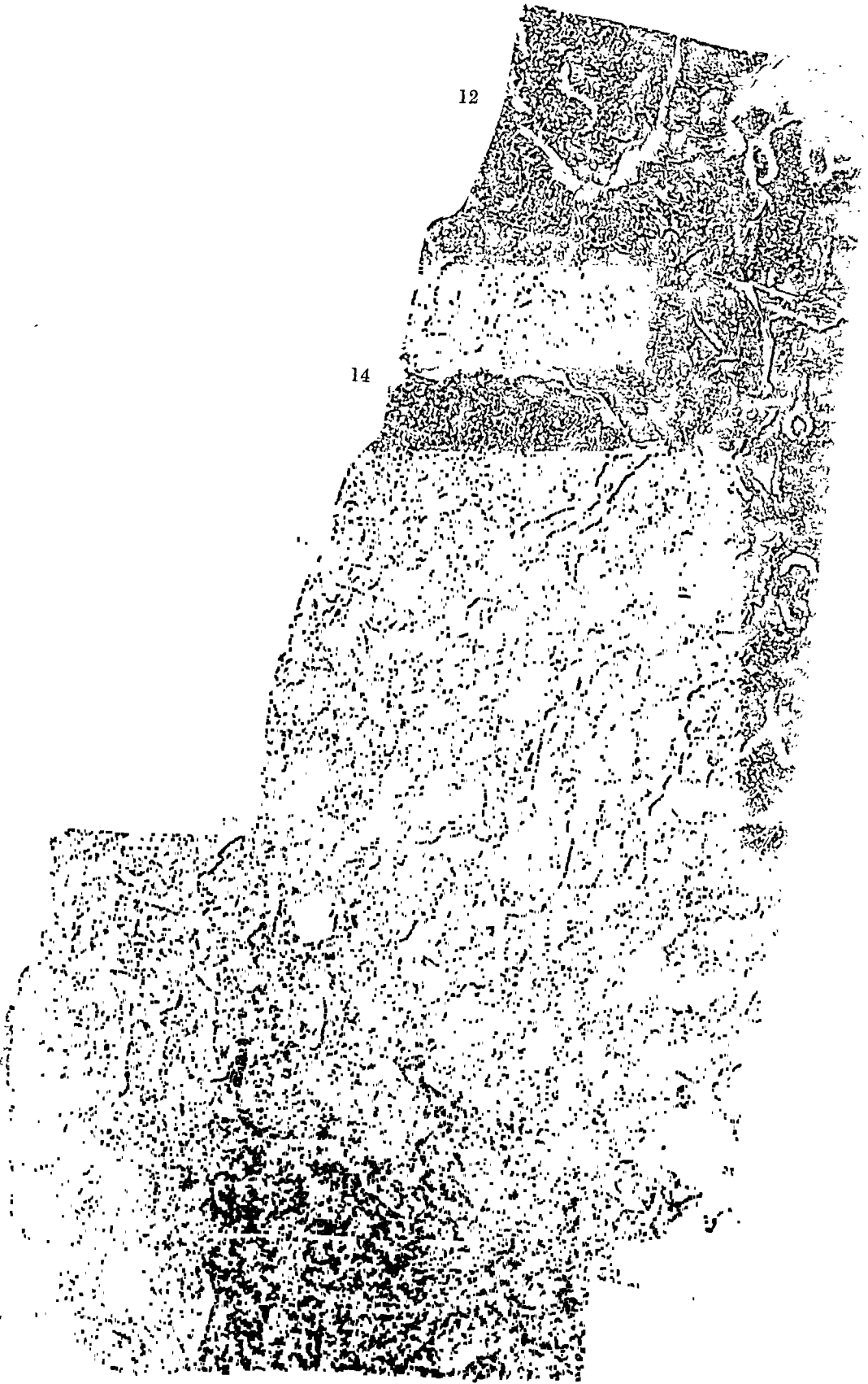
² This section is omitted in the *Siddāpura* and *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* versions.

³ At the beginning of this section, the *Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara* version inserts: 'This is the morality of *Dēvānāmpriya*'.

12

14

20



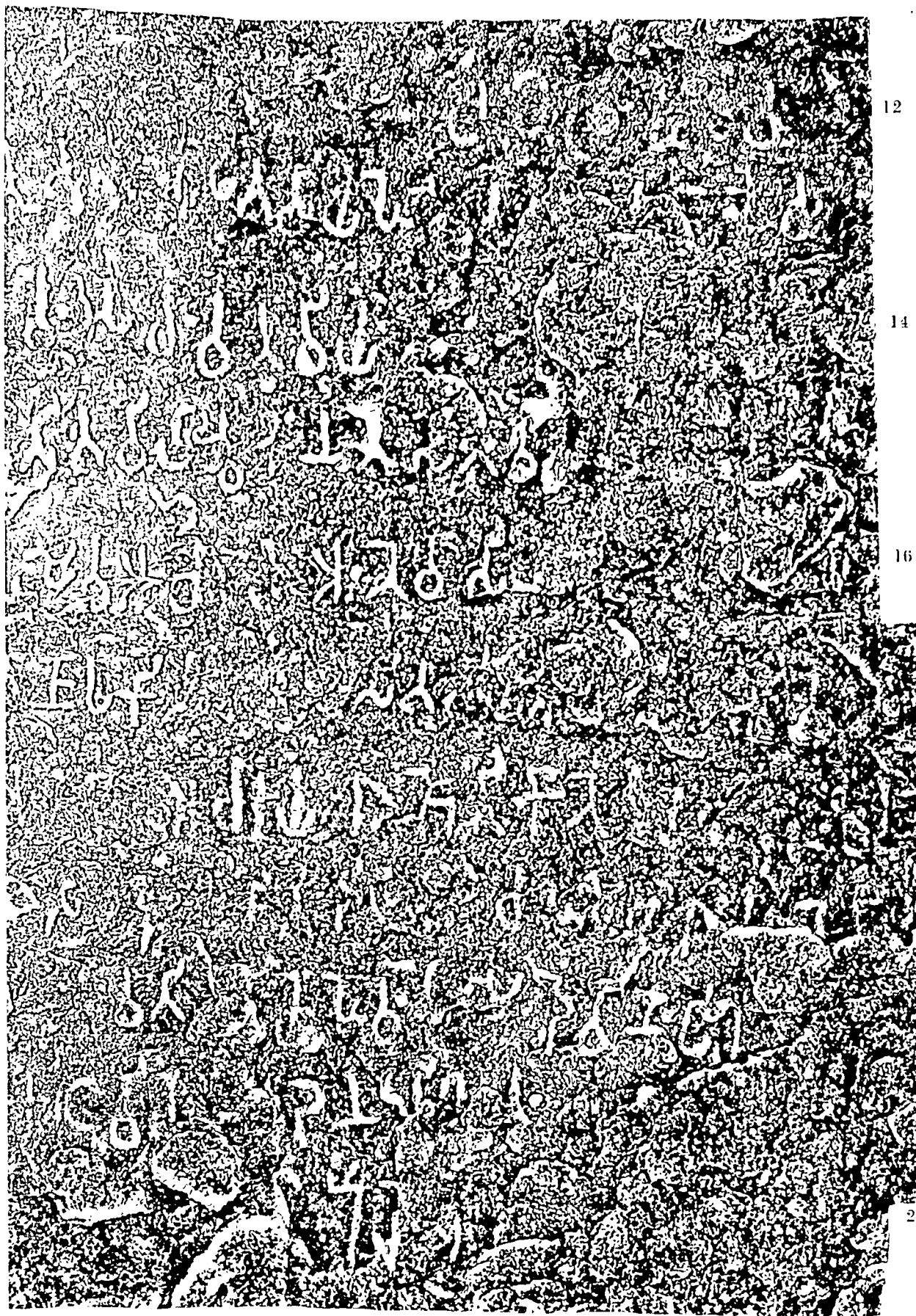


- 1 (A) Suvaiṇṇagiriṭo ayaputasa mahāmātā-
 2 ṇaṭṭi cha vachanena I[ṣ]ḥasi mahāmātā
 3 ārogiyaṇi vata[vj][yā] (B) [Dov]ā[na]ṇṇiyo hevaṇi
 4 āha (C) adhiḥkāni a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] vasāni
 5 ya ha[kati] u[pāsake] (D) no tu kho bādha pakāṇṭe husaṇi ok[aiṇ] sa[vachha] . .¹
 6 (E) [sātiro]ko tu kho saṇvachharo [yaṇi mayā saṇ]ghe upayāte bādhaṇi
 7 [cha me] i[akati]te (F) i[m]jā chu kālena [a]misā samā[nā] mu
 8 Janibud[ḍ] [mi]sā devchi (G) pakamasa hi iyaṇi phale (H) no [h]i i-²
 9 ya sake [ma] [ne]va pāpo[ta]ve kāmaṇi tu kho khudakena
 10 pi [pa] na [v]ipul[e] svage sak[e] ārādhetaṇe
 11 (I) [s] ya [iya]ṇi sāvane sāvite yathā khu-
 12 [daka] cha ma[jhātpā] cha imaṇi [pa]kameyu ti atā³ cha
 13 [chira]ṇi[ti]k[e]⁴ cha iyaṇi pakame hoti⁵
 14 (J) va[dh]isiti vipu[la]ṇi p[i] cha vadhisiti [a]
 15 [yadhiya]ṇi vadhisiti (K) i[ya]ṇi [cha] sāv[ā]ṇe
 16 (L) [200] 50 6 (M) [mā] [si]taviye
 17 [hyi]tavyaṇi sa[cha]ṇi va[ta] . . [ya]ṇi im[e] dharima-gu
 18 (N) [heme]va [a]ṇi [ācha]riye apachāyitaviye su
 19 (O) [e]sā [p]i[r]i[nā] . . [ki]ti di[ghā]vu[se] cha (P) heme[va]
 i[ti]vāsine⁶ cha
 20 āchariy[e] thārahaṇi pavatitav m . . .
 21 sa⁷ [ta]ṇhā kaṭaviye (R) Chapa
 22 [pa]⁸

VIII. THE JATINGA-RAMESVARA ROCK-INSCRIPTION

- 1 (A) तान च य
 2 इति विया (B) देवान
 3 य हक्
 4 खो चाढ (E) . . तिरेके
 5 यं . . या
 6 य
 7 हि इयं
 8
 9
 10 च दिस . .
 11 . . पुलं पि यदियं

¹ *saṇva* Bühler.² *-thitike* Bühler.³ . . [te]vāsine Bühler. Read *anītevasine*.⁴ This syllable is in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet.⁵ Bühler omitted *i*.⁶ *kaṭ[u]* Bühler.⁷ *esa* Bühler.⁸ *anīta* Bühler.



12

14

16

2

IX. THE BARABAR HILL CAVE-INSCRIPTIONS

FIRST CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवादसवसाभिसितेना

2 इयं निगोहकुभा दिना आजीविकेहि

1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa-[vasābhisitenā]¹

2 [iyam Nigoha]-kubhā¹ di[nā ājivikehi]¹

TRANSLATION

By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this Banyan-cave² was given to the Ājīvikas.³

SECOND CAVE-INSCRIPTION: BARABAR HILL

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-

2 डसवसाभिसितेना इयं

3 कुभा खलतिकपवतसि

4 दिना आजीविकेहि

1 lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-

2 ḍasa-vasābhisitenā iyam

3 kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi

4 dinā [ājīvi]kehi⁴

TRANSLATION

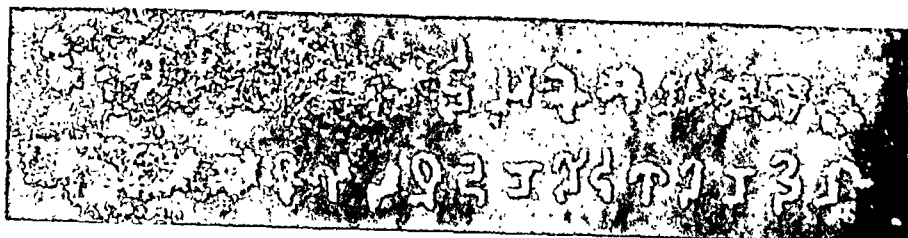
By king Priyadarśin, (when he had been) anointed twelve years, this cave in the Khalatika mountain was given to the Ājīvikas.

¹ The bracketed letters are more or less injured. Evidently an attempt has been made to efface them.

² This seems to have been the name of the cave. Cf. the other names of caves at the beginning of the three cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha (IA, 20. 364 f.).

³ The Ājīvika sect was founded by Gōśāla, a contemporary of both Gautama and Mahāvira. Kern, with whom Bühler sided, considered the Ājīvikas to have been a Vaiṣṇava sect; see IA, 20. 361 f. This view was combated by D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 21. 399 ff., and IA, 41. 90, 286 ff. Cf. Neumann's translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, 2. 248, n. 139, and Charpentier in JRAS, 1913. 669 ff. For full information see the late Dr. Hoernle's learned article 'Ājīvikas' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

⁴ The bracketed letters are effaced; cf. above, n. 1. In the first of the three Nāgārjuni Hill cave-inscriptions of Daśaratha also an attempt has been made to chisel away the word *ājīvikehi*; see the plate in IA, 20. 365, D.



APPENDIX: SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

I. THE FOURTEEN ROCK-EDICTS

FIRST ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|--------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | iy[am] | dhamma-lipi | | | | Devānaṃpriyena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | iyam | dhamma-lipi | | | | Devānaṃpiyenā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | [aya] | dhrama-dipi | | | | Devanapriasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | ayi | dhra[ma]-dip[i] | | | | Devanaṃ[priye]na |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | . | . | . | [si pava]tasi | [D]e[v]e[na]ṃp[riy]... | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (A) | iyam | dhamma-lipi | Khepi[m]galasi | pavatasi | | Devānaṃpiyena |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------|-------------|-----|--------|----|---------|--------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasinā | rānā | lekh[ā]pitā | (B) | [i]dha | na | kimchi | jīvaṃ | ārabhitpā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadas[i]nā | | [lekhit]ā | (B) | [h]idā | no | kichhi | jīve | ālabhitu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | raño | likhapitu | (B) | hida | no | kich[i] | jīve | ara[bhitu] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priya[draśina | rajina | li[khapita | (B) | hi[da] | no | kichhi | jī[ve] | ara[bhitu] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> |[nā | lājina | lī[khā] | . | . | . | . | [i]vaṃ | ālabhitu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasinā | lājina | likhāpitā | (B) | hida | no | kichhi | jīvaṃ | ālabhi[t]u |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|-----|-----|-----|--------|-----------|----------|---------|----------|-------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | prajūhitavyaṃ | (C) | na | cha | samājo | katavyo | (D) | bahukaṃ | hi | dosam | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pajohitaviye | (C) | no | pi | ch[ā] | samāje | kaṭaviye | (D) | bahuk[ā] | hi | dosā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [p]rayuhotave | (C) | no | pi | ch[a] | sama[ja] | kaṭava | (D) | ba[hu]ka | [hi] | dosha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pra[johi]taviye | (C) | no | pi | [cha] | samaj[e] | kaṭaviye | (D) | bahu[ka] | hi | [dosha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pajo[h]..... | (C) | [no | pi | cha | sam]ā[je] | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pajohitaviye | (C) | no | pi | cha | samāje | kaṭaviye | (D) | bahukaṃ | hi | dosam |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|------------|-------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | samājamhi | pasati | Devānaṃpriyo | Priyadasi | rājā | (E) | asti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | samājasā | | Devān[am]piye | Pi[ya]dasī | lājā | dakhati | (E) athi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sa[maya]spi | | Devanaṃpriy[e] | Priadraṣi | ray[a | da]khati | (E) [a]sti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [samajasa | | Devanaṃpriye] | Priyadraṣi | raja | [da]kha[tī] | (E) asti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [samā]ja . . | [d] | | | | | (E) |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | samājasa | drakhati | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | | (E) athi |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-------|---------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pi | tu | ekachā | samājā | sādhu-matā | Devānaṃpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | ch[ā] | e]katiyā | samājā | sādh[u]-matā | Devānaṃpiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | chu | ekatia | samaye | sasu-mate | Devanapiasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [pi | chu | eka]tiya | samaja | sa[dhu]-mata | Devanapriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [pi | chu] | [t]i[y]ā | [sam]ā[j]ā | s[ā]dhu-matā | Dev |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pi | chu | ekatiyā | samājā | sādhu-matā | Devānaṃpiyasa |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | (<i>F</i>) purā | mahānas[amhi] | Devānaṃpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine | (<i>F</i>) [p]ule | mahānasasi | Devānaṃpiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa | rāño | (<i>F</i>) pura | mahana[sas]i | [Devana]pr[i]asa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśi[sa] | rajine | (<i>F</i>) pura | maha[nasa]si | [Devana]pri[ya]sa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [Piyadasine | lā][ine] | (<i>F</i>) | [mah] | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | Piyadrasine | lājine | (<i>F</i>) puluvam | mahā[nasa]si | Devānaṃpiyasa |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------|-------------|----------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priy[a]dasino | rāño | anudivasam | bahūni | prāṇa-sata-sahasrāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasisā | lājine | anudivasam | bahuni | pāta-sahasāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priadraśisa | rāño | anudivaso | bahuni | pra[ṇa]-śata-sahasani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Pri[yadra]śisa | rajine | anudiva[sa] | ba]huni | praṇa-śa[ta]-sahas[r]ani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piy[a] | | | [n]i | [p]ina-[sa]ta |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | anudivasam | bah[ū]ni | pāna-sata-sah[a]sāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ārabhisu | sūpāthāya | (<i>G</i>) se | aja | yadā | ayam | dha[m]ma-lip[i] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | alambhiyisu | supathāy[e] | (<i>G</i>) se | i[d]āni | ya[dā] | iyam | dhamma-lipi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [arabhi]yis[u] | supathay[e] | (<i>G</i>) s[o] | i]dani | yada | aya | dhrama-dipi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [arabh]isu | supa[thra]ye | (<i>G</i>) :[e] | | ..[da] | ayi | dhrama-dipi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [a]labhiyisu | sūpāthāy[e] | (<i>G</i>) se | a[ja] | adā | [iyam | dha[m]ma-lipī |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | alabhiyisu | sūpa[th]iye | (<i>G</i>) se | aja | adā | iyam | dhamma-lipī |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | likhita | ti | eva | prāṇa | ārabhare | sūpāthāya | dvo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lekhita | tada | timni | yevā | pānāni | alabhi[ya]m]ti | duve |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | likhita | tada | trayo | vo | praṇa | hamānti[i] | majura |
| <i>Mān.</i> | likhi[ta] | ta[da] | ti[ni] | y[eva] | pra[ṇa]ni | [ara]bh[iya]nti | du[v]e[2] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | likhita | tim | | | [āla]bh[iy] | | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | likhita | timni | yeva | pānāni | āla[m]bhiyaṃti | | duve |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|---------|-----------|------|------|-------|---------|----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mora | eko | mago | so | pi | | mago | na | dhruvo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | majūl[a] | eke | mige | se | pi | [chū] | mige | no | dhruve |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | duv[i] 2 | mrugo | l | so | pi | | mrugo | no | dhruva[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | majura | [e]k[e] | m[r]ig[e] | s[e] | p[i] | chu | mrig[e] | no | dhruvaṃ |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | majūlā | eke | mige | se | pi | chu | mige | no | dhruvaṃ |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------|--------|----------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) ete | pi | tri | prāṇā | pachhā | na | ārabhisare | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) e[t]āni | pi | ch[u] | tini | pānā[n]i | no | alābhi[y]isa[m]ti | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) eta | pi | praṇa | trayo | pacha | na | arabhiśamti | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) [e]tāni | pi | chu | [tini] | praṇani | pacha | no | ara[bhi] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | [t]imni | pānāni | pachhā | n[o] | āl[a]bh[iy]isa[m]ti | |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | (H) etāni | pi | chu | timni | pānāni | pachhā | no | āla[bh]iyisaṃti |

SECOND ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (<i>A</i>) sarvata | vijitamhi | Devānaṃpriyasa | Piyadaśino | rāño |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (<i>A</i>) sav[a]tā | vijitasi | Devānaṃpiyas[ā] | Piyadasis[ā] | lājine |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (<i>A</i>) sav[r]atra | vijite | [De]va[na]m]priyasa | Priyadraśisa | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (<i>A</i>) sa[vatra | vi]jitasi | Devanapriyasa | Priyadraśisa | rajine |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (<i>A</i>) [sa]vata | [v]i[ji]tasi | [D]e[v]ānaṃpiyasa | Piyadasine | lājine |
| <i>Ṭau.</i> | (<i>A</i>) savata | vijitasi | Devānaṃpiyasa | Piyadasine | lājine |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | evamapi | prachamtesu | yathā | Choḍā | Pāḍā | Satiyaputo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ye cha | am̐tā | [a]thā | Choḍā | Paṁ[ḍi]yā | Sātiyaputo |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | y[e] cha | [a]m̐ta | yatha | [Choḍa] | Paṁḍiya | Satiyaputro |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ye cha | ata | atha | [Choḍa] | Pa[m̐ḍi]ya | Sa[t̐i]ya[p̐]u[tra] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | [athā] | | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | e vā pi | am̐tā | athā | Choḍā | Paṁḍiyā | Satiyapu[t̐]e |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Ketalaputo | ā | Tambapam̐ñi | Am̐tiyako | Yona-rājā | ye vā pi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Ke[lala]puto | | Tam̐ba[pa]m̐ni | Am̐tiyoge | [n]āma | Yona-lājā ye chā am̐ne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Keraḍaputro | | Tambapam̐ñi | Am̐tiyo[k̐]o | nama | Yona-rajā ye cha am̐ñe |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Keralaputra | | [Tam̐]bapañi | [A]tiyoge | nama | Yona-[raja] ye cha [a] . . |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | . . [t̐]iyoke | nāma | Yo[na]-lājā [e] vā [p̐]i |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------|------------------|------------|----------|-------------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiy[a]kas[a] | sām̐p[am̐] | rājāno | sarvatra | Devānam̐priyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tas[ā] | A[m̐]tiyogasā | sā[ma]m̐tā | lāj[ā]no | [sa]vatā | Devānam̐piyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiyokasa | samam̐ta | rajano | savratra | Devanam̐priyasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . . sa | [gasa] | samata | ra[jane] | sa[jvratra] | priyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ta]sa | Am̐tiyo[k̐]sa | sāmam̐tā | lājāne | savat[a] | D]evā[nam̐p̐]i[ye]na |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | tasa | Am̐tiyokasa | sāmam̐tā | lājāne | savata | Devānam̐piyena |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rājāno | dve | chikīchha | katā | manusa-chikīchhā cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasisā | lājine | duve | chikisakā | kaṭā | manusa-chikisā chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraśisa | rañō | du[vi] 2 | chik[i]sa | [kr̐]i[ṭa] | manuśa-chikisa . . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśisa | rajine | [duve 2] | chikisa | [ka]ṭa | manuśa-chik[isa] cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | P[i]yadasi[nā] | | | | | [s̐]ā cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasinā | lāji | | | | [ch]ikisā cha |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|----------|-------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pasu-chikīchhā | cha | (B) osuḍhāni | cha yāni | m[a]nusopagān[i] | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pasu-chikisā | chā | (B) osadhīn[i] | | manusopagāni | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pa[śu-ch]ikisa | [cha] | (B) [o]sha[d̐ha]ni | | manuśopakani | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paśu-[chi]kisa | cha | (B) osha[d̐ha]ni | | manu . . . ka[ni] | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[asu-ch]i[k̐]is[ā] | cha | (B) dhāni | ān[i] | m[u]nisopa[gā]ni | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pasu-chikisā | cha | (B) osadhāni | āni | munisopagāni | |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----|----------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | paso[pa]gāni | cha | yata yata | nāsti | sarvatrā | hārāpitāni cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pasopagāni | chā | a[ta]tā | n[a]th[i] | sa]vatā | [h]ālāpitā chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | paśopakani | cha | yat[r̐]a yatra | nasti | savatra | harapita cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pa . . . [kani | cha | atra atra | nasti | savra]tra | [ha]rapī[ta] cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pasu-opagān[i] | cha | atata | na[thi] | savata | hā]lāpit[ā] cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pasu-opagāni | cha | atata | nathi | sava[ta] | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ropāpitāni | cha | (C) | mūlāni | cha | phalāni | cha yata yatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lo[p̐]āpit[ā] | chā | (C) [e]vamevā | mulāni | chā | phalāni | chā a[ta]t[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vuta | cha | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ropa[pita] | cha | (C) e[va]meva | mulani | [cha] | phalani | [cha] a[tra] a]tra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [lo]pāp[i]tā | [cha] | (C) | mū[l] | | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | | | | cha atata |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----|------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | nāsti | sarvata | hārāpitāni | cha | rop[ā]pitāni | cha | (D) | pañthesū | kūpā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi | savatā | hālāp[i]tā | chā | lopāpitā | [ch]ā | (D) | ma[g]e[su] | [lu]khāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [na]sti | [savra]tra | harapita | cha | ro[pa]pita | cha | (D) | ma[geshu] | ruchhani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | v[a]t[a] | hālāpitā | [cha] | lo[p]āpitā | cha | (D) | ma[g]e[su] | udu[pānāni] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | nathi | s[a]vatra | hālāpitā | cha | lopāpitā | cha | (D) | magesu | udupānāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----------------|---------------|-----|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | khānāpitā | vrachhā | cha | ropāpit[ā] | paribhogāya | pasu-manusānaṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | lopitāni | ud[u]pānā[n]i | chā | khānāpitāni | pañibhogāye | pasu-muni[sā]naṃ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | (C) | kupa | cha | khanapita | pratibh[o]gaye | paśu-manuśanaṃ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | [ropa]pi[tani] | | | [pi]tani | pañibhogaye | paśu-m[uni]śanaṃ |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | khānāpitāni | lukhāni | cha | lopā[p]itāni | p[a]ñibhogāye | [na]ṃ |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | khānāpitāni | lukhāni | cha | | | |

THIRD ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|---------------|------------|--------|---------|-------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (-I) | Devānaṃpiyo | Piyadasi | r[ā]jā | evaṃ | āha | (B) | dbādasa- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (-I) | De[vā]naṃpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | h[e]vaṃ | āhā | (B) | du[v]ādasa- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (-I) | Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | raja | | ahati | (B) | badaya- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (-I) | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raja | eva | a[ha] | (B) | duva[ḍa]śa- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (-I) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) | duvādasa- |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (-I) | Dev[na]ṃpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) | duvādasa- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vāsābhisitena | mayā | idaṃ | ān[a]pitam | (C) | sarvata | vijite | mama |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | v[a]sābhisitena | me | iyam | ānapayite | (C) | savatā | vijitasi | [mama] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vashabh[i]si[tena] | | [a]napi[tam] | (C) | savatra | ma[a] | vijite | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vashabhisetena | me | iyam | [ānapayit]e | (C) | savrat[r]a | vijitasi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | iy[a]m | ānāp[ay]i | | [ta] | v[i]j[ī]t[a]si | m[e] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | iyam | [ā] | | | | |

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|--------------|-----------|-----|------------|------------|-------------|-----|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | yutā | cha | rājūke | cha | prādesike | cha | pañchasu | pañchasu | vāsesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yutā | | laj[ū]k[e] | | pādesike | | pa[m]cha[su] | pañchasu | vasesu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | yuta | | rajuko | | pradeśi[ka] | | pañcha]shu | pañchashu | 5 vasheshu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . . ta | | [ra]ju . . | | pradeśike | | [pañ]chashu | pañ[chashu] | 5 vashesh[u] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | yut[ā] | | la[j]u[k]e | | | | pañchasu | pañchasu | vasesu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | | cha | pād[e]sike | cha | | pañchasu | pañchasu | vasesu |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | anusamīy[ā]na[m] | n]iyātu | etāyeva | athāya | imāya | dhammānusastīya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [a]nusa[m]yānaṃ | nikham[am]tu | etāye vā | a[ṭh]āye | imāya | dhammanusathiyā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anusamīyanam | nik[r]amatu | etisa vo | karaṇa | imisa | dhammanusastīye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | anusa[m]yana[m] | nikramatu | etaye va | athraye | imaye | dhramanusastīye |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusayānaṃ | nikhamāvū | | | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | anusayānaṃ | nikhamāvū | | | | |

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|--------------|---------|----------|----|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | yathā | añāya | pi | kaṃmāy[a] | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | yathā | am[nāye] | pi | kaṃmāye | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tha] | añāye | pi | kramāye | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ya[tha] | añāye | pi | krama[ṇe] | | | | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | athā | amñāye | pi | [ka]m[ma]ne | hevaṃ | imā[y]e | [dham]mānus[ath]iy[e] | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | athā | amñāye | pi | kaṃma[n]e | | | | | |

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|--------------|-----|-----------|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (D) | [s]ādhu | mātari cha pitari cha susrūsā | mitra-samstuta-ñātīnam | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (D) | sādhu | māta-pitisu | sususā | mita-samthuta-nātikyān[am] chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (D) | sadhu | mata-pitushu | suśrusha | mitra-samst[u]ta-ñatikanam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (D) | [s]adhu | mata-pi[tu]shu | [s]u[ś]rusha | mitra-sa[m]stuta-ñatikanam cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (D) | [s]ād[h]u | māt[ā]-p[i]t[i]su | su[s]ūs[ā] m | nātisu cha |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | [s]ā | mita-samthute[s]... nātisu ch[a] |

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|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | bāmhaṇa-samaṇānam | sād[h]u d[ā]nam | prāṇānam | sādhu | anārambho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | bambhana-sama[nā]nam | [chā] | sādhu d[ā]ne | pānānam | anālambh[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bramaṇa-śra]maṇa[nam] | . | [pra]ṇanam | | [anaram]bho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | bra[ma]ṇa-śramaṇana[m] | sadhu | dane | praṇana | [anara]bhe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | bambhana-samanehi | sādhu | dāne | jīvesu | anālambhe |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | bambhana-samanehi | sādhu | dāne | jīvesu | [a]nālambhe |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | apa-vyayatā | apa-bhādatā | sādhu (E) | parisā | pi | yute |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā | [a]pa-[bha]m[ḍa]t[ā] | sādhu (E) | palisā | pi | cha yutāni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sadhu apa-vayata | apa-bhaṇdata | sadhu (E) | pari | [pi] | yutani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sadhu apa-[va]yata | apa-bha[ḍata] | sadhu (E) | parisha | pi | cha yutani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sādhu apa-viy[a]t[ā] | apa-bh[am]ḍatā | sādhu (E) | p[a]lisā | pi | cha[nas]i |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | sādhu | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | āṇapayisati | gaṇanāyam | hetuto | cha | vyamjanato | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ga]ṇanasi | anap[a]yisanti | hetuvatā | chā | viyamjanat[e] | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [ga]ṇanasi | aṇapeṣanti | hetuto | cha | vamjanato | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ga[ṇa]nasi | [aṇapa]yisā[ti] | he[tute] | cha | vi[yam]janate | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | y[u]t[ān]i | ā[na]p[ay]is[a]ti | [he]tut[e] | ch[a] | vi[yam]ja | ... |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | [y]i.... | hetute | cha | viyamjanate | cha |

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|-----|-------------|-------------|--------|----------------|-------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | atikātām | aṁt[a]raṁ | bahūni | vāsa-satāni | vaḍhito | eva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | atika[m]tām | a[m]ta[la]m | bahuni | vasa-satāni | v[adh]it[e] | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | atikratām | aṁtaram | bahuni | vasha-śatani | vaḍhito | vo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | atikratām | ata[raṁ] | bahuni | vasha-śa[ta]ni | vadhite | vo |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | atikaṁtām | aṁtalam | bahūni | vasa-satāni | vaḍhite | va |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) | a[t]ikaṁtām | aṁtalam | bahūni | vasa-satāni | vaḍhite | va |

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|--------------|---------------|----------|-----|------------|--------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | prāṇārambho | vihimsā | cha | bhūtānam | ñātisu | a[s]ampratipatī |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pā[nā]lambhe | vi[h]isā | chā | bhutānam | nātinā | asa[m]pa[tip]a[ti] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇarambho | vihisa | cha | bhuta[na]m | ñatina | asaṁpaṭipati |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇaram[bh]e | vih[isā] | cha | bhutanam | ñatina | asapa[t]ipati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pānā[la]mbhe | vihisā | cha | bhūtānam | nātisu | asaṁpaṭipati |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | pānālambe | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | brā[m]haṇa-sramaṇānam | asaṁpratipatī | (B) ta | aja | Devānampriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | samana-b[am]bhanānam | asaṁpaṭipati | (B) s[e] | ajā | Devānampiyasā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śramaṇa-bramaṇana[m] | a[sam]paṭipati | (B) [so | aja | Devana]mpriyasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śrama[ṇa]-bramaṇana | asa[m]paṭipati | (B) se | aja | [De]vanapriyasa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | samana-bābha[ne]su | asaṁpaṭipati | (B) se | aja | Devānampiyasa |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | (B) se | aja | Devānampiyasa |

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|--------------|--------------|--------|----------------------|---------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | rāño | dhamma-charaṇena | [bhe]ri-ghoso | aho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamm[a]-chal[an]enā | bheli-ghose | aho |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadraśisa | [raño] | dhrama-charaṇena | bheri-ghosha | aho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadraśine | rajine | dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe]na | bheri-ghoshe | aho |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamma-chalanena | bheli-ghosam | a[h]o |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | dhamma-chalanena | bhe[l] | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | dhamma-ghoso | vimāna-darsaṇā | cha hasti-da[sa]ṇā cha agi-kh[a]mḍhāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhamma-ghose | vimana-dasan[ā] | [ha]thini agi-kaṁdh[ā]ni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-ghosha | vimanana[m] draśanam | [a]stina joti-kaṁdhani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhama-ghoshe | vimana-draśana | asti[ne] agi-kaṁdhan[i] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dhamma-[gho]sam | vimāna-dasanam | hathini [a]gi-kaṁdhāni |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | [a]ñāni | cha | divyāni | rūpāni | dasayitpā | janam | (C) yārise |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | añnāni | chā | divyāni | lupāni | dasayitu | jana[sa] | (C) [ā]disā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | añani | cha | divani | rupani | draśayitu | janasa | (C) yadiśam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | añā[ni] | cha | di[vani] | rupani | draṣeti | janasa | (C) [a]diśe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | añnāni | cha | [di]vi[y]āni | lūpān[i] | dasayitu | munisānam | (C) ād[i]se |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | divi[y]āni | lūpāni | drasayitu | munisānam | (C) ādise |

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|--------------|------------|-----------------|----|----------------|--------|-------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | bahūhi | v[āsa]-satehi | na | bhūta-puve | tārise | aja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ba[h]u[hi] | v[asa]-[sa]tehi | nā | huta-puluve | tādise | ajā | vaḍhite |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bahuhi | vasha-śatehi | na | bhuta-pruve | tadiśe | aja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Mān.</i> | bahuhi | vasha-śa[tehi] | na | [hu]ta-pr[u]ve | tadiśe | [a]ja | vaḍhite |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | b[a]hūhi | vasa-sa[t]ehi | no | hūta-puluve | tādise | aja | va[ḍhite] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | bahūhi | vasa-sate | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Devānampriyasa | Priyadasino | rāño | dhammānusastiyā | anāram[bh]o |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānampiyasā | Piyadasine | [l]ājine | dhammanusathiye | a[n]ālambhe |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanampriyasa | Priyadraśisa | raño | dhrammanuśa[sti]ya | anarambho |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [De]vanapriyasa | Priyadraśine | rajine | dhramanuśastiya | anarabhe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [De]vānampiyasa | Piy[a]dasine | lājin[e] | dham[m]ānus[a]thi[y]ā | an[āla]mbhe |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | dhammānusastiyā | anālambhe |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | prāṇānam | avihisā | bhūtānam | ñātīnam | saṁpaṭipatī | brahmaṇa-samaṇānam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pānānam | avihisā | bhutānam | nāti[naṁ] | saṁpaṭipati | bambha[na-sa]manānam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṇa[naṁ] | avihisa | bhutanam | ñatina[m] | saṁpa[ṭi]pati | [bra]maṇa-śramaṇana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇana | avihisa | bhutana | ñatina | saṁpaṭipati | bamaṇa-śramaṇana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | pānānam | avihisā | bhūtānam | nātisu | saṁpaṭipat[i] | sama[na-b[ā]]bhanesu |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pānānam | avihisā | bhūtānam | nātisu | [saṁpa] | . |

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|--------------|---------------|----------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | saṁpaṭipatī | mātari pitari | [s]usrusā | thaira-susrusā | (D) esa | añe |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | saṁpaṭipati | mātā-pitisu | susūsā | | (D) ese | chā amne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | saṁpaṭipati | mata-pitushu | | vuḍhana[m]suśrusha | (D) e[ta] | añam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[m]paṭipati | mata-pitushu | suśru[sha] | vudhrana [su]śrusha | (D) eshe | añ[e] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | saṁpaṭipati | m[ā]t[i]-pitu- | susūsā | vu[ḍha]-susūsā | (D) esa | amne |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | . | . | . | . | (D) esa | amne |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | [dha]ñma-charaṇe | va[dhi]te | (<i>E</i>) | vaḍhayisati | cheva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | ba[h]uvidhe | dhañma-chalane | vadh[i]te | (<i>E</i>) | vadhīyisati | chevā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | bahuvidham | dhrama-charaṇam | vaḍhitam | (<i>E</i>) | vaḍhīṣati | cha yo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | dhrama-charaṇe | vadhrīte | (<i>E</i>) | vadhrayīṣati | yeva |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha | ba[h]uvidhe | dh[a]ñma-chalane | vadhite | (<i>E</i>) | vaḍhayis[a]ti | cheva |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | cha | bahuvidhe | dhañma-chalane | vaḍhite | (<i>E</i>) | va[dhay]i | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Devānānpriyo | [Pri*]ya[da]si | rājā | | | dhañma-[cha]raṇam | idam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānānpiy[e] | Piyadasi | lāja | ima[m] | | dha[m]ma-chalanam | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devānānpriyasa | Priyadrasīsa | raño | | | dhrama-charaṇam | ima[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devānānpriye | Priyadrasī | raja | | | dhama-[cha]raṇa | ima[m] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Devānānpriye | Piyada[s]i | l[ā]jā | | | dhañma-chalanam | imam |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (<i>F</i>) | putra | cha | [p]otrā | cha | prapotrā | cha | Devānānpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (<i>F</i>) | puta | cha | kañ | natale | chā | panātikyā | ch[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (<i>F</i>) | putra | pi | cha | kañ | nataro | cha | pranatika |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (<i>F</i>) | [putra] | pi | cha | ka | natare | cha | paṇatika |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (<i>F</i>) | puta | pi | chu | | nati | [panati] | [cha] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Priyadasino | raño | [pra*]vaḍhayisanti | | | idam | [dha]ñma-charaṇam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | [pa]v[ā]dhayisanti | ch[ev]a | | | dhañma-chalanam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Priyadrasīsa | raño | pra[va]dh[e]ṣanti | [yo] | | | dhrama-charaṇam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Priyadasine | rajine | pavaḍhayisanti | yo | | | dhrama-charaṇa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | pavaḍhayisanti | yeva | | | dhañma-chalanam |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | Piyadasine | lājine | pavaḍhayi[s]anti | [y]e[va] | | | dhañma-cha[la] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | āva | savaṭa-kapā | dhañmamhi | silamhi | tisanti | [dha]ñmam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | i[mam] | āva | kapa[m] | dhañmāsi | s[i]lasi | chā | chīḥit[u] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ima[m] | āva | -kapa | dhrame | šile | cha | tiḥiti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | imam | [a]va | -kapañ | dhrame | šile | cha | [chi]ḥitu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | imam | ā-k[a]pañ | | dhañmāsi | [s]ilasi | ch[a] | ch[i]ḥitu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | anusāsīsanti | (<i>G</i>) | [e]sa | hi | seṭhe | kañme | ya | dhañmānusāsanañ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | anusāsīsanti | (<i>G</i>) | ese | hi | seṭhe | kañm[am] | am | dhañmānusāsanañ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anuśāsīsanti | (<i>G</i>) | eta | h[i] | s[re]ṭham | k[r]ama[m] | yañ | dhramañ[ū]śāsana[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | anu[śa]śīsanti | (<i>G</i>) | eshe | hi | sreṭhe | | a[m] | dhramañuśāsana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [a]ñus[ā]sisam[ti] | (<i>G</i>) | esa | h[i] | se[ṭ]he | kañme | yā | dhañmānusāsana |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|--------------|--------------------|----|-------|-----------|---------|--------------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhañma-charaṇe | pi | na | [bha]vati | asilasa | (<i>I</i>) | [ta] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhañma-chalane | pi | chā | no | hoti | (<i>I</i>) | se |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhrama-charaṇa[m] | pi | cha | na | bhoti | (<i>I</i>) | so |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhrama-[cha]ra[ṇe] | pi | [cha] | na | hoti | (<i>I</i>) | se |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhañma-chalane | pi | chu | no | hoti | (<i>I</i>) | se |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (<i>H</i>) | dhañma-chalane | pi | chu | no | ho[ti] | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | Garidhārānaṁ | Risṭhika-P[e]teṇikānaṁ | ye | vā | pi | a[m]ñ[e] | ā]parātā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Garidhālānaṁ | | e | vā | [pi] | aṁne | apalaṁtā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Garidharanaṁ | Raṭhikanaṁ Pitinikanaṁ | ye | va | pi | | aparaṁta |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Gadharana | Raṭhika-Pitinikana | ye | va | pi | añe | aparata |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | Garidhālesu | Laṭhika-[P]itenikesu | e | vā | pi | aṁne | āpalaṁtā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----|-----------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (K) bhatamayesu | va | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (K) bhaṭamayesu | baṁbhanibhesu | anathesu | [v]udhesu | | | hida- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (K) bhaṭamayeshu | bramaṇibheshu | anatheshu | vudheshu | | | [hita]- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (K) bha[ṭa]mayeshu | bramaṇibhYESHU | anatheshu | vudhreshu | | | hida- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (K) bhaṭi[mayesu] | bābha[n]ibhi[yes]u | anāthesu | ma[hāla]kesu | cha | h[i]t[a]- | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | .. bhanibhi | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|------------|----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [su]khā[ya | dhaṁma]-yutānaṁ | apar[i]godhāya | vyāpatā | te | (L) ba[m]dhana- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sukhāye | dhaṁma-yutāye | apalibodhāye | viyapaṭā | te | (L) baṁdha[na]- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhaye | [dhaṁ]ma-yutasa | apalig[o]dha | vap[a]ṭa | te | (L) badhana- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | su[khaye] | dhaṁma-yuta- | apalibodhaye | viya[p]uṭa | te | (L) badhana- |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhāye | dhaṁma-yutāye | a[pā]libodhāye | viyā[pā]ṭa | se | (L) baṁdhana- |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------|-----|--------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | badhasa | paṭividhānāya | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [badha]sā | paṭividhānāy[e] | apalibodhāye | mokh[ā]ye | chā | eyam | anubadh[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | badhasa | paṭividhanay[e] | apalibodhaye | mo[kshaye] | ayi | anuba | .. |
| <i>Mān.</i> | badha[sa] | paṭivi[dhanay]e | apalibodhaye | mokshay[e | cha | iyam] | anubadha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ba]dhas[a] | p[a]ṭi[vidhānā]ye | apalib[o]dhāye | mokhāye | cha | iya[m] | anubamdh[a] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | mokhāye | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---------|-------------------------|----|----------|--------------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [p]rajā | katābhikāresu | vā | thairesu | vā | vyāpatā | te |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pajāva | ti v[ā] kaṭābhikā]le | ti | vā | m[ah]ā[la]ke | ti | v[ā] viy[ā]paṭā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | prajava | kiṭābhikaro | va | mahalake | va | viyapaṭa | [t]e |
| <i>Mān.</i> | p[r]aja | t[i] va kaṭābhikara | ti | va | mahalake | ti | va viyapraṭa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | p[aj]ā | [t]i [va ka]ṭābhikā[le] | ti | va | mahālake | ti | va viyāpaṭā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|----------------|-----|------------|-----|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (M) Pāṭalipute | cha | bāhirasu | cha | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (M) hid[ā] | | bā[h]ilesu | chā | naga[l]esu | s[a]ves[u] | olodha[n]esu] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) ia | | bahiresu | cha | nagaresu | savreshu | orodhaneshu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (M) hida | | bahiresu | cha | nagaresu[u] | savreshu | [o]rodhaneshu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (M) hida | cha | bāhilesu | cha | nagalesu | savesu s[a]vesu | olodhanes[u] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------|------------|------|----|---------------|-------|------------|------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | [y]e | vā | pi | me | añe |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | bhā[tina]m | cha | ne | bh[agi]ni[nā] | e | vā | [pi] | aṁn[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | bhratuna | cha | me | spasana | cha | ye | va | pi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | bhatana | cha | | spas[un]a | [cha] | ye | va | pi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [me] | e | vā | pi | bhāt[i]naṁ | me | bhagininaṁ | va | aṁnesu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | e | [v]ā | . | . | . | . | . | vā |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----|----------|------|-----------------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ñātikā | sarvata | vyāpatā | te | (N) yo | ayaṃ | dhamma-nisrito | ti | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nātikye | savatā | viyā[pa]tā | | (N) e | iyam | dhamma-nisite | ti | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ñatika | savatra | viyapuṭa | | (N) y[e] | ayaṃ | dh[r]ama-nisīte | ti | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ñatike | savratra | viyapaṭa | | (N) [e] | iyam | dhrama-nisīto | to | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [nāt]i[su | sava]t[a] | v[i]yāpaṭā | | (N) e | iyam | dhamm[a-n]isite | ti | va |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---|---|---|------------------|----|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | dāna-suyute | ti | [v]ā sav[a]tā | v[i]jitas[i] | mamā | [dha]mma- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | . | . | . | dhrama[dhitha]ne | ti | va dana-s[a]yute | ti | va savata | vijite |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | dhramadhithane | ti | va dana-sam̐yute | ti | va savratra | vijitasi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | dhammādhithāne | ti | va dāna-sayute | va | sava-puṭhaviyam | dha[m]ma- |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------|-----------|---------------------|---------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [t]e [dha]mma-mahāmātā | (O) etāya | athāya | ayaṃ | dhamma- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | yutasi viyāpaṭā | te | dhamma-m[a]hām[a]tā | (O) etāye | aṭhāye |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | yu[ta]sī viyapaṭa | te | dhrama-mahamatra | (O) etaye | aṭhaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | yutasi vapuṭa | [te] | dhrama-mahamatra | (O) etaye | athraye |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | yutasi viyāpaṭā | ime | dhamma-mahām[ā]tā | (O) [i]m[ā]ye | aṭhāye |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|--------|-------------|------------------|---------|---------|-----|------|---------|---------------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | lipī | likhitā | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lipi | lekhitā | chi[la]-thitikyā | hotu | [tathā] | cha | me | [pa]jā | [a]nuva[ta]tu | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipi | nipista | ch[i]ra-thitika | bhot[u] | ta[tha] | cha | [m]e | p[r]aja | anuvatatu | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipi | likhita | chira-ṭhitika | hotu | tatha | cha | me | praja | anuvātatu | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lip[i] | li[kh]i[tā] | chila-ṭhitik[ā] | ho]tu | t[athā] | cha | me | pa[jā] | anu]vatatu | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

SIXTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------|----------|-----------------|----------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) [Devā]. | [s]i rājā | evaṃ | āha | (B) atikrāt[a]m | aṃtara[m] | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]naṃpi[y]e | Piyadas[i] | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) atikaṃtaṃ | aṃtalaṃ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | raya | eva | ahati | (B) atikrataṃ | aṃtara |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raja | [e]va[m] | aa | (B) atikrataṃ | ataraṃ |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]naṃp]iye | Pi[yada]sī | lājā | [he]vaṃ | [ā]hā | (B) atikaṃ[taṃ | a]m[ta]laṃ |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) [na]ṃpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) atikaṃtaṃ | aṃtalaṃ |

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|--------------|----|-----------------|--------------------|------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | na | bhūta-pru[v]. | [s]. [v]. . . [l]. | atha-kaṃme | va | paṭivedanā | vā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | no | huta-puluv[e] | sav[a]m | kalaṃ | aṭha-k[aṃ]me | [v]ā [paṭ]i[veda]nā | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | na | bhuta-pruvaṃ | sava[m] | kala[m] | aṭha-kramaṃ | va | paṭivedana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | na | huta-pruve | [sa]vraṃ | kala | athra-[krama] | va | [pa]ṭivedana |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | no | [h]ū[ta]-puluve | s[a]vaṃ | kālaṃ | aṭhā-ka[m]me | va | [pa]ṭiveda[n]ā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | no | hūta-puluve | savaṃ | kālaṃ | aṭha-kaṃm[e] | paṭivedanā | va |

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|--------------|-----|-------|----------|--------|---------|-----|---------|---------|-------------------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (C) | ta | mayā | evaṃ | kataṃ | (D) | s[a]ve | kāle | bhuṃj[a]mānasa | me |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (C) | s[e] | ma[may]ā | hevaṃ | kaṭe | (D) | s[a]vaṃ | kālaṃ | adamānas[ā] | me |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (C) | ta[m] | maya | eva[m] | kiṭa[m] | (D) | savraṃ | kalaṃ | aśamanasa | me |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (C) | ta | maya | evaṃ | kiṭaṃ | (D) | savra | kalaṃ | aśatasa | me |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (C) | se | mamayā | | kaṭe | (D) | sa[va]m | [kālaṃ] | [māna]sa | me |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (C) | se | mamayā | | kaṭe | (D) | savaṃ | kālaṃ | [sa m]e | |

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|--------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------|------------|-----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | orodhanamhi | gabhāgāramhi | vachamhi | va | vinītamhi | cha | uyānesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | olodhanasi | gabhāgālas[i] | va[chas]i | | vin[ī]tasi | | u[y]ānasi] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | orodhanaspi | grabhagaraspi | vrachaspi | | vinītaspi | | uyanaspī |
| <i>Mān.</i> | orodhane | grabhagarasi | vrachaspi | | vinītaspi | | uyanaspī |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | am̐te | olodh[a]nasi | ga[bhā]g[āla]si | v[achas]i | [v]inītasi | | [u]y[ā]n[asi] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | am̐te | olodhanasi | gabhāgālasī | vachasi | vinītas[i] | | uyānasi |

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|--------------|------|------------|-------------------|-------|----------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | savatra | paṭivedakā | sṭitā | athe | me | [ja]nasa | paṭivedetha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | [sava]t[ā] | paṭive[dakā | | aṭha[m̐] | | janasā | vedetu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | savatra | paṭivedaka | | aṭham̐ | | janasa | paṭivedetu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | savratra | pa[t̐i][ve]da[ka] | | athra | | janasa | paṭivedetu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [cha | sa]vata | paṭivedakā | | janasa | aṭham̐ | | [pa]ṭived[a]yam̐tu |
| <i>Fau.</i> | cha | savata | paṭivedakā | | janasa | aṭham̐ | | praṭivedayam̐tu |

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|--------------|------|-----|-----|----------|-------|----------|---------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | iti | (E) | sarvatra | cha | janasa | athe | karomi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [m]e | | (E) | sa[va]tā | [ch]ā | ja[nas]ā | aṭham̐ | kachhāmi hakam̐ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | me | | (E) | savatra | cha | ja[na]sa | aṭh[r]a | karomi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | me | | (E) | savratra | cha | janasa | athra | kar[o]mi aham̐ |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | m[e] | ti | (E) | sava[ta] | ch[a] | j[a]nasa | aṭham̐ | kalāmi h[aka]m̐ |
| <i>Fau.</i> | me | ti | (E) | savata | cha | janasa | | [ka]m̐ |

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|--------------|-----|--------|-----|----------------|-------------|-------------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (F) | ya | cha | kim̐chi | mukhato | āṇapayāmi | svayam̐ | dāpakam̐ vā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (F) | yam̐ | pi | ch[ā] k̐j[ehhi | m̐u[kha]t̐e | ānapayā]mi | [ha]kam̐ | dā[pakam̐] v[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) | ya[m̐] | pi | cha ki[chi] | mukhato | aṇapayami | a[ham̐] | dapa[ka] va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (F) | yam̐ | pi | cha kichhi | mukhato | aṇapemi | aham̐ | dapakam̐ va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | am̐ | pi | cha ki[m̐]chhi | mukh[a]te | ānapay[ā]mi | | dāpakam̐ v[ā] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (F) | am̐ | pi | cha kim̐chhi | mukhate | ānapayāmi | | dāpakam̐ vā |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | srāvāpakam̐ | vā | ya | vā | puna | mahāmātresu | āchāyi[ke] | aropitam̐ bhavati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [sāvakam̐] | vā | ye | vā | punā | mahāmat[e]hi | a[tiyāyike | ālopite h[o]t̐i |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śravaka | va | ye | va | p[a]na | mahamatrana | a[cha]yika | a[ro]pitam̐ bhoti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śravakam̐ | va | ye | va | puna | mahamatrehi | achayike | aropite hoti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [sā]v[a]kam̐ | vā | e | vā | | mahām[āteh]i | atīyāyike | ālopite hoti |
| <i>Fau.</i> | sāvakam̐ | vā | e | v[ā] | | mah[ā]mātehi | a[t̐i][yā]yike | [ā]lopite hoti |

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|--------------|---------------|----------|------------|-----------|---------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tāya athāya | vivādo | nijhatī | v[a | s]am̐to | parisāyam̐ | ānam̐taram̐ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tā[yeth]ā[ye] | vivāde | n[i]jhati | v[ā] | saṁtam̐ | palis[ā]ye | anam̐[ta]l[i]yenā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | taye aṭhaye | viva[de] | nijha[t̐i] | va | sataṁ | parishaye | anam̐tariyena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | taye athraye | vivade | nijati | va | saṁta | par[isha]ye | a[na]taliyena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | tasi aṭhasi | v[i]vāde | va | [n]ijhatī | vā | saṁtam̐ | palisāyā āna[m̐]taliyam̐ |
| <i>Fau.</i> | tasi aṭhasi | vivāde | va | | | lisāy[am̐] | ānam̐[ta]liyam̐ |

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|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|----------|--------|-------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | paṭ[i]vedeta[v]yam̐ | me | sa[r]vatra | sarve | kāle | (G) | evam̐ | mayā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | paṭ[i] | viye | me | sav[a]t[ā] | savam̐ | kālam̐ | (G) | hevam̐ ānapayite |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | praṭivedetavo | me ¹ | savatra | savam̐ | kala[m̐] | (G) | eva | aṇapita[m̐] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paṭivedetaviye | me | savratra | savra | kala | (G) | evam̐ | aṇapita |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paṭi[ve]detav[i]y[e] | me | ti | savata | savam̐ | kālam̐ | (G) | heva[m̐] me |
| <i>Fau.</i> | paṭivedetaviye | me | ti | savata | savam̐ | kālam̐ | (G) | hevam̐ me |

¹ The preceding passage from section E is repeated thus: (E) *savatra cha aṭham̐ janasa karomi a[ham̐]* (F) *yam̐ cha kichī mukhato aṇapemi aham̐ dapaka[m̐] va śravaka va ye va pana maha-*

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| <i>Gir.</i> | āñapitañ | (H) | nāsti | hi | me | to[s]o | uṣṭānamhi | atha-saṁtīraṇāya | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | m[a]mayā | (H) | nathi | hi | me | dose | uṭhān[a]sā | aṭha-saṁtil[a]nāye | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | maya | (H) | [na]sti | hi | me | tosho | uṭhanas[i] | aṭha-sa[m]tiraṇaye | [cha] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | maya | (H) | nasti | hi | me | toshe | [uṭhanasi] | ath[r]a-sa[m]tiraṇaye | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | anusathe | (H) | nath[i] | hi | m[e] | [tos]e | u[ṭhāna]si | aṭha-saṁtilānāya | cha |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | anusathe | (H) | nathi | hi | me | tose | uṭhānasi | aṭha-saṁtilan[ā]y[a] | cha |

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|--------------|-----|-----------------|----|----|--------------------|-----|--------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (I) | katavya-mate | hi | me | sa[rva]-loka-hitam | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | puna |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (I) | kaṭ[a]viya-mute | hi | me | s[a]va-loka-hi[te] | (Ḥ) | t[asā] | ch[ā] | [p]u[n]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (I) | kaṭava-matañ | hi | me | sava-loka-hitam | (Ḥ) | ta[sa] | cha] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (I) | kaṭaviya-mate | hi | me | savra-loka-h[i]te | (Ḥ) | [ta]sa | chu | puna |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (I) | kaṭaviya-m[at]e | hi | me | sava-loka-hite | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | pana |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (I) | | | me | sava-loka-hite | (Ḥ) | tasa | cha | pana |

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|--------------|-------|------|------------|-----|---------------------|-----|-----|---------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | esa | mūle | uṣṭānam | cha | atha-saṁtīraṇā | cha | (K) | nāsti | hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | es[e] | mule | uṭh[āne] | | [a]ṭha-saṁtilanā | chā | (K) | [na]thi | hi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mulam | etra | uthanam | | aṭha-saṁtiraṇa | cha | (K) | na[sti] | hi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | eshe | mule | uṭhane | | athra-satiraṇa | cha | (K) | nasti | hi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | iyam | mūle | [u]ṭhān[e] | cha | a[ṭha-saṁtil[a]n[ā] | cha | (K) | nathi | hi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | iyam | mūle | uṭhāne | cha | aṭha-saṁtilanā | cha | (K) | nathi | hi |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------|-----|-------|-------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | kañmataram | sarva-loka-hitatpā | (L) | ya | cha | kiñchi | parākramāmi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kañ[ma]talā | sava-lo[ka]-hitenā | (L) | yam | cha | kichhi | palakamāmi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | k[r]amatarā[m] | sava-loka-hite[na] | (L) | yam | cha | kichhi | parak[r]amami |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kramatara | savra-loka-hitena | (L) | ya[m] | cha | [kichhi] | pa[rakra]mami |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | kañmata . . | [sa]va-lo[ka]-hitena | (L) | [am] | ch[a] | kichhi] | p[a]lakamāmi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | k[am]matalā | sava-loka-hiten[a] | (L) | am | cha | kichhi | p[a]lakamāmi |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | aham | kiñti | bhūtānam | ānamñam | gachheyam | idha | cha | nāni |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hakañ | kiti | bhutanam | [a]naniyam | ye[ham] | hi]da | cha | [kā]ni |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | kiti | bhutanam | ananiyam | v[r]acheyam | ia | cha | sha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | aam | k[i]t[i] | bh[ū]tanam | ananiyam | ye[ham] | ia | cha | she |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hakañ | kiñti | bhūtānam | ā[na]niyam | yeha[m] | ti [h]i[da] | cha | [k]ān[i] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | hakañ | | [n]iyam | yeham | | ti hida | cha | kāni |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------|-----|----------|-------------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sukhāpayāmi | paratrā | cha | svagam | ārādhayañtu | (M) | ta ¹ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sukhāyāmi | palata | chā | svagam | ālādhayitu | (M) | s[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sukhayami | paratra | cha | spagram | aradhetu | (M) | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sukhayami | paratra | cha | spagra | a[ra]dhetu | ti | (M) se |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | sukhāyāmi | pal[a]ta | cha | svag[am] | ālādhayañtū | ti | (M) |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | su[kha]yāmi | palata | cha | svagam | ālādhayañtū | ti | (M) |

matranam achay[i]k[am] aropita[ni] bhōti t[a]ye aṭhaye [v]ivade sa[ni]tanijati va parishaye
anamitariyena paṭivedetavo me.

¹ On p. 12 above, l. 7, place *ta* after (M), and cancel foot-note 2. On p. 13, l. 11, read '(M)
Now, for the following purpose', &c.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|---------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | etāya | athāya | ayaṃ | dha[m]ma-lipī | lekhāpitā | kimti | chiraṃ | tiṣṭeya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | etā[y]eṭhāye | | iyam | dhama-lipī | lekhitā | chila-ṭhitikyā | | hotu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | etaye | aṭhaye | ayi | dhrama | nipista | chira-ṭhitika | | bhotu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | etaye | athraye | iyam | dhrama-dipī | likhita | chira-ṭhitika | | hotu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | et[ā]y[e] | aṭhāye | i]yam | dhamma-lipī | likhitā | ch[i]la-ṭh[i]tikā | | hotu |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | etāye | aṭhāye | i[ya]m | dhamma-lipī | likhitā | chila-ṭhitika | | hotu |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------|------|----|-----------|---------|-----|----------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | iti | tathā | cha | me | putrā | potā | cha | prapotrā | cha | anuvataṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | tathā | cha | me | puta-dāle | | | | | palakamātu |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | tatha | cha | me | putra | nataro | | | | parakramaṃtu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | ta[tha | cha] | me | pu[tra | nata]re | | | | para[kra]mate |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | ta[th]ā | cha | | putā | | | papotā | me | palakama[m]t[ū] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | . | . | . | . | . | . | [t]ā | me | [pa]lakamaṃtu |

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|--------------|---------------------|--------------|-------|-------|--------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sava-loka-hitāya | (N) dukaraṃ | [t]u | | idaṃ | añatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sava-loka-hitā[ye] | (N) dukale | ch[u] | | iyam | anat[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sava-lo[ka-hita]ye | (N) [du]kara | tu | [kh]o | imaṃ | añat[r]a |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[vra-lo]ka-hitaye | (N) dukare | cha | kho | | [a]ñatra |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [sava-loka]-hitāye | (N) dukale | chu | | iyam | aṃnat[a] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | sava-loka-hitāye | (N) dukale | chu | | i[ya]m | aṃnata |

| | | |
|--------------|----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | agena | parākramena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | agenā | palakam[e]nā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agre | parakramena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | a[g]rena | para[kra]mena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[g]en[a | pa]lakamena |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | agena | palakamena |

SEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------------|------|----------|-----------|--------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiyo | Piyadasi | rājā | sarvata | ichhati | save | pāsaṃdā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | [savat]ā | [i]chhati | sava- | [pāsa]ṃdā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṃpriyo | Priyaśi | raja | savatra | ichhati | savra- | [p]rashaṃdā |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | Devanapriyo | Priyadraśi | raja | savratra | ichhati | savra- | pashaḍa |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [D]evānaṃ[p]iye | Piy[a]dasī | lājā | savata | ichhat[i] | sava- | p]āsaṃ[dā] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (A) | | da[sī] | lājā | savata | ichhati | sava- | p[ā]saṃdā |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|------|---------|-----------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vaseyu | (B) save | te | sayamaṃ | cha | bhāva-sudhiṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vas[e]vu | (B) [sa]ve | hi | te | sayama[m] | bhāva-sudhi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaseyu | (B) save | hi | te | sayame | bhava-sudhi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vaseyu | (B) savre | hi | te | sa[ya]ma | [bha]va-śu[dh]i |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [va]sevū | (B) save | h[i] | t[e] | sa]yamaṃ | [bh]āv[a]-sudhi |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | va[s]e . . | (B) [sav]e | hi | te | sa[yama]m | bhāva-[su]dhī |

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|--------------|------|-----------|--------------|-------|----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | ichhati | (C) jano | tu | uchāvacha-chhaṃdo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | ichhamti | (C) jane | [ch]u | uchāvuchā-chh[a]mde |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) jano | chu | uchavucha-chhaṃdo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [cha | ichham]ti | (C) jane | chu | uchavucha-chhade |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) mun[i]sā | ch[a | u]ch[ā]v[u]cha-[chha]m[d]ā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | cha | ichhamti | (C) munisā | cha | uchāvucha-chhaṃdā |

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|--------------|------------------|-----|-----------|----|---------|---------------|----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | uchāvacha-rāgo | (D) | te sarvaṃ | va | kāsaṃti | eka-desam | va | kasa[m]ti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | uchāvucha-lā[g]e | (D) | te savaṃ | | | eka-des[a]m | pi | k[a]chham[t]i |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | uchavucha-rago | (D) | te savraṃ | va | | eka-deśam | va | pi kashaṃti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | uchavucha-rage | (D) | te savaṃ | | | eka-deśam | va | pi kashati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | uchāvucha-lāgā | (D) | te savaṃ | vā | | ek[a]-de[sam] | va | kachham[ti] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | uchāvuch[a]-lāgā | (D) | . | . | . | [sa]m | va | kachhamti |

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|--------------|----------------|------|-------|----------|------|---------|----------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (E) vip[ul]e | tu | pi | dāne | yasa | nāsti | sayame | bhāva-sudhitā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (E) vipule | pi | chu | dān[e] | asā | nathi | sayame | bhā[va]-sudh[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (E) vipule | pi | chu | dane | yasa | nasti | sayama | bhava-śudhi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (E) [v]ipule | pi | ch[u] | dane | yasa | nasti | sayame | bhava-śuti |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (E) vipul[e] | pi | chā | dāne | asa | n[athi] | sa[yame] | [bh]āva-sudhī' |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | (E) [v]i[pul]e | [p]i | chā | [d]ā[ne] | . | . | . | [dhī] |

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|--------------|----|------------|----|-----------------|-----|---------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | kataṃnātā | va | daḍha-bhati[t]ā | cha | nichā | bāḍham |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | kiṭanāt[ā] | | d]iḍha-bhatitā | chā | ni[che] | bāḍham |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | kiṭraṇata | | driḍha-bhatita | | niche | paḍham |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | kiṭanata | | driḍha-bhatita | cha | niche | baḍham |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | | cha | niche | bāḍham |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | | | | cha | niche | [b]āḍham |

EIGHTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) atikātaṃ | am̐taraṃ | rājāno | vihāra-yātāṃ | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) atikaṃtaṃ | a[m̐]talaṃ | Devānaṃpiyā | [vihāla-yātāṃ | nāma] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) atikrataṃ | ataraṃ | Devanaṃpriya | vihara-yatra | nama |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) a[ti]krataṃ | ataraṃ | Devanapri[ya] | vihara-yatra | nama |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) [atika]m̐[ta]m̐ | am̐t[ala]m̐ | lāj[ā]n[e] | v[i]h[ā]la-yātāṃ | nāma |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ñayāsu | (B) eta | magavyā | añāni | cha | etārisani |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nikhamisu | (B) hidā | migaviyā | aṃnāni | chā | heḍisānā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nikramishu | (B) atra | mrugaya | añani | cha | ediśani |
| <i>Mān.</i> | nikramishu | (B) ia | mrigaviya | añani | cha | ediśani |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [n]i[kha]m̐[i]s[u] | (B) . [ta | miga]viy[ā] | a[m̐]nāni | ch[a] | edisāni |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | [v]i[y]ā | [a]m̐nāni | cha | e[d]i |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|----------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | abhīramakāni | ahuṃsu | (C) so | Devānaṃpriyo | Piyadasi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | abhilāmān[i] | husu | (C) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | abhiramani | abhuvasu | (C) so | Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | abhiramani | husu | (C) s[e] | Devanap[r]iy[e] | P[r]iyadraśi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | a[bh]i[l]āmāni | huvaṃti | (C) se | Devānaṃpiye | P[i]y[a]dasi |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> |[m]āni | huvaṃti | (C) se | Devānaṃpiye | [Piya] |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------|------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | rājā | dasa-varsābhisito | saṁto | ayāya | Sambodhiṁ | (D) tenesā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lājā | das[a]-vasābhisite | saṁtaṁ | nikhamithā | Saṁbodhi | (D) tenatā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | raja | daśa-vashabhisito | sataṁ | nikrami | Sabodhi | (D) tenada |
| <i>Mān.</i> | raja | daśa-vashabhisite | saṁta[m] | nikrami | Sabodhi | (D) tenada |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | lājā | d[a]sa-[vas]ābhisi[t]e | | [n]ikhami | Sambodhi[i] | (D) [t]e[na]tā |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | [dasa] | | | | |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | nikhamiṭha | Sa | . |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dhāṁma-yāta | (E) etayaṁ | hoti | bāmhaṇa-samaṇānaṁ | dasane | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhāṁma-yāti | (E) [h]etā | iyam | hoti | samana-baṁbhanānaṁ | dasane |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhraṁma-yatra | (E) atra | iyam | hoti | śramaṇa-bramaṇanaṁ | draśane |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhrama-yada | (E) atra | iya | hoti | śamaṇa-bramaṇana | dra[śa]ne |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dha[ṁma-yāti] | (E) [tat]esa | [ho]ti | samana-bābhanānaṁ | d[a]s[a]n[e] | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | [tā] | (E) [ta]tesa | hoti | [sa] | | |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | | (E) heta | iyam | [ho]ti | baṁ[bha] | |

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|--------------|-------|--------|-----|------------|-----------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | dāne | cha | thairānaṁ | dasane | ch[a] | hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāno | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chā | dāne | cha | vudh[a]naṁ | dasan[e] | ch[a] | hilaṁṇa-paṭi[v]īdhāne | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | danam | | vudhana[m] | daśana | | hiraṇa-p[r]aṭivīdhane | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dane | cha | vudhrana | dra[śa]ne | [cha] | hiṇa-paṭivī[dhane | cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ch[a] | d[āne] | cha | v[u]dhānaṁ | dasane | cha | hi[ṁ]ṇa-p[ā]ṭivīdhā[ne | cha] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | cha | dāne | cha | vudhānaṁ | dasane | cha | hilaṁṇa-paṭiv[i]dh[ā]ne | [cha] |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | vudhānaṁ | dasane | [cha] | hiraṁṇa-paṭivīdhāne | cha |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----|------------|----------|-----|--------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | jānapadasa | cha | janasa | daspanam | | dhammānus[a]ṭṭi | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [jā]napadasā | | [ja]n[a]sā | das[a]ne | | dhammanusathi | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [jana]padasa | | janasa | draśana | | dhramanuṣastī | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | janapadasa | | janasa | draśane | | dhramanuṣastī | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [jāna]padasa | | janasa | [dasa]ne | cha | dhammānu[sath]i | [cha] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [dha*]mmanusa[thi] | . |

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|--------------|-------------------------|-----|--------------|-----------|---------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dhama-paripucchā | cha | tadopayā | (F) esā | bhuya | rati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhama-palipucchā | chā | tatopa[yā] | (F) [e]se | bh[u]ye | lāti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhrama-pa[ri]p[ru]chha | cha | tatopayaṁ | (F) eshe | bhuy[e] | ra[ti] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhrama-[pa]r[i]pucchha | cha | tatopaya | (F) eshe | bhuye | rati |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [p]u[chh]ā | cha | [ta]d[o]payā | (F) e[sā] | bhuy[e] | abhilāme |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | [dha]ṁma-p[al]i[pucch]ā | . | . | . | . | ilāme |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | dhamma | . | . | . | ye | [ra]ti |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----------------|--------------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | bhavati | Devānaṁpiyasa | Priyadasino | orāṇo | bhā[g]e | amñe |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | hoti | Devānaṁpiyasā | Piyadas[i]sā | lājine | bh[ā]g[e] | amne |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhoti | Devanaṁpriyasa | Priyadraśisa | raṇo | bhago | amñi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | hoti | Devanapriyasa | Priyadraśisa | rajine | bhage | aṇe |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | hoti | Devānaṁpiyasa | Piyada[s]ine | lājine | bhāge | [am]ne |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | hoti | De[v]ānaṁpiyasa | Piyadasine | lājine | bhāge | [a] . . . |
| <i>Sōp.</i> | hoti | De | . | n[e] | bhāge | am . |

NINTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------------|--------------|--------|-------|-------|-----|--------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiyo | Priyadasi | rājā | eva | āha | (B) | asti | jano |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piy[a]da[s]i | lā[jā] | | āhā | (B) | | jan[e] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanaṃpriyo | Priyadraśi | r[a]ya | evam | ahati | (B) | | jano |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raja | evam | aha | (B) | | jane |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasī | lājā | hevam | āhā | (B) | [athi] | ja]ne |
| <i>Fau.</i> | (A) | Devān[am]piye | Piyadasī | lā[jā] | | | | | |

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|--------------|--|--------------|------------|----------|--------------------|----|----------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | uchāvacham | maṅgalaṃ | karote | ābādhesu | vā | āvāha-vivāhesu | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | uch[āv]ucham | maṅgalaṃ | ka[l]eti | ābādhasi | | av[āha]si vivāhasi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | uchavucham | maṅgalaṃ | karoti | abadhe | | avahe vivahe | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | uchavucha[m] | ma]gala[m] | karoti | abadhasi | | a[va]hasi vi[va]hasi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | uchāvucham | maṅgalaṃ | kal[e]ti | [āb]ādha | | [v]i[vāha].. | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | | | | | | |

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|--------------|----|----------------|----|-------------|----|---------|-----|--------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | putra-lābhesu | vā | pravāsaṃmhi | vā | etamhī | cha | añamhī | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | pajopadāne | | pavāsasi | | e[tā]ye | | amñāye | chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | pajupadane | | pravase | | ataye | | añaye | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | prajopadaye | | pravasaspi | | etaye | | añaye | [cha] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | . . [ju]padāye | | pavās[a]si | | etāye | | amñāye | ch[a] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | [pa]jupadāye | | pavāsasi | | etāye | | amñāye | cha |

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|--------------|--|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | jano | uchāvacham | maṅgalaṃ | karote | (C) | eta | tu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | edisāye | bahu | magala[m] | k[a]leti | (C) | heta | [ch]u |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | ediśiy[e] | ba | maṅgalaṃ | karoti | (C) | atra | tu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | [ed]iśa[ye] | bahu | maṅga[laṃ] | ka]ro[t]i | (C) | atra | tu |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | hedisāye | j[a]n[e] | bahukaṃ | maṅgalaṃ | k[a] | (C) | [chu] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | hedisāye | jane | [ba]hu[ka]m | | | | |

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|--------------|--|----------------|-----------|-----|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | mahidāyo | bahukaṃ | cha | bahuvidham | cha | chhudaṃ | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | abaka-jani[yo] | bahu | chā | bahuvidham | chā | khudā | [ch]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | striyaka | bahu | cha | bahuvidham | cha | putika | cha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | abaka-janika | bahu | cha | bahuvidha | cha | khuda | cha |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | ithī | b[ahuka]m | cha | [ba]hu[v]idh[am] | ch[a] | kh]ud[am] | cha] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | nirath[am] | cha | maṅgalaṃ | karote | (D) | ta | katavyameva | tu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | nilathiyā | chā | magalaṃ | ka[la]m̐ti | (D) | se | kaṭavi | cheva |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | nirathiyam | cha | maṅgalaṃ | karo[ti] | (D) | so | kaṭavo | cha [va] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | nirathriya | cha | magalaṃ | karoti | (D) | se | ka[ṭaviye] | ch]eva |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | [nilaṭhī]yam | cha | maṅgalaṃ | kaleti | (D) | se | kaṭ[a]viye | che[va] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | | [cha] | ma]m̐gala]m | k[a]leti | (D) | se | kaṭaviye | cheva |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | magalaṃ | (E) | apa-phalaṃ | tu | kho | etarisam | | maṅgalaṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | maṅgale | (E) | apa-phale | [ch]u | kho | [e]s[e] | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | maṅgala | (E) | apa-phala[m] | tu | kho | eta | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | magale | (E) | apa-phale | chu | [kho] | e]she | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | m[a]ṅgale | (E) | [a]pa-phale | chu | kho | esa | h[e]dise | maṃ[ga].. |
| <i>Fau.</i> | | maṅgale | (E) | apa-[pha]le | chu | [kh]o | e[sa] | he[d]ise | ma |

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|--------------|-----|--------|-------|-----|----------------|---------|----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (F) | ayaṃ | tu | | mah[ā]-phale | maṃgale | ya | dhamma-maṃgale |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (F) | [i]yaṃ | chu | kho | mah[ā]-ph[a]le | | ye | dhamma-magale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (F) | imaṃ | [t]u | kho | maha-phala | | ye | ma-maṃgala |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (F) | iyaṃ | chu | kho | maha-phale | | ye | dhrama-magale |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (F) | [ya]ṃ | [ch]u | kho | mah[ā]-ph[a]le | | e | [dha]ṃma-maṃgale |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | (F) | i[ya]ṃ | [chu] | | | | | |

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|--------------|-----|------------|------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (G) | ta[te]ta | | dāsa-bhatakamhi | samya-pratipati | gurūnaṃ | apachiti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (G) | he[tā] | iyaṃ | dāsa-bhaṭakasi | s[a]myā-paṭip[a]ti | gulunā | apachiti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (G) | [a]tra | ima | dasa-bhaṭakasa | samma-paṭipati | garuna | apachiti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (G) | atra | iyaṃ | dasa-bhaṭakasi | samya-paṭipati | guruna | a[pachit]i |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (G) | [ta]te[sa] | | d[ā]sa-bhaṭakas[i] | saṃmyā-paṭipat[i] | gulūnaṃ | a[pa].... |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | [sa-bha]ṭakasi | saṃmyā-paṭipati | gulūnaṃ | apachiti |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | sādhū | pāṇesu | | sayamo | sādhū | bamhaṇa-samaṇānaṃ | sādhū |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | [p]ā[n]ān[am] | | saṃyame | | s[a]man[a]-baṃbhanānaṃ | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | praṇanaṃ | | sa[m]yamo | | śamaṇa-bramaṇana | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | pra[ṇa]na | | [sa]yame | | śramaṇa-bramaṇana | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | [me] | | samana-bābhan[ā]naṃ | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | pānesu | | say[a]me | | saman[a]-bābha[n]ā[naṃ] | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | dānaṃ | et[a] | cha | añ[a] | cha | etārisaṃ | dhamma-maṃgalaṃ | nāma |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāne | ese | | aṃne | chā | heḍise | dhamma-magale | nāmā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dana | etaṃ | | aṇaṃ | cha | | dhrama-maṃga[laṃ] | nama |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [dane] | eshe | | aṇe | cha | ediṣe | dhrama-magale | nama |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | dāne | esa | | aṃne | ch[a] | | [dhamma]-maṃga[le | nāma] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | [d]ā[n]e | [esa | | a]ṃ[n]e | | | | |

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|--------------|-----|------|------------|----------|----|---------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (H) | ta | vataṃyaṃ | pitā | va | putena | vā bhātrā | vā svāmikena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (H) | se | vata[v]iye | pitinā | pi | putena | pi bh[ā]tinā | pi suvāmiken[a] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (H) | [s]o | vataṃ | pituna | pi | putrena | pi bhratana | pi spamik[e]na |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (H) | se | vataṃiye | pi[tu]na | pi | putrena | pi bhratuna | pi spamikena |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (H) | [se] | vata[viye | p]it[inā | pi | pute]na | pi bhātinā | pi suvāmike[na] |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | | | | [pi]tinā | pi | putena | pi bhātinā | pi suvāmike[na] |

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|--------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|------|------|-------|--------|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | | | | | | idaṃ | sādhū | idaṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | mita-saṃthuten[ā] | ava | paṭivesiyenā | [p]i | iyaṃ | sādhū | iyaṃ | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | mitra-sastutena | ava | pratīvesiyena | | imaṃ | sadhu | [imaṃ] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pi | mitra-sa[m]stutena | [a]va | paṭīvesiyena | pi | iyaṃ | sadhu | iyaṃ | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [p]i | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | pi | | | | | iyaṃ | sādhū | iyaṃ | |

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|--------------|----------|------------|-------|--------|----------|-------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | katavya | maṃgalaṃ | āva | tasa | athasa | nistānāya | (I) asti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kaṭaviye | [ma]g[a]le | āva | [ta]sā | athas ā | ni[v]utiya | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kaṭa[vo] | maṃgala[m] | yaṃ | tasa | aṭhasa | nivūṭiya | nivūṭaspi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kaṭaviye | magale | ava | tasa | athrasa | nivūṭiya | nivūṭasi |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . . . | [l]e | [ā]va | tasa | aṭhas[a] | niphatiy[ā] | (I) [a]thi |
| <i>Ḥau.</i> | kataviye | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |

Gir. cha pi vutañ sādhu dana iti (Ÿ) na tu etārisaṃ astā
Kāl. imañ kachhāmi ti (I) e hi i[ta]le magale
Shāh. va p[u]na imañ kashañ (I) ye hi etake magale
Mān. va puna ima [ka]shami ti (I) e hi [i]tare maga[le]
Dhau. [cha heva]ñ v[u]te dāne s[ā]dh[ū] ti (Ÿ) [s]e [na]thī
Ÿau. [s]e

Gir. dānañ va ana[ga]ho va yārisaṃ dhañma-dānañ va dhamanugaho va
Kāl. sa[ñ]sayikye se (Ÿ) siyā va tañ aṭhañ nivaṭey[ā] siyā punā no
Shāh. saśayike tañ (Ÿ) siya vo tañ aṭhañ nivaṭeyati siya puna no
Mān. sa[śa]yike se (Ÿ) s[i]ya va tañ athrañ nivaṭeya s[i]ya pana no
Dhau. [anu]ga[h]e v[ā] ād[i]se dhañma-dāne dhañ[mānugahe] . .
Ÿau. dāne anugah[e] vā ādi[s]e dhañma-dāne dhañmānugahe cha

Gir. (K) ta tu kho mitrena va subadayena [v]ā ñatikena va sahāyana va
Kāl. (K) hi[da]lokike chev[a] se (L) iyañ punā dhañma-magale akāliky[e]
Shāh. (K) ialoka cha vo tañ (L) ida puna dhrama-magalañ akalikañ
Mān. (K) hida[o]kike cheva se (L) iyañ puna dhrama-magale akalike
Dhau. (K) [m]i [t]i[k]ena sahāye[na p]i
Ÿau. (K) se chu kho mitena

Gir. ovāditavyaṃ tamhi tamhi pakaraṇe [i]dañ kachañ idañ sādha iti
Kāl. (M) hañche pi tañ aṭhañ no niṭeti hida aṭhañ palata anantañ
Shāh. (M) yadi puna tañ aṭhañ na nivaṭ[e] ia atha paratra anantañ
Mān. (M) [ha]che pi tañ athrañ no nivaṭeti [hi]da a[tha] paratra anata
Dhau. viyovadita i [tasi] pak[alana]si [iya]ñ
Ÿau. yañ sād[h]ū

Gir. iminā sak[a] svagañ ārādhetu iti (L) ki cha iminā katavyatarañ
Kāl. punā pavasati (V) hañche puna tañ aṭhañ nivaṭeti hida tato
Shāh. puñam prasavati (V) hañche puna tañ ṭhañ nivaṭeti tato
Mān. puṇa prasavati (V) hache puna ta[m] athrañ nivaṭ[e]ti hida tato
Dhau. [l]ādhayitave (L) ṭa[v]
Ÿau. imena sakiye svage ālādhayitave (L) kiñ hi imena kaṭaviyatalā

Gir. yathā svagāradhī
Kāl. ubhaye[sa]ñ ladhe hoti hida chā se aṭhe palata chā anantañ
Shāh. u[bha]y[e]sa ladhañ bhoti ia cha so aṭho paratra cha anantañ
Mān. ubhayesañ [ara]dhe hoti hida cha se athre paratra cha anata
Dhau. [svagasa] āl[adh]i
Ÿau.

Kāl. punā pasavati tenā dhañma-magalen[ā]
Shāh. puñam prasavati tena dhramañgalena
Mān. puṇam prasavati tena dhramagalena

TENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|---------------|-------------|------|---------|----|--------|----|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | Devānaṃpiyo | Priyadasi | rājā | yaso | va | kīti | va | na |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | Devā[naṃ]piye | Piy[a]dashā | lajā | y[a]sho | vā | kiti | vā | no |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raya | yaśo | va | kiṭri | va | no |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | [Devana]priye | Priyadraśi | raja | yaśo | va | kiṭi | va | no |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (A) | [Devānaṃ]piye | Piyad[a]sī | lājā | yaso | vā | [k]iṭi | vā | n. |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---------------|-----------|---------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mahāthāvah[ā] | mañate | añata | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ma]hathāvā | manati | an[a]tā | [ya]m | pi | yaso | vā | ki[t]i | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mahaṭhavaha | mañati | añatra | yo | pi | yaśo | | kiṭri | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mahathravaham | mañati | añatra | yam | pi | ya[śo | va] | kiṭi | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [ha]m | mañn[ate] | | i | [yaso] | vā | k[iṭ]i | [v]ā | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [ya]so | vā | ki[t]i | vā |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | tadātpano | dighāya | cha | me | [ja]no | dhamma-susru[m]sā | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ichh[at]i | tadatvāye | ayatiye | chā | jane | | dhamma-susushā | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ichhati | tadatvaye | ayatiya | cha | jane | | dhrama-suśrasha | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ichhati | tadatvaye | ayatiya | cha | jane | | [dhra]ma-suśrusha | | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | ichhati | tadatvāye | [ā] | | [ja]ne | | [sūsa]m | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | ichh[a]ti | tadatvāye | ā[ya]tiye | cha | jane | | dhamma-susūsam | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | susrusatā | | | dhamma-vutam | cha | anuvīdhiyatām | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | susushātu | me | ti | dhamma-vatam | vā | anuvī[dh]iya[m]tu | ti | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | suśrushatu | me | ti | dhramma-vutam | cha | anuvī[dhi]yatu | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | suśrushatu | me | ti | dhrama-[vutam | cha] | anuvīdhiyatu | | ti | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [susū]s[at]u | [m]e | | dhamma | . | . | . | . | [me] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | susūsatu | me | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (B) | etakāya | Devānaṃpiyo | Priyadasi | rājā | yaso | va | kiti | va |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (B) | dhata[k]āye | Devāna[m]piye | Priyadasi | lājā | yasho | vā | kiti | vā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (B) | etakaye | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raya | yaśo | | kiṭri | va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (B) | etakaye | Devanapriye | Priya[dra]śi | raja | yaśo | va | kiṭi | va |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | (B) | etakāye | | | | [yaso | vā | kiṭi | vā] |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | i[chha]ti | (C) | ya[m] | tu | kich[i] | parik[a]mate | Devānaṃ | Priyadasi | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ichha | (C) | am | ch[ā] | kichhi | lakamati | Devanaṃpiye | Piyadashi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ichhati | (C) | ya[m] | tu | kichhi | parakramati | Devanaṃpiyo | Priyadraśi | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | i[chha]ti | (C) | .. | .. | [k]ichhi | parak[r]ama[ti] | Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | i | | | | i | [pa]lakama[t]i | Devānaṃpiye | | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [t]i | Devānaṃpiye | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | rājā | ta | savam | pāratrikāya | kiṃti | sakale | a[pa]-parisrave | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lājā | ta | [sha]va | pālamtikyāye | vā | kiti | sakale | apa-p[a]lāshave | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | raya | taṃ | sav[r]am | paratrikaye | va | kiti | sakale | aparisrave | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | raja | taṃ | savam | parat[r]ikay[e | va | k[i]ti | sa[kale | apa]-pa[r]isav[e] | |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | | | | pāl[atik]ā[y]e | .. | kiṃti | saka[le | apa-pal]isave | |
| <i>Ṣau.</i> | | | | pālatikāye | vā | ki[m]ti | [sa]kale | apa-palisave | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | asa | (D) esa | tu | parisave | ya | apumñam | (E) dukaram |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shiyāti | ti | (D) [e]she | chu | palisave | e | apune (E) dukale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | siyati | (D) eshe | tu | parisave | yañ | apumñam | (E) dukare |
| <i>Mān.</i> | siyati | ti | (D) eshe | chu | pa[ri]save | e | apu[ne] (E) dukare |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | [hu]v[eyā] | t[i] | (D) pa[l]isa | . | . | . | (E) [du]ka[le] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | [h]uveyā | ti | (D) . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | tu | kho | etañ | chhudakena | va | janena | usaṭena | va | añatra |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chu | kho | eshe | khudakena | vā | vagenā | ushuṭena | vā | ana[ta] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tu] | kho | eshe | khudrakena | | vagrena | usaṭena | va | añatra |
| <i>Mān.</i> | chu | kho | eshe | khudakena | [va | va]gr[e]na | [u]saṭena | va | ana[tra] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | . | . | . | . | t[a | agena] | . | [na | sa]vañ cha |
| <i>Fau.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | agena | parāk[r]amena | savañ | parichajitpā | (F) et[a] | t[u] | kho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | agen[ā] | pa]lakamenā | shava[m] | palitiditu | (F) [h]e[ta] | chu] | kho |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | agrena | parakramena | sava[m] | paritijitu | (F) at[r]a | chu | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | a[gre]na | para[krame]na | sav[rañ] | pariti[ji]tu | (F) atra | tu | [kho] |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | paliti[ji]tu | khudakena | v[ā] | usaṭena | vā | (F) | |
| <i>Fau.</i> | .. [l]itijit[u] | khudakena | [v]ā | u[sa]ṭena | vā | (F) | |

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | usaṭena | dukaram |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [u]shaṭe[na] | vā dukale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | usaṭe | . |
| <i>Mān.</i> | usaṭeneva | du[ka]re |
| <i>Dhau.</i> | u[saṭena] | chu [dukalatale] |
| <i>Fau.</i> | usaṭena | chu dukalatale |

ELEVENTH ROCK-EDICT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|--------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) Devinañpriyo | Piyadasi | rājā | ev[a]ñ | āha | (B) nāsti | etārisaṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) Devānañp[i]ye | Piyadashi | [l]ājā | hevañ | hā | (B) nathi | h[e]ḍiṣhe |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) Devana[m]priyo | Priyadraśi | raya | evañ | hahati | (B) nasti | ed[i]śaṃ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapri[y]e | Priyadraśi | raja | evañ | aha | (B) nasti | ediśe |

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|--------------|-------|---------|---------------|-------------------|----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dānañ | yārisaṃ | dhañma-dānañ | dhañma-sañstavo | vā | dhañma- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāne | adisha | dha[m]ma-dāne | | | dhama- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | danam | yadiśaṃ | dhrama-dana | dhrama-sañstav[e] | | dh[r]ama- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dane | [a]diśe | dhrama-dane | dhrama-sañtha[v]e | | dhrama- |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------|------------------------|----|------------|------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sañvibhāgo | [vā] | dhañma-sañbadho | va | (C) tata | idañ | bhavati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shav[i]bhage | | dhañma-shañbadh[e] | | (C) ta[ta] | eshe | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sañvibhago | | dh[r]ama-sañba[m]dha | | (C) tatra | etañ | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sañvibhaga | | dhrama-sa[m]ba[m]dh[e] | | (C) tatra | eshe | |

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|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------|-----------|-------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dāsa-bhatakamhi | samya-p[r]atipati | mātari | pitarā | sādhu | sus[r]usā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dāsha-bhatakashi | shamyā-paṭipati | mātā | pitiṣhu | | shushushā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dasa-bhāṭakanam | sammma-paṭipati | mata | pituṣhu | | suśrusha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dasa-bhaṭa[ka]si | samya-paṭipati | mata | [pitu]ṣhu | | su[śru]sha |

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|--------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mita-[a]stuta-ñatikānam | bamhāṇa-s[r]umaṇa[nam] | sādhu | dā[nam] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | mita-shamthuta-natikānam | samāna-[ba]ñbhanāna | | [dā]ne |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | mi[t]rasamstuta-ñatikānam | śramāṇa-bramaṇa | | dana |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mitra-sam[stuta]-ñatikāna | śramāṇa-bramaṇa | | dan[e] |

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|--------------|----------|-------------|-------|-----------|------------|----------|----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | praṇanam | anārambho | sādhu | (D) eta | vatavyam | pita | va | putrena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | panānam | anal[am]bhe | | (D) eshe | vatav[i]ye | pi[t]inā | pi | pute[na] |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | praṇana | anara[m]bho | | (D) etam | vatavo | pituna | pi | putrena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | praṇana | [ana]rabhe | | (D) [e]he | vataviye | pituna | pi | putrena |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|-----------|----|-----------------------------|----|----------------------|----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | bha[a] | va | mita-sastut[a]-ñat[i]k[e]na | | | va | āva |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | bha[t]inā | pi | sh[a]vām[i]kyena | pi | mita-shamthutana | | ava |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | pi | bhratuna | pi | [pa]mikena | pi | mitra-samstutana | | ava |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pi | bhratuna | pi | pa[m]ike[na] | pi | mitra-sam[stu]t[e]na | | ava |

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|--------------|-------------------|----------|---------|------|--------------|----------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | paṭivesiye | ida | sādhu | ida | ka[tav]ya[m] | (Z) so | t[a]thā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | i[a]ṭiveshiyen[a] | iy[a]m | shādhu | iyam | kaṭaviye | (Z) [ś]e | tatha |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | pratīvesiye | [i]ma[m] | sādhu | imam | kaṭavo | (Z) so | tatha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | paṭivesiye | iyam | sa[dhu] | iyam | kaṭaviye | (Z) se | tatha |

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|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | karu | ilokachara | | aradho hoti | parata | cha | ammanāntam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kala[m]ta | hidaloḷikye | cha | kam aladhe hoti | palata | ch[a] | anata |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | karata[m] | iloka | cha | a[r]adhethi | paratra | cha | anataṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | karata[m] | hi[dalo]ke | [cha] kam | aradhe ho[ti] | pa[r]a[tra] | cha | ana[m]taṁ |

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|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | puiṇam | bhavati | tena | dhamma-danena |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | puna | paśavati | tena | dhamma-danena |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | puṇa | praśavati | [te]na | dharma-danena |
| <i>Mān.</i> | puṇam | i[r]asavati | te[na] | dharma-danena |

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|------------------|---------------|------|--------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyad[a]pi | rajā | sava-pāsamḍāni | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) [D]evānāpiye | [P]iyadash[i] | lājā | shāvā-pāsham[dān]i | |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | (A) Devanāmpriyo | Priyadrasī | raya | savra-prashamḍani | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) Devanapriye | Priyadraśi | raja | savra-pashadani | |

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|--------------|-----------------|-----|------------|-----|----------|----------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [pa]vajitani | cha | gharastani | cha | pūjayati | d[ā]nena | cha | vivādhāya |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pav[a]jitā[n]i | | gahathāni | vā | pujeti | dānena | | vividh[aye] |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | pravrajita[ni] | | grahathani | cha | pujeti | danena | | vividhaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [p]rava[ji]tani | | gehathani | cha | pujeti | danena | | vividhaye |

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|--------------|-------|----------|-------------|----------|-------|-------|--------|----|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [cha] | pūjāya | pūjayati ne | (B) na | tu | tathā | dānam | va | pū[jā] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | cha | puj[ā]ye | | (B) n[o] | ch[u] | tathā | dāne | vā | pujā |
| <i>Shāk.</i> | cha | pujaye | | (B) no | chu | tatha | [da]na | va | puja |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | pujaye | | (B) no | chu | tatha | dana | va | puja |

TWELFTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|----|------------------|----------|-------|--------|-----------------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | D[e]vānampiyo | maññate | yathā | kiti | sāra-vaḍḍhī | asa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | Devāna[ni]piye | m[a]nati | athā | k[i]ta | ś[ā]lā-v[a]ḍḍhī | siyati |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | Devanampiyo | maññati | yatha | kiti | sa[ā]-vaḍḍhī | siya |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | [De]vana[m]priye | maññati | atha | kiti | sala-vaḍḍhī | siya |

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|--------------|---------------------|-------------------|------|-----------|----------|-----|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | sa[va-pā]samāḍānam | (C) sār[a]-vaḍḍhī | tu | bahuvidhā | (D) tasa | tu | idam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ś[a]va-pāśaḍāna | (C) śālā-vaḍḍhī | nā | bahuvidhā | (D) taśa | chu | inam |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | savra-prashamāḍānam | (C) sala-vaḍḍhī | tu | bahuvidha | (D) tasa | tu | iyam |
| <i>Mān.</i> | savra-pashaḍāna ti | (C) sala-vruḍḍhī | t[u] | bahuvidha | (D) tasa | chu | iyam |

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|--------------|-------|-----|--------------|-------|----------------------|----|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mūlam | ya | vachi-gutī | kiṁti | ātpa-pāsamāḍa-pūjā | va | para- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | mule | a | va[cha]-gutī | kiti | ata-pāśaḍa-[v]ā puja | vā | pala- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | mula | yam | vacha-gutī | kiti | ata-prashamāḍa-puja | va | pa[ra]- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | mule | am | vacha-gutī | kiti | ata-prashaḍa-puja | va | para- |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|----|----|--------|--------------------|--------|----|------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pāsamāḍa-garahā | va | no | bhave | aprakaraṇamhi | lahukā | va | asa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pāsamāḍa-galahā | va | no | [śa]yā | ap[a]k[a][a]naś[i] | lahakā | vā | siya |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pashamāḍa-garana | va | no | siya | [a]pakaraṇasi | lahuka | va | siya |
| <i>Mān.</i> | pashaḍa-garaha | va | no | siya | apakaraṇasi | lahuka | va | siya |

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|--------------|--------|-------|----------------|------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tamhi | tamhi | prakaraṇe | (E) pūjetayā | tu | eva | para-pāsamāḍa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ta]gi | taśi | pakalan[a]ś[i] | (E) pūjetav[i]ya | chu | | p[a]la-pa[śa]ḍa |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tasi | tasi | prakara[n]e | (E) pūjetaviya | va | chu | para-prashamāḍa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tasi | tasi | pakaraṇasi | (E) pūjetaviya | va | chu | para-pra[r]ashaḍa |

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|--------------|------|------|-------------|------------|---------|-------------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tena | tena | prakaraṇena | (F) evam | karuṁ | ātpa-pāsamāḍam | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tena | tena | akālana | (F) heva | kalata | ata-pāśaḍa | baḍḍham |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tena | tena | akarena | (F) e[v]am | karatam | ata-p[r]ashamāḍam | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tena | tena | akarena | (F) evam | karatam | atva-pashaḍa | baḍḍham |

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|--------------|------------|--------------------|-----|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vaḍḍhayati | para-pāsamāḍasa | cha | upakaroti | (G) tad-amānātha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vaḍḍhiyati | pala-pāśaḍa | pi | upakaleti | (G) tada anatha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vaḍḍheti | para-prashamāḍamsa | pi | upakaroti | (G) tada anātha |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vaḍḍhayati | para-pashaḍasa | pi | upakaroti | (G) tad-amānātha |

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|--------------|---------------|------------------|-----|----------|--------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | karoto | ātpa-pāśaḍam | cha | chhanati | para-pāsamāḍasa | cha | pī |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kaḷata | ata-pāśaḍa | cha | chhanati | pala-pāśaḍa | pī | va |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ka[ra]-mān[o] | ata-p[r]ashamāḍa | cha | chhanati | para-p[r]a[śa]ḍasa | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | karatam | ata-pashaḍa | cha | chhanati | para-pa[śa]ḍasa | pī | cha |

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|--------------|-----------|------------|-------|-----------------|------------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | apakaroti | (H) yo hi | koṭhi | ātpa-pāsamāḍam | pūjetayati | para-pāsamāḍam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | apakaleti | (H) ye [a] | keṭhi | [a]pa-pāśaḍa | pūjati | pala-pāśaḍa |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | apakaroti | (H) yo hi | keṭhi | ata-prashamāḍam | pūjati | [para-p[r]a]śaḍa[m] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | apakaroti | (H) ye hi | keṭhi | ata-pashaḍa | pūjati | para-pa[śa]ḍa |

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|--------------|----|-------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | garahati | savam | ātpa-pāsamāḍa-bhaṭṭiya | kiṁti | ātpa-pāsamāḍam |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | ga[ra]-hati | shave | ata-pāśaḍa-bhaṭṭiya | vā | kiṁti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | garahati | savva | ata-prashamāḍa-bhaṭṭiya | vā | kiṁti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vā | garahati | savva | ata-pashaḍa-bhaṭṭiya | vā | kiṁti |

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|--------------|------------|-----|-----|------|-------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dipayema | iti | so | cha | puna | tatha | karāto | ātpa-pāsaṁḍa[m] | bāḍhataraṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [d]ipayema | she | cha | punā | tathā | ḥ | kalaṁtaṁ | ḥ | bāḍhatale |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipayami | ti | so | cha | puna | tatha | karaṁtaṁ ¹ | ba[ḍhata]raṁ | upahaṁti |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipayama | ti | . | . | . | puna | karataṁ | bāḍhataraṁ | upahaṁti |

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|--------------|-----------------|-----|----|-----------|-----|--------|--------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | upahanāti | (I) | ta | samavāyo | eva | sādhu | kiṁti | [a]ṇamaṁṇasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ata-pāshaṁḍashi | (I) | | shamavāye | vu | shādhu | kiti | aṁnamanashā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ata-prashaḍaṁ | (I) | so | sayamo | vo | sadhu | kiti | aṇamaṇasa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | atva-pasha[ḍa] | (I) | se | samavaye | vo | sadhu | ki[ti] | aṇamaṇasa |

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|--------------|---------|-------------|-----|--------------|-----|-----|------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | dhaṁmaṁ | sruṇāru | cha | susuṁsera | cha | (ṣ) | evaṁ | hi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | dhaṁmaṁ | shune[y]u | chā | shushusheyu | chā | ti | (ṣ) | hevaṁ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dhramo | śruṇeyu | cha | suśrusheyu | cha | ti | (ṣ) | evaṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dhramaṁ | śruṇ[e]y[u] | cha | suśrushe[yu] | cha | ti | (ṣ) | evaṁ |

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|--------------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------------|------------|-------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | D[e]vānaṁpiyasa | ichhā | kiṁti | sava-pāsaṁḍā | bahu-srutā | cha | asu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānaṁpiyashā | ichhā | kiṁti | sava-pāshaṁḍa | baha-shutā | chā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | ichha | kiti | savra-prashaṁḍa | bahu-śruta | ch[a] | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devanapriyasa | ichha | kiti | savra-pashaḍa | bahu-śruta | cha | |

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|--------------|--------------|-----|----------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | kal[ā]ṇāgamā | cha | [a]su | (K) | ye | cha | tatra | tata | prasaṁnā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | kayānāgā | cha | huveyu | ti | (K) | e | [cha] | tata | t[a]t[a] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | kal[āṇa]gama | cha | siyasu | | (K) | ye | cha | tatra | tatra |
| <i>Mān.</i> | kayaṇagama | cha | [hu]veyu | ti | (K) | e | cha | tatra | tatra |

| | | | | | | | | | |
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| <i>Gir.</i> | tehi | vatavyaṁ | (L) | Devānaṁpiyo | no | tathā | dānaṁ | va | pūjāṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | te[hi] | va[taviye] | (L) | Devānāpiye | no | tathā | dānaṁ | vā | pujā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tesha[m] | vatavo | (L) | Devanaṁpriy[o] | na | [tatha] | da[na] | va | p[u]ja |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tehi | vataviye | (L) | Devanapriye | no | tatha | danaṁ | va | puja[m] |

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|--------------|----|-----------|---------|-------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | maṁṇate | yathā | kiṁti | sāra-vaḍhī | asa | sarva-pāsaḍānaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | maṁnat[i] | athā | kiti | sh[ā]lā-v[a]ḍhi | śiyā | shava-pāshaṁḍatiṁ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | maṇati | ya[tha] | kiti | sala-vaḍhi | siyati | savra-prashaḍanaṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | maṇati | atha | kiti | sala-vaḍhi | siya | savra-pashaḍa[na] |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----------|-------|------------|---------|----------|----------------------|-----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (M) | bahakā | cha | etāya | athā | vyāpatā | dhaṁma-mahāmātā | cha |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (M) | bahukā | ch[ā] | etāyāthāye | | viyāpatā | dha[m]ma-mahāmātā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (M) | bahuka | cha | etaye | a[tha] | vap[a]ta | dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (M) | [ba]huka | cha | etaye | athraye | vapuṭa | dhrama-mahamatra | |

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|--------------|-----------------------------|-----|------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ithiḥhakha-mahāmātā | cha | vacha-bhūmikā | cha | aṇe | cha | nikāyā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | ithidhiyakha-mahāmātā | | vacha-bh[u]mikyā | | ane | vā | [n]iky[ā]y[ā] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | i[stidhi]yaksha-ma[ha]matra | | [vra]cha-bhumika | | aṇe | cha | nikaye |
| <i>Mān.</i> | istrijaksha-mahamatra | | vracha-bh[u]mika | | aṇe | cha | nikay[e] |

¹ The five last words are repeated thus: *so cha puna tatha karataṁ*.

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|--------------|-----|------|-----|--------|----------|-----|--------------------|-----|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (N) | ayaṃ | cha | etasa | phala | ya | ātpa-pāsaṃḍa-vaḍhī | cha | hoti |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (N) | iyam | cha | etishā | phale | yam | ata-pāshaṃḍa-vaḍhi | chā | hoti |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (N) | imam | cha | etisa | [pha]lam | yam | ata-pashaḍa-vaḍhi | | [bh]o[ti] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (N) | iyam | cha | etisa | phale | yam | atva-pashaḍa-vaḍhi | cha | bh[o]ṭ[i] |

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|--------------|--|-----------|-----|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | dhammasa | cha | dīp[a]nā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | dhammasha | chā | dīpanā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | dhramasa | cha | dī[pana] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dhramasa | cha | [dī]pana |

THIRTEENTH ROCK-EDICT

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|--------------|-----|----------------------------|-----------|-----|-------------------|---------------|--------|--|----|
| <i>Gir.</i> | (A) | | | | | | | | ñō |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (A) | aṭha-[va]shā- | bhishita- | shā | [De]vānaṃpiyasha | Piyadashine | lājine | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (A) | [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]ita[sa | | | Devana]pri[a]sa | Pri[a]draśisa | ra[ñō] | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (A) | [aṭha]-vashabhisita[sa] | | | De[va]na[priyasa] | Priyadraśine | rajine | | |

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|--------------|----------|-----------|-----|---------------------|--|------------------------|------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | Kalīṃgā | [v . j .] | (B) | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Kaligyā | vijitā | (B) | diyaḍha-mite | | pāna-shat[a]-shaha[ś]e | ye | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Ka[liga] | vi[j]ita | (B) | diḍha-mat[r]e | | praṇa-śata-[saha]sre | y[e] | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [Ka]liga | [v][j]ita | (B) | [dī]ya[dha]-mat[r]e | | praṇa-[śata-sa] | | | |

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|--------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | [v . dh]e | [sa]ta-sahasra-mātram | tatrā | hataṃ | bahu-tāvatakaṃ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [ta]phā | apavuḍhe | [śa]ta-[sha]hasha-mite | tata | hate | bahu-tāvatake |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tato | apavuḍhe | śata-sahasra-matre | tatra | hate | bahu-tavata[ke] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | |

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|--------------|------|--------|------|--------|----------|----------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | mata | (C) | tatā | pachhā | adh[u]nā | ladhesu | Kalīṃgesu |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | maṭe | (C) | tat[o | pa]chhā | adhunā | ladhesha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [va] | m[ute] | (C) | tato | [pa]cha | a[dhu]na | ladh[e]shu |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | [ma]ṭe | (C) | [tato] | pacha | adhuna | la[dhe]shu |

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|--------------|---------|----------------|-----------------|--|-------------------|-------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | tī[v]o | dhammavāyo | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | tive | dhamma[vāy]e | dhamma-k[ā]matā | | dhammānushathi | chā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [tivre | dhrama-śilana] | dhra[ma-ka]mata | | dhramanuśasti | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tī[vr]e | dhrama[va]ye | | | [dhra]manu[śa]sti | [cha] | |

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|--------------|----------------|-----|-------|--------|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | [sa]yo | Devānaṃpriyasa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Devānaṃpiyashā | (D) | sh[e] | athi | anushaye |
| | | | | | Devānaṃpiya[sh]ā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanapriyasa | (D) | so | [a]sti | anusochana |
| | | | | | Devanap[ria]sa |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [De]vana[pri] | (D) | | | |

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|--------------|------------|------------|-----|----------|-----|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [v . j .] | | | | | [va]dho |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vijin[i]tu | Kaligyāni | (E) | avijitam | hi | vijinamane |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijiniti | Kaliga[ni] | (E) | avijitam | [hi | vi]jinamano |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | yo |

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|--------------|----|---------|----|---------|------|-----------|-------|----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | va | marañam | va | apavāho | va | janasa | ta | bāḍham |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | malane | vā | apavahe | [vā] | jan[a]shā | [sh]e | bāḍha |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | marañam | va | apavaho | va | janasa | taṁ | baḍham |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | [maraṇe | va | apavahe | va | janasa] | se | [baḍham] |

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|--------------|----------------------|-----|-----------------|------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | vedana-mata | cha | g[u]r[u]-mata | cha | Devā[nāmpī]..[sa] | (F) |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vedaniya-mute | | g[u]l[u]-mut[e] | chā | Devānam[pi]yashā | (F) iyaṁ |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | v[e]dani[ya]-ma[tam] | | guru-mata[m] | cha | Devanāmpriyasa | (F) idaṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vedaniya-mate | | guru-mate | [cha | Devanapriyasa] | (F) [i]yaṁ |

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|--------------|------|-----|--------|----------------|------------------|----------|-------|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | pi | chu | tato | galu-matatale | D[e]vānāmpiyashā | (G) [ya] | tatā | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | chu | [tato] | guru-matataram | [Devanam]priyasa | (G) ye | tatra | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [pi] | chu | tato | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---------|-----------|----|-----------|----|--------|----|-----------|------------|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | bāmhaṇā | va | samaṇā | va | añe | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vashati | b[ā]bhanā | va | shama | vā | ane | vā | pāsaṁḍa | gih[i]thā | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vasati | bramaṇa | va | śrama[ṇa] | va | a[m]ñe | va | prashaṁḍa | gra[ha]tha | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|----|--------|----------|----------|------------------------|------------------|------|---------|--------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | [s]ā | mātr[i] | pitari |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | yeśu | vihitā | [e]sh[a] | a[ga]bhu[t]i-shushushā | m[ā]tā-piti- | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | yesu | vihita | esha | agrabhuṭi-suśrusha | mata-pitushu | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. | [ye]su | [vihi]ta | esha | [a]grabhu[ṭi]-suśrusha | mata-pi[tu]sh[u] | | | |

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|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | susūmsā | guru-susūmsā | mita-saṁstata-sahāya-ñātike[su] | dāsa- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shushushā | galu-shushā | mīta-shaṁthuta-shahāya-nātikeshu | dāśa- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | suśrusha | guruna suśrusha | mitra-saṁstuta-sahaya-ñatikeshu | dasa- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | su[śru]sha | guru-suśrusha | mit[r]a-sa[m]stu | . |

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|--------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------|--------|-------|-------|---|---|---|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [bha] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | bha[ta]kash[i] | sha[m]y[ā]-paṭipati | diḍha-bhatitā | teshaṁ | tatā | hoti | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhaṭakanam | samma-pratipa[ti] | driḍha-bhatita | tesha | tatra | bhoti | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|---------------|----|-------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | abhiratānam | va | vinīkhamāṇa | (H) yesaṁ |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [upa]ghāte | vā | vadhe | vā | abhilatānam | vā | vinīkhamane | (H) yeshaṁ | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | [a]pag[r]atho | va | vadho | va | abhiratana | va | nikramaṇam | (H) yesha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | [va]dh[e] | vā | abh[iratanam] | va | vini[k]ramaṇi | (H) yesha[m] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | vā | [p.] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | pi | shuvihi[t] | ānam | shinehe | avipahine | e | tānam | mita-śamth[u]ta- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | va | pi | suvihitanam | [si]ho | aviprahino | [e | te]sha | mitra-samstuta- | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | va | pi | s[u]vih[it]anam | si[ne]he | avipahin[e | e] | ta[nam] | mitra-[sam] | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | [h]āya-ñātikā | vyasanam | prāpuṇati | tata | so | pi | tesa |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sha[h]āya-[nā]tikya | viyashanam | pāpuṇāta | tatā | she | [p]i | t[ā]namev[ā] | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | sahaya-ñatika | vasana | prapuṇati | [ta]tra | taṁ | pi | tesha | vo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [u]paghāto | hāti | (/) | paṭibhā[g]o | chesā | s[ava] | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | upaghāt[e] | hoṭi | (/) | paṭibhāge | chā | esh[a] | sh[a]va-manu[shāna]ṇi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | apaghratho | bhoti | (/) | pratibhagam | cha | [e]taṁ | savra-manuśanaṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | [esha] | savra-manuśanaṁ | |

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|--------------|---------------|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | gul[u]-m[a]te | chā | Devāna[m]piyashā | (/) | n[a]thi | chā | she jan[a]pade yatā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | guru-mataṁ | cha | Devanaṁpriya[sā] | (/) | nasti | cha | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | guru-mate | cha | Devanaṁpriyasa | (/) | nasti | cha | se janapade yatra |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | . . sti | ime | nikāyā | añatra | Yone[su] | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi | ime | nikāyā | ānatā | Y[o]nesh[u] | baṁhmane | ch[ā] shamane chā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | nasti | ime | ni[kā]ya | a[nā]tra | Yoneshu | [bramaṇe | cha] śra[maṇe] . . |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nathi | chā | kuvāpi | jan[a]padashi | [ya]tā | n[a]thi | m[a]nushān[a] ekatalash[i] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | | | | | | ekatare |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | pi | [janapada]si | ya[t]ra | | |

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|--------------|-----------|-------------|----|--------|-----------|-----|---------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | pāsaṁdamhi | na | nāma | prasā[d]o | (K) | y[ā]vata[k]o j[ano] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [p]i | pāshadashi | no | n[ā]ma | pashāde | (K) | she ava[ta]ke janc |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | pi | prashadāspi | na | nama | prasado | (K) | so yamatro [ja]no |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | na | nama | prasade | (K) | se yavatake janc |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [ta]c[ā] | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | u[a]dā | Kali[m]geshu | [ladheshu | ha]te | ch[ā] | maṭ[e] | chā [apavudhe] |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | tada | Kalige | | [ha]to | cha | muṭ[o] | cha apav[udha] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | tada | Kaligesh[u] | | hate | cha | | apavudhe |

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|------------------|----|------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | sra-bhāgo | va | garu-maṭ[o] |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [chā] | tato | shaṭ[e] bhāge | vā | shan[a]sha-bhāge | vā | aja gulu-mate |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | cha | tato | śata-bhage | va | sahasra-bhagam | va | [a]ja guru-mataṁ |
| <i>Mān.</i> | cha | ta[to] | śata-bhage | va | sahasra-bhage | va | aja guru-ma[te] |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | Devānaṁ | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vā | Devānaṁpiyashā | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | v[o] | Devanaṁpriyasa | (L) | yo | pi | cha | apakareyati khamitaviya-mate va |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [va] | Devanaṁpriya[sā] | (L) | | pa[ka] | | [m]pavi |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | | za | ya | saka | khamitave | (M) | yā | cha | pi | apakareyati |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | yaṁ | sako | khamitave | (M) | ya | pi | cha | apakareyati | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | (M) | | [pi | cha] | apakareyati | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | D[e]vānaṁpiya[sā] | pūṭe | pāṭi | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | vūṭe | bhoti | za | pi | apakareyati | apakareyati |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Devanaṁpriyasa | vūṭasa | bhoti | [za] | pi | apakareyati | apakareyati |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | ..chate | te[sa]m | Devānāmpriyasa | ... |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (N) | anutape | pi | cha | prabhava | Devanāmpriyasa | vuchati | tesha | kiti | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (N) | [anu]tape | pi | cha | prabhava | Devanapriyasa | vuchati | [te]sha | [ki].. | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | sava- | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | . | . | . | . | [ney]u | (O) | ichha | . | . | sha[va]- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | avatrapeyu | na | cha | [ha]mñeyasu | (O) | ichhati | hi | D[e]vanāmpriyo | savra- | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | (O) | chha | . | vanapri[y.] | . | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | bhūtānām | achhatim | cha | sayamañ | cha | samachairam | ch[a] | mādava | cha | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [bhu] | . | . | [shayama | . | shamacha] | liya[m] | mādava | ti | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | bhutana | akshati | sa[m] | yamañ | sama[cha] | riyam | rabhasiye | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | (P) | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (P) | iyam | vu | mu | . | . | . | Devānāmpriyeshā | ye | dha[m]ma- | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (P) | ayi | cha | mukha-mut[a] | vijaye | Devanāmpriya[sa] | yo | dhrama- | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | [mukha]-mute | v[i]jaye | D[e]vanapriyasa | ye | dhrama- | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [la]dh[o] | ... | nampriyasa | idha | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | vijaye | (Q) | sh[e] | cha | punā | ladhe | Devāna[m]p] | i | . | cha | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | vijayo | (Q) | so | cha | puna | ladho | Devanāmpriyasa | iha | cha | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | vijaye | (Q) | se | cha | [puna] | la[dh]e | [Deva]napri[ya]sa | hida | cha | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | [sa]vesu | [ch.] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | shaveshu | cha | ateshu | a | shashu | pi | [yo]jana-shateshu | at[a] | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | saveshu | cha | amteshu | [a] | shashu | pi | yojana-śa[t]eshu | yatra | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | sa[vr]eshu | cha | amteshu | a | shashu | pi | y[o]ja[na-śa]t[e]shu | ... | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | [Yo]na-rāja | param | cha | tena | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Atiyoge | nām[a] | Yo[na-lā] | .. | [pa]lam | chā | tenā | A[m]tiyogenā | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Am̐tiyoko | nama | Y[o]na-raja | param | cha | tena | Atiyok[e]na | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | .. tiyo[ge | nama | Yo[na-[raja] | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | chatpāro | rājāno | Turamāyo | cha | [A]m̐t[ek]ina | cha | Magā | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | chatāli | 4 lajāne | Tulamaye | [nā]m[a] | Am̐teki[ne | nā]ma | Makā | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | chature | 4 rajani | Turamaye | nama | Am̐tikini | nama | Maka | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | . | . | . | . | Am̐t[e].... | [nama | Ma]ka | | | | |

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|--------------|--------|---------------|------|--------|----------------|-------|---|---|---|---|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | nāma | Alikyashudale | nāma | nicham | Choḍa-Pam̐ḍiyā | avam̐ | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | nama | Alikasudaro | nama | nicha | Choḍa-Pam̐ḍa | ava | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | na[ma] | Alikasudare | nama | nicha | Choḍa-Pam̐ḍiya | a | | | | | |

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| <i>Gir.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | idha | rāja-vi[sa]yamhi | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Tambapam̐niyā | hevamev[ā] | (R) | hevamevā | [hi]dā | lā[ja]-viśavashi | | | | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Ta[m]bapam̐[ni]ya | | (R) | [e]vameva | [hi]da | raja-vishavaspi | | | | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Tambapa[m]niya | | (R) | evameva | [hida] | raja-vishava[si] | | | | | |

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|--------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [Y]o[na]-Kaṃbo | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | Yona-Kaṃbojeshu | Nābhak[a]-Nābhapaṃtishu | Bhoja-Pitinikye[sh]u | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Yona-Ka[m]boyeshu | Nabhaka-Nabhitina | Bhoja-Pitinikeshu | | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Y[o]na-Kaṃ[bojeshu] | Nabhaka-[Na]bhapa[m]tishu | [Bh]o[ja-Pi]tini[ke]shu | | |

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|--------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|--|
| <i>Gir.</i> | ṃdhra-Pāriṃdesu | savata | Devānaṃpiyasa | dhammānus[a]stīm | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [Adha]-P[ā]lade[sh]u | [sha]vatā | [D]evā[na]ṃpi[ya]shā | dhammānu[sha]thi | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | Aṃdhra-Palideshu | savatra | Devanaṃpriyasa | dhramanuśasti | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | Adha-[Pa] | | | | |

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|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | anuv[a]tare (S) yata | pi dūti | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | anuvataṃti (S) y[a]ta | pi dutā | Devāna[ṃp]iyasā | no yaṃti | t[e] pi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | anuvataṃti (S) yatra | pi Devanaṃpriyasa | duta | na vrachāṃti | te pi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | (S) [yatra | pi du]ta | [De]vanapriyasa | na yaṃti | te pi |

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|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | [na]ṃ | dhamānusastīm |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | sutu Dev[āna]ṃp[i]naṃya | dh[arṃma]-vutaṃ | v[i]dh[a]na[ṃ] | dhammānusa[th]i | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | śrutu Devanaṃpriyasa | dhrama-vutaṃ | vidh[a]naṃ | dhramanuśasti | |
| <i>Mān.</i> | śrutu Devanapriyasa | dhrama-vuta | vidhana[ṃ] | dhramanuśasti | |

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|--------------|-----|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | cha | dhamam | anuvīdhiyare | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | | dha[m]ma[m] | anuvīdhiyama | [a]nuvīdhiyisama | [ch]ā (T) ye se |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | | dhramam | [a]nuvīdhiyaṃti | anuvīdhiyisam[ti] | cha (T) yo [sa] |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | dhra[m]ma[m] | anuvīdhiyaṃti | [a]nuvīdhiy[i]saṃti | cha (T) [ye se] |

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|--------------|---------|------------|---------|------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | [v]ijayo | savathā | puna | vijayo |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | [la]dhe | etakenā | hoti | savatā | vi[ja]ye | | |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | ladhe | etakena | bho[ti] | savatra | vijayo | sava[tra] | pu[na] vijayo |
| <i>Mān.</i> | ladhe | e[ta]ke[na | ho]ti | savra[tra] | vi[jaye] | | |

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|--------------|------------|----|-----------|----|---------|-----------|--------------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | pīti-raso | sā | (U) ladhā | sā | pīti | hoti | dhamma-vijayamhi |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | piti-lase | se | (U) gadhā | sā | hoti | piti piti | dhamm[a]-vijayashi |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | priti-raso | so | (U) ladha | | bh[oti] | priti | dhrama-vijayaspi |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | | |

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|--------------|------------|------|-----|----|-------|---------------------|------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | (V) lahukā | v[u] | kho | sā | pīti | (W) pālaṃtikyameve | maha-phalā |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | (V) lahuka | tu | kho | sa | priti | (W) paratri[ka]meva | maha-phala |
| <i>Mān.</i> | | | | | | (W) paratrikameva | maha-phala |

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|--------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------|-----------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | | | ṃ[p]riyo | (X) etā[ya | athā]ya | ayam | dhamma- |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | maṃnaṃ[ti] | Dev[e]naṃ[p]i | ne | (X) etāye | chā aṭhāye | iyam | dha[m]ma- |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | meṇāti | Devana[m]priyo | (X) etaye | cha | aṭhaye | ayi | dhrama- |
| <i>Mān.</i> | [ma]ṇati | De[va]napri[ye] | (X) e[ta]ye | cha | [a]thray[e] | iyam | dhramma- |

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|--------------|------|-----------|------|-------|------------|----------|---------|-------------|
| <i>Gir.</i> | [l] | | | | | [va]ṃ | vijayam | mā |
| <i>Kāl.</i> | lipi | likhitā | kiti | putā | papotā | me a[su] | nava[m] | vijay[a] ma |
| <i>Shāh.</i> | dipi | nipi[sta] | kiti | putra | papotra | me asu | navam | vijayam ma |
| <i>Mān.</i> | dipi | li[khi]ta | kiti | putra | prap[o]tra | me a[su] | nava[m] | v[i]. . . |

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| <i>Dhan.</i> duvālate cha | <i>Jan.</i> duvālate cha | <i>Dhan.</i> alabheham (C) esa cha me mokhya-mata duvāla | <i>Jan.</i> [etasī aṭha]si | <i>Dhan.</i> [am tupa]esu] anusathi (D) tupa hi bahusu pāna- | <i>Jan.</i> sahasesu | <i>Dhan.</i> sahasesu | <i>Jan.</i> [a]ya[ta] | <i>Dhan.</i> [a]na[ya]ni ga]ch[e]ma su munisāna | <i>Jan.</i> [a]na[ya]ni ga]ch[e]ma su munisāna | <i>Dhan.</i> (E) save munise paṣa mamā (F) aṭha paṣa (G) aṭha paṣa]ye ichhāmi h[a]ka[m] | <i>Jan.</i> (F) sava-mu[n]ā me paṣa (G) aṭha paṣa]ye ichhāmi | <i>Dhan.</i> [kinti sa]ve[na hita-sukhena hida]lo[kika-pā]alo[kike]na y[ū]ev[ū] sa]ve[na hita-sukhena y[ū]je]yu ti hi[da]o[g]i[k]a-pā]alo[kike]na | <i>Jan.</i> [kint]i] me savena | <i>Dhan.</i> [t]i] [tathā ... muni]sesu pi [i]chhāmi [ha]ka[m] (G) no cha | <i>Jan.</i> [he]meva me ichha sava-munis[e]sv (H) no chu tu[phe] | <i>Dhan.</i> pāpunātha av[a]-ga[m]u[k]e [iya]ni aṭhe (H) [k]e[cha] v[a] eka- | <i>Jan.</i> [e]ta[m] [p]a[p]u[nā]tha ava-gam[u]k]e [iya]ni aṭhe (I) kechā eka- | <i>Dhan.</i> pull[se] ... nāti e[ta]m se pi desam no savam (I) de[kha]t[a] hi | <i>Jan.</i> [muni]s[e] pā[p]u[nā]ti se pi desam no savam (J) dakhaṭha hi | <i>Dhan.</i> [t]u[phe] etam suvi[hi]ta pi (J) [n]i[ti]yam eka-pu]lise [pi aṭhi] y[e] | <i>Jan.</i> [tuphe] pi suvita [p]i (J) [n]i[ti]yam eka-pu]lise [pi aṭhi] y[e] | <i>Dhan.</i> bādhana[m] vā pāpunāti (K) tata hoti akasma | <i>Jan.</i> ba[m]dhana[m] vā pā[p]i[kile]sa[m] [p]i pāpunāti (L) tata [ho]t[i] aka[s]m[ā] | <i>Dhan.</i> tena badhana[m]tikā] amne cha ... hu jane da[v]iye | <i>Jan.</i> ti ten[a] badhana[m]tikā] anye] cha [va]ge bahuke | <i>Dhan.</i> dukhivati (L) tata ichhitaviye tupahehi kinti m[a]jha[m] paṭipādayemā | <i>Jan.</i> vedayati (M) tata tupahehi ichhi]taye kinti majha[m] [pa]ṭipādayem[ā] | <i>Dhan.</i> ti (M) imeh[i] chu [jāte]hi no sampatipajati isāya asulopena | <i>Jan.</i> (M) imehi [jāte]hi no [pa]ṭipajati [i]sāya asulopena | <i>Dhan.</i> ni[ṭhu]llyena tulaṇā[ya] anāvutya ālasiyena ki]lāmath[e]na | <i>Jan.</i> [ni]ṭhu[h]iye[na] tulaṇā[ya] anāvutya ālasiyena ki]lāmath[e]na | <i>Dhan.</i> (N) se ichhitaviye kiti[m] ete [jāta] no] huvevu ma[m]jā | <i>Jan.</i> (O) hevam ichhi]tavi]ye kinti me et[ā]ni jāta[ni] no] hveyu | <i>Dhan.</i> ti (O) etasa cha sava[sa] mule anāsu]lope a[n]ā[s]u[o]p[e] a[tu]l]l[a]nā cha | <i>Jan.</i> ti (P) savasa chu iya[m] mule anāsu]lope a[n]ā[s]u[o]p[e] a[tu]l]l[a]nā cha | <i>Dhan.</i> (P) ni[t]iya[m] e kilamte siyā [na] te uga]chha | <i>Jan.</i> (Q) ni[t]iya[m] e kilamte siyā [na] te uga]chha | <i>Dhan.</i> (Q) ni[t]iya[m] e kilamte siyā [na] te uga]chha | <i>Jan.</i> (Q) ni[t]iya[m] e kilamte siyā [na] te uga]chha |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---|--|---|--|---|--------------------------------|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|--|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|---|

Dhan. saṁchalitaviy[e] tu va[t̪]ita[v̪]iy[e] etaviye vā (Q) hevaṁmeva
Jan. saṁchalitavīye tu v[a]ṭitaviya [pi] etaviye pi nīt[i]yaṁ (R) eve

Dhan. e da[kheya] t̪[u]phāk[a] tena vataviye ānaṁne dekhata
Jan. dakh[e]yā āna[m̪]ne ṇijhap[e]ta[vi]ye

Dhan. hevaṁ cha hev[a]m̪ cha [D]evānaṁpiyasa anusathi (R) se
Jan. heva[m̪] hevaṁ] cha Devānaṁ[p̪]i[ya]sa an[u]sa[thi ti] (S) [eta]m̪

Dhan. mah[ā-pha]le [e] t̪[a]sa [saṁpa]ṭipāda mahā-apāye asaṁpaṭipati
Jan. [saṁpaṭipā]ta[yaṁ]taṁ mahā-phale hoti asaṁpaṭipati mahāpāy[e] hoti

Dhan. (S) [vi]paṭ[i]pādayamīne hi etaṁ nathi svagasa [ā][a]dhi no lāj[ā]la[dh]i
Jan. (T) vipaṭipātayaṁtaṁ no svag[a]-ālādhi no lājādhi

Dhan. (T) duā[ha]le hi i[ma]sa kaṁm[asa] m[e] kute man[o]-atīleke
Jan. (U) du[ā]hale etasa [kaṁ]masa sa me k[u]t̪e ma[n̪]o-atīle[ke]

Dhan. (U) sa[m̪]paṭipajam[i]n[e] chu [etaṁ] svaga[m̪] ālādha[yi]sa[tha]
Jan. (V) [etaṁ] saṁpaṭipajamīne mama] cha ānaneyaṁ esatha

Dhan. [mama cha ā]naniyaṁ ehattha (V) iyaṁ cha l[i]p̪i t̪i]sa-na[kha]tena
Jan. svagaṁ cha ālā[dha]yisa[th]ā (W) iyaṁ chā li[p̪i] anutisaṁ

Dhan. so[ta]viy[ā] (W) aṁta[l]ā [p̪i] cha [t̪i]s[e]na kha]nasi kha[nas]i
Jan. so[a]v[i]yā (X) [a]lā [p̪i] kha[ne]na sota[vi]yā

Dhan. ekena pi sotaviya (X) hevaṁ cha kalaṁtaṁ tuphe chaghatha
Jan. ek[a]k[e]na pi (Y) m[i]ne ch[aghatha]

Dhan. sampa[t̪i]pād[a]y[i]tave (Y) [e]t̪[ā]ye aṭhāye iya[m̪] l[i]p̪i likhit[a h̪]ida ena
Jan. tave (Z) etāye cha aṭh[ā]ye iyaṁ [li]khitā [l̪i]p̪i ena

Dhan. nagala-vi[y]o[hā]lakā sas[v]ataṁ samayaṁ yūjevū t̪i] ...
Jan. mahāmātā nagalaka sa[s]vata[m̪] sama[ya]m̪ [etaṁ] yu[j̪]ey[u] t̪i] ena

Dhan. . . [na]sa akasmā [pa]libodhe va [a]k[a]smā paliki[l̪]e[s]e va no siyā
Jan. [muni]s[ā]naṁ [a] ne [pal]i[k̪]i

Dhan. ti (Z) etāye cha aṭhāye haka[m̪] mate p[a]m̪chasu paṁchasu
Jan. ye [pa]m̪chasu paṁchasu

Dhan. [va]sesu [n̪i]k[hā]may[i]sāmi e akhakhase a[cha]m̪d̪[e]
Jan. va[sesu] anu[saj̪]yānaṁ nikhāma[y]isāmi mahāmāta[m̪] achaṁda[m̪]

Dhan. s[a]khinālambhe hosati etaṁ aṭhaṁ jānitu [ta]thā kala[m̪]ti
Jan. apha[usa]m̪ ta

Dhan. atha mama anusathī ti (AA) Ujenite pi chu kumāle etāye v[a]
Jan. pi kumāle [v]

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Dhan.</i> | a[tha] | jāṇne | anusathi | ti | <i>Jan.</i> | [athā] |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | kāmam | etam | pī | jānisanti | tam | pī ta[th]a kalamiti |
| <i>Jau.</i> | ka[n]ma[m] | n | [yitu | | | |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | te | mahāmātā | nikhamisanti | annusa[yāna[m] | n[kha][m]sa[m]ti | tada ahāpayitu atane |
| <i>Jau.</i> | vachanik[a] | ada | | | | |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | vasāni | (BB) | hemeva | T[a]kha[s]ilate | pī (CC) [a]dā a | |
| <i>Jau.</i> | timini | | | | | |
| <i>Dhan.</i> | a[phāye | [ni]khama[yisa] | | hedisameva | vagam no cha | atikkamayisati |
| <i>Jau.</i> | m[ay] | | | | | |

SECOND SEPARATE ROCK-EDICT

Dhan. (A) Devānampiyas[a] vachanena Tosaliyam kumāle mahāmātā cha
Ṭan. (A) Devānampīye hevaṃ ā[ha] (B) Samāpāyam mahāmātā
Ṭan. [ā]ja-vachanik[a] vataviyā (C) aṃ kichhi dakhā[mi] hakam taṃ i[ḥh]āmi
Dhan.
Ṭan. hakam k[im]ti kamāna paṭipāṭayehaṃ duvā[ite] cha ālabhehaṃ (D) esa
Dhan.
Ṭan. cha me mokhiya-mata duvā[ā] etasi aṭhasi aṃ tūphē[s]u
Dhan.
Ṭan. (E) sava-munīsā me pajā (F) aṭha pajāyē ichhāmi kinti me
Dhan.
Ṭan. hīta-sukhe[na] yu[ḥ]e[ṇa] ti hidaalogika-pāloki[ke]ṇa
Dhan. savenā hīta-sukhe[na] yu[ḥ]e[ṇa] ti hidaalogika-pāloki[ke]ṇa

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| Dhan. h[e]v[am]. | Yan. hevahnmeva | me ichha sava-munisessu (G) siyā | amitānaṁ avijitānaṁ | [a]vijitānaṁ |
| Dhan. ki-chha[m]de] su jāja [aphesu] .. (G) ... m[a]va | Yan. ki-m-chhānde su jāja aphonesu ti (H) etakā [vā] | me ichha amtesu | amtesu | |
| Dhan. ... i [p]a[p]unevu te iti Devānaṁpi[y] | Yan. jāja hevahn ichh[a]ti annu[v]i[g]ina hve[yu] | [annu]v[i]g[i]na] mamāye | | |
| Dhan. huvevu ti asvasessu cha me sukhāṁmeva | Yan. mamliyāye [a]svasesyu cha me sukhāṁ[m]ev[a] | jahevu mamat[e] | | |
| Dhan. no dukha[m] h[e]va[m] ... un[e]vu iti khamisati | Yan. [n]o kha[m] hevahn cha pāpunevu | ne | | |
| The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]kha paṭṭaye ichhāmi kīṁ[it] m[e] savena hita- | | | | |
| sukh[e]na yujeyṁ. | | | | |

¹ The last eight words are repeated thus: [a]lila pañaye ichhāmi kim[iti] m[e] savenu hita-sukh[e]na yujeyā.

Dhau. Devānaṃpiye [aph]ākā ti e chakiye khamitave mama nimitaṃ [va]
Ṣau. lājā e s[a]kiye khamitave mamaṃ nimitaṃ

Dhau. cha dhaṃmaṃ chalevū hidaloka palaloka[m] cha
Ṣau. cha dhaṃma[m] chaley[ā] ti hidalog[am] cha palalogam cha

Dhau. ālādhayevū (H) etasi aṭhasi haka[m] anusāsāmi tuphe
Ṣau. ālādhayey[ā] (I) etāye cha aṭhāye hakaṃ tupheni anusāsāmi

Dhau. ana[n]e [e]takena hakaṃ anusāsitu chhaṃdaṃ cha veditu
Ṣau. ana[n]e eta[k]ena [h]akaṃ tupheni a[nu]sāsitu chhaṃda[m] cha vedi[t]u

Dhau. ā [hi] dhi[t]i paṭimnā cha mamā [a]jalā (I) s[e] hevaṃ kaṭu
Ṣau. ā mama dhiti paṭimnā cha achala (Ṣ) sa hevaṃ [ka]tū

Dhau. kaṃme chal[i]t[a]v[i]ye asv[āsa] i [cha] tāni ena
Ṣau. k[aṃ]me [cha]litaviye asvāsa[n]iyā ch[a] te en[a] te

Dhau. pāpunevū iti atha pitā tatha Devānaṃpiy[e] aphāka athā cha
Ṣau. pāpuneyu a[th]ā pita [h]evaṃ [n]e lājā ti atha

Dhau. atānaṃ hevaṃ Devānaṃpiye [a]nukaṃpati aphe athā cha pajā
Ṣau. [a]tānaṃ anukaṃpat[i] hevaṃ a[ph]eni anuka[m]pa[ti] athā pajā

Dhau. hevaṃ may[e] D[e]vānaṃpiyasa (Ṣ) se hakaṃ anusāsitu [chha]ṃda[m]
Ṣau. hevaṃ [may]e lājine (K) tupheni hakaṃ anusāsita [chh]āmdaṃ

Dhau. ch[a] veditu tuṭhāk[a] desāvutike
Ṣau. [cha v]-[di]ta [ā ma]ma dhiti paṭi[m]nā chā achala [saka]la-desā-āy[ut]jike

Dhau. hoṣāmi etāye aṭhāye (K) paṭibalā hi tuph[e] asvāsanāye hita-
Ṣau. hoṣāmi et[a]-i [a]thas[i] (L) [a]laṃ [h]i tuphe asvāsa[n]āye hi[ta]-

Dhau. sukhāye cha [tesa] hidalogika-pālalo[k]ikāye (L) hevaṃ cha
Ṣau. sukhāye [cha te]sa[m] hidalogi[ka]-p[ā]lal[o]ki[k]ā[y]e (M) hevaṃ cha

Dhau. kalāṃtaṃ tuphe svagaṃ ālādha[yi]satha mama ch[a] ānaniyaṃ
Ṣau. kalāṃtaṃ svaga[m] cha ālādhayisa[tha] mama cha āna[n]eyaṃ

Dhau. chatha (M) etāye cha aṭhāye iyaṃ lipi likhitā hida e[nā]
Ṣau. es[a]tha (N) etāye cha a[th]āye i[ya]m lipi li[kh]i[ta] hi[da] e[nā]

Dhau. [ma]hāmātā svasata[m] sa[ma] yujisaṃti as[vā]s[a]nāye dhaṃma-
Ṣau. [ma]h[ā]mātā sāsvataṃ samaṃ yujeyū asvāsanāye cha dhaṃma-

Dhau. chala[n]īye cha tes[a] aṃtānaṃ (N) iyaṃ cha lipi [anu]chātummasaṃ
Ṣau. chala[nā]ye [cha] aṃtā[na]m (O) iyaṃ cha lipi a[nu]ch[ā]tum[m]asaṃ

Dhau. tisena nakhatena sotaviyā (O) kāmaṃ chu [kha]ṇas[i] khanasi
Ṣau. s[ota]viyā tisena (P) aṃta[lā] pi cha sotaviyā

| | |
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| <i>Dhan.</i> amṭa pi usena ekena [p] [so] taviya (P) hevam kala[m] tam | <i>Ṭan.</i> (Q) khane samitani ekena [p] [so] taviya (K) hevam [m] cha [ka] lam [ta] m |
| <i>Dhan.</i> [t] uphe chaghattha sampapāṭṭapādayitave | <i>Ṭan.</i> chaghattha sampapāṭṭapādayitave |

III. THE SIX PILLAR-EDICTS

FIRST PILLAR-EDICT

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| <i>Top.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena | <i>Ar.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena |
| <i>Nand.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena | <i>Ar.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena |
| <i>Ram.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja heva āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena | <i>Ar.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena |
| <i>All.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena | <i>Ar.</i> (A) Devānampiye Piyaḍasi jāja hevam āha (B) sādūvīsati-vasa-abbhisitena |

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|---|---|
| <i>Top.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye | <i>Ar.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye |
| <i>Nand.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye | <i>Ar.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye |
| <i>Ram.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye | <i>Ar.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye |
| <i>All.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye | <i>Ar.</i> me iyaṁ dhamma-lipi likhāpita (C) hidata-pālate dusaṁpaṭṭapādaye |

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| <i>Top.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya su[su]sāya | <i>Ar.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya |
| <i>Nand.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya | <i>Ar.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya |
| <i>Ram.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya | <i>Ar.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya |
| <i>All.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya | <i>Ar.</i> amṇata agāya dhamma-kāmatāya agāya palikhāya agāya susūsāya |

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| <i>Top.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya | <i>Ar.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya |
| <i>Nand.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya | <i>Ar.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya |
| <i>Ram.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya | <i>Ar.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya |
| <i>All.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya | <i>Ar.</i> agena bhayena agena usāhena (D) esa chu kho mama anusathiya |

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| <i>Top.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva | <i>Ar.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva |
| <i>Nand.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva | <i>Ar.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva |
| <i>Ram.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva | <i>Ar.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva |
| <i>All.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva | <i>Ar.</i> dhammāpekha dhamma-kāmatā cha suve suve vadhita vadhīsati cheva |

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| <i>Top.</i> (E) pulisa pi cha me ukasā chā gevayā chā majhima chā | <i>Ar.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha |
| <i>Nand.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha | <i>Ar.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha |
| <i>Ram.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha | <i>Ar.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha |
| <i>All.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha | <i>Ar.</i> (E) pulisa pi me ukasā cha gevayā cha majhima cha |

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| <i>Top.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave | <i>Ar.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave |
| <i>Nand.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave | <i>Ar.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave |
| <i>Ram.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave | <i>Ar.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave |
| <i>All.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave | <i>Ar.</i> anuvīdhīyaṁ sampatipādayaṁti cha alam chapalaṁ samādapayitave |

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|--------------|--------------|---------------|----|---------|----|-------|----|--------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (F) hemevā | aññā-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (F) hemeva | aññā-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (F) hemeva | aññā-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (F) hemeva | aññā-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | iyam | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i> | (F) hemēveva | aññā-mahāmātā | pi | (G) esā | hi | vidhi | yā | [i]yam | dhammena |

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|--------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | pālanā | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhiyanā | dhammena |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | ...[nam] | dhammen[a] | v[i]dh[āne] | dha[me] | . | . |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukh[i]yana | dhammena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhīyana | dhammena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pālana | dhammena | vidhāne | dha[m]m[e]na | sukhīyana | dhammena |
| <i>All.</i> | pālanā | dhammena | vidhāne | dhammena | sukhīyanā | dhammena |

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|--------------|-------|----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | goti | ti |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | . | . |
| <i>Ar.</i> | goti | ti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | goti | ti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | goti | ti |
| <i>All.</i> | [gut] | [ti cha] |

SECOND PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|----------|------|-----------|-----|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (A) De[vā]n[a]m̐piye | Piyadasi | lāja | [hevaṃ ā] | . | (B) dh[am̐]me | s[ā]dh[u] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṃ | āha | (B) dhamme | sādhū |
| <i>All.</i> | (A) Devānaṃpiye | Piyadasi | lājā | hevaṃ | āhā | (B) dhamme | sādhū |

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|--------------|----------|-----|--------|------|---------------|-----------------|--------|--------|------|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | kiyaṃ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) apāsīnave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne | sache |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | k[iya]m̐ | . | . | [m̐] | ti | (C) a[pā]sinave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kiyaṃ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) apāsīnave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kiya | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) apāsīnave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kiyaṃ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) apāsīnave | bahu | kayāne | daya | dāne | sache |
| <i>All.</i> | kiyaṃ | chu | dhamme | ti | (C) apāsīnave | bahu | kayāne | dayā | dāne | sache |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-----|---------------|-------------|-----|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | dupada- | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | sochaye | (D) | [chakhu-dā]nā | [pi | me] | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | du[pa]da- | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | socheye | tī | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | dupada ¹ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | socheye | tī | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | dupada- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | socheye | tī | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | dupada- |
| <i>All.</i> | sochaye | (D) | chakhu-dāne | pi | me | bahuvidhe | diṃne | (E) | dupada- | |

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|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|----|----------|------|---|-------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | ch[a]tu[pa]desu | pakhi-vālichale[su | viv]i[dhe | me | anu]gahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |
| <i>All.</i> | chatupadesu | pakhi-vālichalesu | vividhe | me | anugahe | kaṭe | ā | pāna- |

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|--------------|-----------|--------------|--------|--------------|-----------|----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>Top.</i> | dakhināye | (F) amnāni | pi | cha | me | bahuni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | dakhināye | (F) a[m]nāni | pi | cha | me | bah[un]i | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | dakhināye | (F) a[m]nāni | pi | cha | me | bahuni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dakhināye | (F) amnāni | pi | cha | me | bahuni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | dakhināye | (F) amnāni | pi | cha | me | bahuni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>All.</i> | dakhināye | (F) amnāni | pi | cha | me | bahuni | kayānāni | kaṭāni | (5) eṭāye |
| <i>Top.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dharmma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chilam- | |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dharmma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chil[am]- | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dhama-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chilam- | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dharmma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chilam- | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dharmma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chilam- | |
| <i>All.</i> | me | athāye | iyam | dharmma-lipi | likhāpita | hevaṃ | anupaṭipajāntu | chila- | |
| <i>Top.</i> | thitika | cha | hotu | ti | (H) ye | cha | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | [th]itika | cha | hot[ū] | ti | (H) ye | [cha] | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>Ar.</i> | thitika | cha | hotu | ti | (H) ye | cha | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>Nand.</i> | thitika | cha | hotu | ti | (H) ye | cha | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>Rām.</i> | thitika | cha | hotu | ti | (H) ye | cha | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>All.</i> | thitika | cha | hotu | ti | (H) ye | cha | hevaṃ | sampañipajisati | se |
| <i>Top.</i> | sukāṭam | kachhat | ti | | | | | | |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | sukāṭam | ka[ch]hat | ti | | | | | | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | sukāṭam | kachhat | ti | | | | | | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukāṭam | kachhat | | | | | | | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | sukāṭam | kachhat | ti | | | | | | |
| <i>All.</i> | sukāṭam | kachhat | ti | | | | | | |

THIRD PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------------------|----------|
| <i>Top.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānammeva | dekhat |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānam[eva | de] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānammeva | dekhamti |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānammeva | dekhamti |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānammeva | dekhamti |
| <i>All.</i> | (A) Devānampiye | Piyadasi | ājā | hevaṃ | āha | (B) kayānānammeva | dekhat |

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|--------------|------|----|--------|------|----|--------|--------|---------|-----------|------|----|
| <i>Top.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | minā | pāpam | d[ek]khat | iyam | me |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | min[ā] | pāpam | dekhat | iyam | me |
| <i>Ar.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | minā | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>Nand.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | minā | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>Rām.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | minā | pāpam | dekhamti | iyam | me |
| <i>All.</i> | iyam | me | kayāne | kate | ti | (C) no | minā | pāpakam | dekhat | iyam | me |

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|--------------|--------|------|----|------|----|-------|----|------|----|-------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Top.</i> | pāpe | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Mtr.</i> | pāp[ē] | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) [du]pāṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pāpe | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pāpe | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pāpe | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |
| <i>All.</i> | pāpake | kate | ti | iyam | va | āsina | ve | nāma | ti | (D) dupaṭivekhe | chu | kho |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Top.</i> | <i>ġanapadasa</i> | hita-sukham | upadāhevu | anugāhinevu | chā | (<i>ġ</i>) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | <i>ġanapadasa</i> | hita-sukham | upadāhevu | anugāhinevu | chā | (<i>ġ</i>) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | <i>ġanapadasa</i> | hita-sukham | upadāhevu | anugāhinevu | chā | (<i>ġ</i>) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | <i>ġanapadasa</i> | hita-sukham | upadāhevu | anugāhinevu | chā | (<i>ġ</i>) | sukhiyana- |
| <i>Top.</i> | dukhīyanam | ġānisamti | dharmā-yutena | chā | vīyovadisamti | janam | ġanapadam |
| <i>Ar.</i> | dukhīyanam | ġānisamti | dharmā-yutena | chā | vīyovadisamti | janam | ġanapadam |
| <i>Nand.</i> | dukhīyanam | ġānisamti | dharmā-yutena | chā | vīyovadisamti | janam | ġanapadam |
| <i>Rām.</i> | dukhīyanam | ġānisamti | dharmā-yutena | chā | vīyovadisamti | janam | ġanapadam |
| <i>Top.</i> | kinti | hidatam | chā | pālatam | chā | ālādhayevu | ti (<i>ġ</i>) |
| <i>Ar.</i> | kinti | hidatam | chā | pālatam | chā | ālādhayevu | ti (<i>ġ</i>) |
| <i>Nand.</i> | kinti | hidatam | chā | pālatam | chā | ālādhayevu | ti (<i>ġ</i>) |
| <i>Rām.</i> | kinti | hidatam | chā | pālatam | chā | ālādhayevu | ti (<i>ġ</i>) |
| <i>Top.</i> | patichalītavē | mañ | (<i>Ġ</i>) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | patichalītavē | mañ | (<i>Ġ</i>) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | patichalītavē | mañ | (<i>Ġ</i>) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | patichalītavē | mañ | (<i>Ġ</i>) | pulisāni | pi | me | chhamdamāni |
| <i>Top.</i> | ālādhayitavē | (<i>Ġ</i>) | athā | hi | pajam | vīyatāyē | dhātīyē |
| <i>Ar.</i> | ālādhayitavē | (<i>Ġ</i>) | athā | hi | pajam | vīyatāyē | dhātīyē |
| <i>Nand.</i> | ālādhayitavē | (<i>Ġ</i>) | athā | hi | pajam | vīyatāyē | dhātīyē |
| <i>Rām.</i> | ālādhayitavē | (<i>Ġ</i>) | athā | hi | pajam | vīyatāyē | dhātīyē |
| <i>Top.</i> | hoti | vīyata | dhātī | chaghatī | me | pajam | sukham |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hoti | vīyata | dhātī | chaghatī | me | pajam | sukham |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hoti | vīyata | dhātī | chaghatī | me | pajam | sukham |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hoti | vīyata | dhātī | chaghatī | me | pajam | sukham |
| <i>Top.</i> | mama | lajūka | kata | ġanapadasa | hita-sukhāyē | (<i>ġ</i>) | yena |
| <i>Ar.</i> | mama | lajūka | kata | ġanapadasa | hita-sukhāyē | (<i>ġ</i>) | yena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | mama | lajūka | kata | ġanapadasa | hita-sukhāyē | (<i>ġ</i>) | yena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | mama | lajūka | kata | ġanapadasa | hita-sukhāyē | (<i>ġ</i>) | yena |
| <i>Top.</i> | asvatha | samitam | avimānā | kamīmāni | pavatayevu | ti | etena |
| <i>Ar.</i> | asvatha | samitam | avimānā | kamīmāni | pavatayevu | ti | etena |
| <i>Nand.</i> | asvatha | samitam | avimānā | kamīmāni | pavatayevu | ti | etena |
| <i>Rām.</i> | asvatha | samitam | avimānā | kamīmāni | pavatayevu | ti | etena |

Top. asvatha samitam avimānā kamīmāni pavatayevu ti etena
Ar. asvatha samitam avimānā kamīmāni pavatayevu ti etena
Nand. asvatha samitam avimānā kamīmāni pavatayevu ti etena
Rām. asvatha samitam avimānā kamīmāni pavatayevu ti etena

Top. mama [mam]a [la]jūka [a] . . . ye . . .
Ar. mama [mam]a [la]jūka [a] . . . ye . . .
Nand. mama [mam]a [la]jūka [a] . . . ye . . .
Rām. mama [mam]a [la]jūka [a] . . . ye . . .

Top. hoti vīyata dhātī chaghatī me pajam sukham palihātavē hevañ
Ar. hoti vīyata dhātī chaghatī me pajam sukham palihātavē ti hevañ
Nand. hoti vīyata dhātī chaghatī me pajam sukham palihātavē ti hevañ
Rām. hoti vīyata dhātī chaghatī me pajam sukham palihātavē ti hevañ

Top. alādhayitavē (*Ġ*) athā hi pajam vīyatāyē dhātīyē nisītitu asvathē
Ar. alādhayitavē (*Ġ*) athā hi pajam vīyatāyē dhātīyē nisītitu asvathē
Nand. alādhayitavē (*Ġ*) athā hi pajam vīyatāyē dhātīyē nisītitu asvathē
Rām. alādhayitavē (*Ġ*) athā hi pajam vīyatāyē dhātīyē nisītitu asvathē

Top. (H) te pi cha kani vīyovadisamti yena man lajūka chaghamti
Ar. (H) te pi cha kani vīyovadisamti yena man lajūka chaghamti
Nand. (H) te pi cha kani vīyovadisamti yena man lajūka chaghamti
Rām. (H) te pi cha kani vīyovadisamti yena man lajūka chaghamti

Top. patichalītavē (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamāni patichalīsamti
Ar. patichalītavē (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamāni patichalīsamti
Nand. patichalītavē (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamāni patichalīsamti
Rām. patichalītavē (G) pulisāni pi me chhamdamāni patichalīsamti

Top. kinti hidatam cha palatam cha alādhayevu ti (*ġ*) lajūka pi laghamti
Ar. kinti hidatam cha palatam cha alādhayevu ti (*ġ*) lajūka pi laghamti
Nand. kinti hidatam cha palatam cha alādhayevu ti (*ġ*) lajūka pi laghamti
Rām. kinti hidatam cha palatam cha alādhayevu ti (*ġ*) lajūka pi laghamti

Top. dukhīyanam ġānisamti dharmā-yutena chā vīyovadisamti janam ġanapadam
Ar. dukhīyanam ġānisamti dharmā-yutena chā vīyovadisamti janam ġanapadam
Nand. dukhīyanam ġānisamti dharmā-yutena chā vīyovadisamti janam ġanapadam
Rām. dukhīyanam ġānisamti dharmā-yutena chā vīyovadisamti janam ġanapadam

Top. ġanapadasa hita-sukham upadāhevu anugāhinevu chā (*ġ*) sukhiyana-
Ar. ġanapadasa hita-sukham upadāhevu anugāhinevu chā (*ġ*) sukhiyana-
Nand. ġanapadasa hita-sukham upadāhevu anugāhinevu chā (*ġ*) sukhiyana-
Rām. ġanapadasa hita-sukham upadāhevu anugāhinevu chā (*ġ*) sukhiyana-

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|-----------------|------------|----|-------|----|----------------|--------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abhi[h]āle | va | daṃḍe | vā | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | me | [laj]ū[kā]a[an] | . | . | . | . | ata-patiye | kaṭ[e] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | [a]bhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | lajūkānaṃ | abhihāle | va | daṃḍe | va | ata-patiye | kaṭe |
| <i>All.</i> | . | [kānaṃ | abhihāle | vā | daṃḍe | vā | ata-pa]i[i]y[e | kaṭe] |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|----------------------|------|--------|----------|-----------------|-------|------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | [h]i | esā | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siyā |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (K) | ichhitavi | . | . | . | [h]āla-samatā | ch[a] | siyā |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siyā |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | kiṃti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siyā |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (K) | ichhitaviye | hi | esa | ki[ṃ]ti | viyohāla-samatā | cha | siyā |
| <i>All.</i> | (K) | [i]chhi[i]a]v[i]y[e] | h[i | e]-[a] | k[ṃ]t[i] | la-sama[i]ā | cha | siyā |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|------|-------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | chā | (L) | ava | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | daṃḍa-sa[ma] | . | . | . | . | . | [me] | āvuti | [ba]ṃdhana- | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | daṃḍa-samatā | cha | (L) | āvā | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |
| <i>All.</i> | da[ṃ]sa-samatā | cha | (L) | āva | ite | pi | cha | me | āvuti | baṃdhana- |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|----------|------------|------------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | til[i]ta-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasā[n]i | |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [badh]ānaṃ | munisā[naṃ] | | | vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | di[va]sāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisā[na]ṃ | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni | |
| <i>All.</i> | badhānaṃ | munisānaṃ | tilita-daṃḍānaṃ | pata-vadhānaṃ | tiṃni | divasāni | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------|--------|-------|-----|----------|----|------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | me | yote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | [m]e | y[o]te | diṃne | (M) | . | . | . | payisa[ṃ]ti | j[i]v[i]tāye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | me | yote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | me | [yo]te | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | me | [y]ote | diṃne | (M) | nātikā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |
| <i>All.</i> | . | yote | diṃne | (M) |[k]ā | va | kāni | nijhapayisaṃti | jīvitāye |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----------|------|------------------|-------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtāṃ | vā | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | tāna[ṃ] | nāsaṃtāṃ | [v]ā | nī | . | . | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtāṃ | va | nijhapay[i]ta]ve | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtāṃ | va | nijhapay[i]ta]ve | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtāṃ | va | nijhapayitave | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |
| <i>All.</i> | tānaṃ | nāsaṃtāṃ | vā | nijhapayitā | dānaṃ | dāhaṃti | pālatikaṃ |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|----|---------------|-----|-------|------|----|-------|-----------|----|
| <i>Tēṣ.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | u[pa]vāsaṃ | vā | k[a] | (N) | . | . | . | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Ar.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Nand.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>Rām.</i> | upavāsaṃ | va | kachhaṃti | (N) | ichhā | hi | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |
| <i>All.</i> | upavāsaṃ | vā | [ka]chha[ṃ]ti | (N) | | [h]i | me | hevaṃ | niludhasi | pi |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Mtr.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| kalasi | kalasi | kalasi | kalasi | kalasi | kalasi |
| palataṁ | palataṁ | palataṁ | palataṁ | palataṁ | palataṁ |
| ālādhayevu | ālādhayevu | ālādhayevu | ālādhayevu | ālādhayevu | ālādhayevu |
| ti | ti | ti | ti | ti | (O) janasa |
| cha | cha | cha | cha | cha | cha |
| vadhāti | vadhāti | vadhāti | vadhāti | vadhāti | vadhāti |
| vividhe | vividhe | vividhe | vividhe | vividhe | vividhe |
| dhātma-chalane | dhātma-chalane | dhātma-chalane | dhātma-chalane | dhātma-chalane | dhātma-chalane |
| dhā[m]ma-chalane | dhā[m]ma-chalane | dhā[m]ma-chalane | dhā[m]ma-chalane | dhā[m]ma-chalane | dhā[m]ma-chalane |
| sayame | sayame | sayame | sayame | sayame | sayame |
| dhāna-savibhāge | dhāna-savibhāge | dhāna-savibhāge | dhāna-savibhāge | dhāna-savibhāge | dhāna-savibhāge |
| ti | ti | ti | ti | ti | ti |

FIFTH PILLAR-EDICT

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (A) Devānampīye | (A) Devānampīye | (A) Devānampīye | (A) Devānampīye | (A) [p]īye |
| Piyadasi | Piyadasi | Piyadasi | Piyadasi | Piyadasi |
| laja | laja | laja | laja | laja |
| hevam | hevam | hevam | hevam | hevam |
| āha | āha | āha | āha | āha |
| (B) sadūvisati-vasābhisiṭena | (B) sadūvisati-vasābhisiṭena | (B) sadūvisati-vasābhisiṭena | (B) sadūvisati-vasābhisiṭena | (B) sadūvisati-vasābhisiṭena |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| me | me | me | me | me |
| imāni | imāni | imāni | imāni | imāni |
| pi | pi | pi | pi | pi |
| jatāni | jatāni | jatāni | jatāni | jatāni |
| avadhīyāni | avadhīyāni | avadhīyāni | avadhīyāni | avadhīyāni |
| kaṭāni | kaṭāni | kaṭāni | kaṭāni | kaṭāni |
| seyatha | seyatha | seyatha | seyatha | seyatha |
| suke | suke | suke | suke | suke |
| sālika | sālika | sālika | sālika | sālika |
| alune | alune | alune | alune | alune |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| chakavāke | chakavāke | chakavāke | chakavāke | chakavāke |
| hamse | hamse | hamse | hamse | hamse |
| namdimukhe | namdimukhe | namdimukhe | namdimukhe | namdimukhe |
| gelāṭe | gelāṭe | gelāṭe | gelāṭe | gelāṭe |
| jatuka | jatuka | jatuka | jatuka | jatuka |
| ambā-kapillika | ambā-kapillika | ambā-kapillika | ambā-kapillika | ambā-kapillika |
| dai | dai | dai | dai | dai |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| anāhika-machhe | anāhika-machhe | anāhika-machhe | anāhika-machhe | anāhika-machhe |
| vedaveyake | vedaveyake | vedaveyake | vedaveyake | vedaveyake |
| Camgā-puputake | Camgā-puputake | Camgā-puputake | Camgā-puputake | Camgā-puputake |
| samkujja-machhe | samkujja-machhe | samkujja-machhe | samkujja-machhe | samkujja-machhe |
| kaphajā- | kaphajā- | kaphajā- | kaphajā- | kaphajā- |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| sayake | sayake | sayake | sayake | sayake |
| paṁna-sase | paṁna-sase | paṁna-sase | paṁna-sase | paṁna-sase |
| simala | simala | simala | simala | simala |
| samḍake | samḍake | samḍake | samḍake | samḍake |
| okapiṁḍe | okapiṁḍe | okapiṁḍe | okapiṁḍe | okapiṁḍe |
| palasate | palasate | palasate | palasate | palasate |
| seta-kapote | seta-kapote | seta-kapote | seta-kapote | seta-kapote |
| [a]-kapote | [a]-kapote | [a]-kapote | [a]-kapote | [a]-kapote |

| <i>Top.</i> | <i>Ar.</i> | <i>Nand.</i> | <i>Rām.</i> | <i>All.</i> |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| gāma-kapote | gāma-kapote | gāma-kapote | gāma-kapote | gāma-kapote |
| save | save | save | save | save |
| chatupade | chatupade | chatupade | chatupade | chatupade |
| ye | ye | ye | ye | ye |
| paṭibhogam | paṭibhogam | paṭibhogam | paṭibhogam | paṭibhogam |
| no | no | no | no | no |
| eti | eti | eti | eti | eti |
| na | na | na | na | na |
| cha | cha | cha | cha | cha |
| [no] | [no] | [no] | [no] | [no] |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|--------|------------|------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhamī-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁnaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭham[i-pakhā]ye | [chā]vudasāye | paṁ[na]ḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhamī-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁnaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhamī-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁnaḷasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>Ÿ</i>) | aṭhamī-pakhāye | chāvudasāye | paṁnaḍasāye | tisāye | punāvasune | tīsu |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|------------|------|----|-----------------|-------|-------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chātumṁmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nilakhitaviye | ajake | eḍake | sūkale |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | chātumṁmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nilakhitavi[y]e | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chātumṁmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nilakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chātumṁmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nilakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chātumṁmāsīsu | sudivasāye | gone | no | nilakhitaviye | ajake | eḷake | sūkale |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|------|---------------|--------------|--------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | e vā pi amne | nilakhiyati | no | nilakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | e vā pi am[n]e | ni[la]khi[ya]ti | [no] | nilakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasun[e] |
| <i>Ar.</i> | e vā pi amne | nilakhiyati | no | nilakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Nand.</i> | e vā pi amne | nilakhiyati | no | nilakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |
| <i>Rām.</i> | e vā pi amne | nilakhiyati | no | nilakhitaviye | (<i>K</i>) | tisāye | punāvasune |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------------|--------|--------|---------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | chātumṁmāsīye | chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | chātumṁmāsīye | chātu[m]māsī-pakhāye | asvasā | gonasā | lakhane | no |[v]iye |
| <i>Ar.</i> | chātumṁmāsīye | chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Nand.</i> | chātumṁmāsīye | chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>Rām.</i> | chātumṁmāsīye | chātumṁmāsī-pakhāye | asvasa | gonasa | lakhane | no | kaṭaviye |
| <i>All.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | [lakha]n[e] | no kaṭaviye] |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|----|-------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yā[va]-saḍuvīsati-[va]sa-abhisitena | me | etāye | a[m]talikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitasa | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | yāva-saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena | me | etāye | aṁtalikāye | paṁnavīsati |
| <i>All.</i> | (<i>L</i>) | [y]ā | . | . | . | . |

| | | |
|--------------|------------------|--------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Mīr.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Ar.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Nand.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |
| <i>Rām.</i> | baṁdhana-mokhāni | kaṭāni |

SIXTH PILLAR-EDICT

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------|-------|-----|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | ahā | (<i>B</i>) | duvāḍasa- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duvā[ḍa]sa- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duva[ḷa]s[a] |
| <i>Rām.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | Devānaṁpiye | Piyadasi | lāja | hevaṁ | āha | (<i>B</i>) | duvāḍasa- |
| <i>All.</i> | (<i>A</i>) | [p]iye | [P]iyada[s]i | l[ā] . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----|-------------|-----------|--------|--------------|----|-----|
| <i>Tōp.</i> | vasa-abhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | lokasā | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Nand.</i> | [va]sābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vasābhisitena | me | dhamma-lipi | likhāpitā | lokasa | hita-sukhāye | se | taṁ |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------|---------|--------------|---------|-----|---------|----------|-------|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | apahaṭā | taṁ | taṁ | dhaṁma-vaḍhi | pāpovā | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasa | hita- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhaṁma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasa | hita- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhaṁma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lokasa | hita- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | apahaṭa | taṁ | taṁ | dhaṁma-vaḍhi | pāpova | (C) | hevaṁ | lok[ā]sa | hita- |
| <i>All.</i> | | t[am] | | [ḍh] | [pā]... | (C) | heva[ṁ] | lokasa | hita- |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----|-------------|------|--------|---------|-------|--------------------|--|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | [sukhe] | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyaṁ | nātisu | hevaṁ | patiyāsahnesu | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyaṁ | nātisu | hevaṁ | patyāsahnesu | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | athā | iyaṁ | nātisu | hevaṁ | patyāsahnesu | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | iyaṁ | nātisu | hevaṁ | patyāsahnesu | |
| <i>All.</i> | sukhe | ti | paṭivekhāmi | atha | [iya]ṁ | | [va]ṁ | [paty]āsa[ṁ]ne[su] | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----------------|-------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimam | kāni | sukham | avahāmi | ti | tatha | cha |
| <i>Ar.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimam | kāni | sukham | avahāmi | ti | tatha | cha |
| <i>Nand.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimam | kāni | sukham | avahāmi | ti | tatha | cha |
| <i>Rām.</i> | hevaṁ | apakaṭhesu | kimam | kāni | sukham | avahāmi | ti | tatha | cha |
| <i>All.</i> | [heva]ṁ | apaka[ṭh]e[su] | kimam | [k]ā[ni] | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-----|-----------|-------------------|-------------|-----|----------------|--|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemevā | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (Z) | sava-pāsahḍa | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (Z) | sava-pāsahḍa | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-nikāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (Z) | sava-pāsahḍa | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | vidahāmi | (D) | hemeva | sava-n[i]kāyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (Z) | sava-pāsahḍa | |
| <i>All.</i> | [v][dah]āmi | (D) | hevaṁmeva | [sa]va...[k]āyesu | paṭivekhāmi | (Z) | [sa]va-pāsahḍa | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāyā | (F) | e | chu | iyaṁ | at[a]nā | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Mir.</i> | | | | | | | | | | | ūpagamane |
| <i>Ar.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāyā | (F) | e | chu | iyaṁ | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Nand.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāyā | (F) | e | chu | iyaṁ | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>Rām.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | pūjāyā | (F) | e | chu | iyaṁ | atana | pachūpagamane |
| <i>All.</i> | pi | me | pūjita | vividhāya | [pū]jāyā | (F) | e | chu | iy[a]ṁ | atanā | pachupagamane |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|----|-------------|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍuvīsati-vasa-abhisitena | me | iyaṁ | dhaṁma- |
| <i>Mir.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mate | (G) | saḍu isitena | me | iyaṁ | dhaṁma- |
| <i>Ar.</i> | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvīsati-vasābhisitena | me | iyaṁ | dhaṁma- |
| <i>Nand.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvīsati-va[s]ābhisitena | me | iyaṁ | dhaṁma- |
| <i>Rām.</i> | se | me | mokhya-mute | (G) | saḍuvīsati[i]-vasābhisitena | me | iyaṁ | dhaṁma- |
| <i>All.</i> | se | me | mukhya-mute | (G) | | | | |

| | | | |
|--------------|--------|--------------|----|
| <i>Tōṣ.</i> | lipi | likhāpitā | |
| <i>Mir.</i> | li[pi] | li | |
| <i>Ar.</i> | lipi | likhāpita | |
| <i>Nand.</i> | lipi | likhāpita | |
| <i>Rām.</i> | lipi | likhāpita | |
| <i>All.</i> | lipi | likhāpitā | ti |

IV. THE RUPNATH ROCK-INSRIPTION AND COGNATE INSRIPTIONS

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | heva[m] | āhā | (B) sāti[ra]kekāni | aḍhati[y]āni |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | he[va]m | ā | | [iyāni] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | (A) Devānāmpiye | | āh[ā] | (B) s[ā]ti | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | (A) Dev[ā]na[m]piyasa | Asok[a]sa | | | [a]dh[a]t[i] . . . ni |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (B) Devānāmpiye | āṇapayati | | (C) adhikāni | adhātiyāni |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (B) [Dev]ā[na]mpiye | heva[m] | āha | (C) adhikāni | a[dhā]t[i]y[āni] |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i> | (B) Dev[ā]n[a] | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-----|--------------|--------------|-----------|------|--------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | va | ya | sumi prakāsa | [Sa]k[e] | (C) no | chu | bāḍhi |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [savachhalāni | a]m | upāsake | sumi | (C) na | chu | bāḍham |
| <i>Bair.</i> | vasān[i] | ya | hakam | upāsake | (C) [no | chu] | bāḍham |
| <i>Mas.</i> | vashā[ni] | am | sum[i] | Bu[dha]-Śake | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | v[a]sāni | ya | hakam | . . . sa[ke] | (D) no | tu | kho |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | vasāni | ya | ha[kam | u]pāsake | (D) no | tu | kho |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i> | . . . | ya | hakam | | (D) . . . | kho | bāḍha |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|-------|--------|-------------|------------------|-----|-----|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | pakate | | | | (D) sātīleke | chu | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [palaka]m[t]e | | | | (D) sav[a]chhale | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | (C) | | [t]ire . . | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | prakamte | husam | ekam | savachharam | (E) sātīreke | tu | kho |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | pakamte | husam | ek[am] | sa[vachha] | (E) [sātīre]ke | tu | kho |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i> | | | | | (E) . . ti[reke] | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | chhavachhare | ya | sumi haka[m] | sagh[a] | up[e]te | bāḍhi | ch[a] |
| <i>Sah.</i> | sādhī[ke] | am] | | | | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | am | mamayā | saghe | [u]payāte | [bā]dha | cha |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | [m]i | | [s]amgha[m] | u[pa]gate | [u]th | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | samvachhare | yam | mayā | samghe | upayāte | bāḍham | cha |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | samvachhare | [yam | mayā | sam]ghe | upayāte | bāḍham | [cha] |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i> | | [ya]m | . . . [yā] | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | pakate | (E) yā | [i]māya | kālāya | Jambudipasi |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [te] | (E) [etena | cha | amta]lena | Jambudipasi |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | | | | Jambudipasi |
| <i>Mas.</i> | . . m[i] | (D) pure | | | Jambu . . . s[i] |
| <i>Brah.</i> | me | (F) iminā | chu | kālēna | amisā samānā |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [me] | (F) i[m]inā | chu | kālēna | [a]misā samā[nā] |
| <i>Jaṭ.</i> | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------|--------|---------------|----------|-----------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | amisā | devā | husu | te | dāni | m[i]s[ā] | kaṭā |
| <i>Sah.</i> | am̐misam̐ | [de]vā | saṁta | munisā | [m]isam̐-deva | [kaṭā] | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | amisā | na | devehi | | [m]i | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | [ye | amisā | devā | husu] | te | [dā]n[i] | misibhūtā |
| <i>Brah.</i> | munisā | Jambudīpasi | | | mi[s]ā | devehi | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | mu | | Jambu[d] | ... | [m]isā | devehi | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|-----|----------|----------|--------|---------|-----|------|--------|--------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (F) | pakamasi | hi | [e]sa | phale | (G) | no | cha | eṣā | mahatatā | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (F) | [pala] | ... | [iyam̐ | phale] | (G) | [no] | ... | [yam̐] | mahatatā | va |
| <i>Bair.</i> | (F) | .. | [ka]masa | esa | .. | [e] | (G) | [no] | hi | e[s]e | ma[ha]taneva |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | | | | (E) | | | iya | a[the] | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (G) | pakamasa | hi | iyam̐ | phale | (H) | no | hīyam̐ | | sakye | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (G) | pakamasa | hi | iyam̐ | phale | (H) | no | [h]i | iya | sake | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | (G) | . | . | [h]i | i[yam̐] | . | . | . | . | . | . |

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|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------|----|-----|-----------|--------------|-----|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | | | p[ā]potave | | | | | khudakena | pi |
| <i>Sah.</i> | chakiye | | pāv[a]t[a]ve | | | | | khudakena | pi |
| <i>Bair.</i> | chakiye | | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | | | | | | [khu]dake[na | pi] |
| <i>Brah.</i> | mahātpeneva | | pāpotave | kāmaṁ | tu | kho | khudakena | pi | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [ma]. | ... [ne]va | pāpo[ta]ve | kāmaṁ | tu | kho | khudakena | pi | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|----------|------------|---------|----------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | pa[ka]mam[i]nenā | sakiye | pipule | pā | svage | ārodheve | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | palakamam̐nenā | vipule | pi | s[u]ag. | .. | [k]iye | [ālā] . . . [ve] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | .. kamam̐nenā | vipule | pi | śvage | [cha]kye | [ā]lādheta[v] | e |
| <i>Mas.</i> | dhama-yute[na] | sake | adhigatave | (F) | na | hevaṁ | dakhitaviye |
| <i>Brah.</i> | paka[m]i . . . neṇa | vipule | | svage | sakye | ārādheta | ve |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [pa]. | na | [v]ipul[e] | svage | sak[e] | ārādheta | ve |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|---------|----------------|----------|--------|-----------|-------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (H) | etiya | aṭhāya | cha | sāvane | kaṭe | kh[u]dakā | cha |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (H) | se | eṭāye | aṭh[ā]ye | iyam̐ | sāvāne | khudakā | cha |
| <i>Bair.</i> | (H) | . | . | . | . | . | kā | cha |
| <i>Mas.</i> | [uḍā]lake | va | ima | adhigachh[e]yā | ti | (G) | [khudak]e | [cha] |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (I) | e[t]āyaṭhāya | iyam̐ | sāvaṇe | sāvāpīte | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (I) | [s]e ya | [iya]m̐ | sāvaṇe | sāvīte | yathā | khu[dakā | cha] |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----|----------------|------------|---------|------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | uḍālā | cha | pakamatu | ti | atā | pi | cha | jānam̐tu |
| <i>Sah.</i> | uḍālā | chā | pa[la]kamam̐tu | | am̐tā | pi | ch[a] | jānam̐tu |
| <i>Bair.</i> | [u]ḍ[ā]lā | chā | [pala]kamatu | [t]i | [am̐]tā | pi | cha | jānam̐tu |
| <i>Mas.</i> | [uḍ]ālake | cha | vataaviyā | hevaṁ | ve | kalam̐tam̐ | bha[dak]e | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | mahāt[p]ā | cha | imaṁ | pakame[yu | t]i | am̐tā | cha | mai jāneyu |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [ma]hātpā | cha | imaṁ | [pa]kameyu | ti | atā | cha | . |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | . |

SYNOPTICAL TEXTS

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------|------|--------|---------------|------|------------|-------|--------|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | iya | paka[rā | va] | kiti | chira-ṭhitike | siyā | (I) iya | hi | aṭhe |
| <i>Sah.</i> | chila-ṭhit[īke] | cha | | | p[a]l[ā]kame | hotu | (I) iya[m] | cha | [aṭhe] |
| <i>Bair.</i> | [ch]ila-ṭhit | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | [se a] | | | | t[i]k[e] | cha | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | chira-ṭhitike | cha | iyam | [paka] | | | (Ṣ) iyam | cha | aṭhe |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [chira]-ṭhi[t]ik[e] | cha | iyam | pakame | hoti | | (Ṣ) | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | | | | | | | [cha] | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|-------------|-----------|------|-----------|-------------|-----|--------------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | vaḍhi | vaḍhisiti | vipula | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | | vaḍhisati | vipulam | pi | cha | vaḍhisati | | diyāḍhiyam | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | | lam | pi | | vaḍhisati | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | | | | | | va[dhi]siti | chā | diya[dhi]yam | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | | vaḍhisiti | vipulam | pi | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | | va[dh]isiti | vipu[la]m | p[i] | cha | vaḍhisiti | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | .. [dhi]s | [p]ulam | pi | | | | | |

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|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------|-----|-------|------------|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | apaladhiyenā | diyāḍhiya | vaḍhisata | (Ṣ) iya | cha | aṭhe | pavatis[u] | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | aval[a]dhiyenā | diy[a]ḍhiyam | vaḍhisati | (L) ima | cha | aṭham | pavatesu | | |
| <i>Bair.</i> | | diyāḍhiyam | vaḍhi[sa]ti | | | | | | |
| <i>Mas.</i> | he[vaṃ] ti | | | | | | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | avaradhiyā | diyāḍhiyam | [vaḍh]isiti | | | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | [a] | [yaḍhiya]m | vaḍhisiti | | | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | [ya]ḍhiyam | | | | | | | |

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|-------------|----------------|------|-----------|------|--------|---------------|----------------|------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | lekhāpeta | vāta | (K) hadha | cha | athi | sālā-ṭh[abh]e | silā- | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | [likhāpa]yāthā | | (M) ya | [vā] | ath[i] | hetā | silā-tham[bh]ā | tata | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----|-----------|-----|------------|-----------|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | ṭha[m]bhasi | lākhāpetavaya | ta | (L) etinā | cha | vayajanenā | yāvataka | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | pi | [likhāpayatha | t]i | | | | | | |
| <i>Sār.</i> | | | | | | | (I) āvate | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------|----------|--------|----------------|-------------|-------|-------|-------------|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | tupaka | ahāle | savara | vivasetavā[ya] | ti | | | | |
| <i>Sār.</i> | cha | tuphākam | ahāle | savata | vivāsayātha | tuphe | etena | viyamjanena | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-------|------------|--------------|------------|-----------|---------|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | (M) | | vy[u]ṭhenā | sāvane | kaṭe | | | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | (Ṣ) iyam | [cha | savane | | v]ivuthena | (K) duve | sapaṃnā | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | (K) iyam | cha | sāvaṇ[e] | sāv[ā]p[i]te | vyūthena | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | (K) i[ya]m | [cha] | sā[va]ṇe | | | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | (K) i | | s[āvaṇe] | | | [th]e[na] | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|----|-----|------|--------|----|--|--|
| <i>Rūp.</i> | | (N) 200 | 50 | 6 | sata | vivāsā | ta | | |
| <i>Sah.</i> | lāti-satā | vivuthā | ti | 200 | 50 | 6 | | | |
| <i>Brah.</i> | | (L) 200 | 50 | 6 | | | | | |
| <i>Śidd.</i> | | (L) [200] | 50 | 6 | | | | | |
| <i>Ṣaṭ.</i> | | (L) 200 | 50 | 6 | | | | | |

INDEX

This index contains every word of Aśoka's inscriptions, with the exception of a few particles (*cha*, *pi*, *rā*, *hi*). Of the six pillar-edicts, only the Delhi-Tōprā version is quoted; but one of the five other copies of these edicts is referred to if the reading of one or more of them differs from the standard text. The following abbreviations are employed:

Gir. = Gīrnār.
Kāl. = Kālsī.
Shāh. = Shāhbāzgarhī.
Mān. = Mānsehrā.
Dhau. = Dhauli.
Jau. = Jaugaḍa.
Sep. = Separate edicts (of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa).
Sōp. = Sōpārā.
Tōp. = Delhi-Tōprā.

Mir. = Delhi-Mīrāth.
Ar. = Lauriyā-Ararāj.
Nand. = Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh.
Rām. = Rāmpurvā.
All. = Allahabad-Kōsam.
Qu. = Queen's edict.
Kaus. = Kausāmbī edict.
Sām. = Sāmchī.
Sār. = Sārānāth.
Rum. = Rummindēi.

Nig. = Nigālī Sāgar.
Rūp. = Rūpnāth.
Sah. = Sahasrām.
Bair. = Bairāt.
Calc. = Calcutta-Bairāt.
Mas. = Maski.
Brah. = Brahmagiri.
Sidd. = Siddāpura.
Jaṭ. = Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara.
Bar. = Barābar.

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 -kāmatāya Ar. I, 2.
 -kāmatāyā Töp. I, 3.
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 -kipilikā All. V, 2.
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 kiya Nand. II, 1.
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 kilaṇte Dhau. Sep. I, 12; Jau. Sep. I, 6.
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 -kukute Töp. V, 9.
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 -[kos]jikyāni Töp. VII, 23.
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 -khajjindhāni Gir. IV, 4.
 -khakhaṣe Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 [kha]yas[i] Dhau. Sep. II, 10.
 khamapita Shāh. II, 5.
 khamasi Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 10.
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 khamitave Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau.
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 khamisati Dhau. Sep. II, 5; Jau.
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 11; Dhau. X, 4; Jau. X, 3;
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 -[gah]e All. Qu. 3.
 -gāthā Calc. 5.
 gāma-kapote Tōp. V, 6.
 -gāmini Tōp. III, 20.
 -gāme Rum. 4.
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 giṭhānām Tōp. VII, 25.
 -guṇā Brah. 10.
 [gut]i All. I, 4.
 -guti Kāl. XII, 31; Shāh. XII, 2;
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 -guti Gir. XII, 3.
 guruna Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. IX, 4.
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 -Gaṇḍharānān Gir. V, 5.
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 -Gaḍharana Mān. V, 22.
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 -gamu[k]e Dhau. Sep. I, 6 f.; Jau.
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 -galahä Käl. XII, 31.
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 -gäthä Calc. 5.
 gäma-kapote Töp. V, 6.
 -gämlni Töp. III, 20.
 -gäme Rum. 4.
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 -günä Brah. 10.
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 -guü Käl. XII, 31; Shäh. XII, 2;
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-ghoshe Mān. IV, 13.
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-ghosam Dhau. IV, 2.
-ghose Käl. IV, 9.
-ghoso Gir. IV, 3.

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 -chanda[in] Jau. Sep. I, 11.

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 -[chain]ḍ[c] Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
 chaindama-suliyeke Tōp. VII, 31.
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 chakhu-dāne Tōp. II, 12.
 chaghani Tōp. IV, 10.
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 -charaṇan Kāl. IV, 8, 9; Shāh.
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 -charaṇa Gir. IV, 7, 10; Mān. IV,
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 -charaṇena Gir. IV, 3; Shāh. IV,
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 -chalanam Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau.
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 -chala[n]āye Dhau. Sep. II, 10;
 Jau. Sep. II, 15.
 -chalan Kāl. IV, 11, 12; Dhau.
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 -chalanena Dhau. IV, 2; Jau. IV, 2.
 -chal[an]enā Kāl. IV, 9.
 chalitaviye Dhau. Sep. II, 7; Jau.
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 chaley[ū] Jau. Sep. II, 7.
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 8; Mas. 8.
 chātām(tum)māsīsu Mir. V, 4.
 -chātūmmāsām Dhau. Sep. II, 10;
 Jau. Sep. II, 15.
 chātūmmāsi-pakhāye Tōp. V, 18.
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 chāvudasām Tōp. V, 12.
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 chikisa Shāh. II, 4; Mān. II, 7.
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 Calc. 3; Brah. 3; Śidd. 7.
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 Choda-Pamda Shāh. XIII, 9.
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 chhamdamnāni Tōp. IV, 9.
 -chhamdā Dhau. VII, 2; Jau.
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 -chhamde Kāl. VII, 21; Dhau.
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 -chhamdo Gir. VII, 2; Shāh. VII,
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 [chh]āmdam Jau. Sep. II, 11.
 -chhāmde Jau. Sep. II, 5.

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 jānapadam Tōp. IV, 7.
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 jānapadasā Kāl. VIII, 23; Tōp.
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 jānitu Dhau. Sep. I, 22.
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mokhya-mata Mukto Shäh. XIII, 2.

mokhya-mata Mukto Shäh. XIII, 2.

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mokhya-mata Mukto Shäh. XIII, 2.

mokhya-mata Mukto Shäh. XIII, 2.

yutub Shäh. VIII, 1.

yut Shäh. 6.

yut Shäh. 11, 6; Top. 7, 1, 6, 211.

yut Shäh. 11, 6.

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[illegible]

-sahasrāni Gir. I, 9.
 -[saha]sre Shāh. XIII, 1.
 -sahāya- Gir. XIII, 3, 4.
 sahāya(ye)na Gir. IX, 8.
 sahāye[na] Dhau. IX, 6.
 sā Gir. XIII, 10; Kāl. XIII, 13, 14.
 Sātiyaputo Kāl. II, 4.
 sāti[ra]kekāni (*read* sātirekāni)
 Rūp. 1.
 sātireke Mas. 2; Brah. 2; Śidd. 6;
 Jat. 4.
 sātileke Rūp. 1.
 sādha(dhu) Gir. IX, 8.
 sādhaṇāni Tōp. VII, 28.
 sādha[v]e Tōp. VII, 28.
 sādhi[ke] Sah. 2.
 sādhu Gir. III, 4, 5, IV, 11, IX, 4,
 5, 6, 7, XI, 2, 3, XII, 6; Kāl.
 III, 7, 8, IV, 12, IX, 26; Dhau.
 III, 2, 3; Jau. III, 3, IX, 4;
 Ar. II, 1.
 sādhu-matā Gir. I, 6; Kāl. I, 2;
 Dhau. I, 2; Jau. I, 2.
 sādhu Dhau. IV, 7, IX, 5; Jau.
 IX, 6; Tōp. II, 11.
 sāmanitā Kāl. II, 5; Dhau. II, 2;
 Jau. II, 2.
 sāmip[am] Gir. II, 3.
 sārā-vadhī Gir. XII, 2, 8.
 sā(silā)-[th]abh[je] Rūp. 5.
 sālika Ar. V, 2.
 sālikā Tōp. V, 3.
 sāvakam Kāl. VI, 18; Dhau. VI,
 3; Jau. VI, 3.
 sāvane Brah. 5, 8; Śidd. 11, 15;
 Jat. 12.
 -sāvanāni Tōp. VII, 20, 22.
 sāvane Rūp. 3, 5.
 -[s]ā[van]e Tōp. VII, 23.
 sāva(va)ne Sah. 4.
 sāvāpayāmi Tōp. VII, 20.
 sāvāpitāni Tōp. VII, 22.
 sāvāpite Brah. 5, 8.
 sāvite Śidd. 11.
 sāsanam Sār. 8, 9.
 sāsane Sār. 5.
 sāsvatam Jau. Sep. II, 14.
 sij[ne]he Mān. XIII, 5.
 simale Tōp. V, 5.
 siya Shāh. IX, 20, XII, 2, 3, XIV,
 14; Mān. IX, 7, XII, 2, 3, 7,
 XIV, 14; Jau. Sep. I, 6; Tōp.
 IV, 15.
 siyati Shāh. X, 22, XII, 8; Mān.
 X, 11.
 siyasa Shāh. XII, 7.
 siyā Kāl. IX, 26; Dhau. Sep. I, 12,
 21, II, 4; Jau. Sep. II, 4; Tōp.
 VII, 32; Mīr. IV, 8; Sām. 8;
 Rūp. 4.
 -silāsā Kāl. IV, 12.
 silā Rum. 3.
 silā-tha[m]bhāsi Rūp. 5.
 silā-tham[gh]ā Sah. 8.
 silā-thambhāni Tōp. VII, 32.
 silā-thabhe Rum. 3.
 silā-phalakāni Tōp. VII, 32.
 [si]ho (*read* sincho) Shāh. XIII, 5.
 silamhi Gir. IV, 9.
 -silasa Gir. IV, 10; Dhau. IV, 7.
 silasi Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.

su Dhau. Sep. I, 4, II, 4; Jau. Sep.
 I, 2, II, 5.
 s[u]jag[e] Sah. 4.
 sukata Mān. V, 20.
 sukata[m] Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 2;
 Tōp. II, 16.
 sukata[m] Gir. V, 3.
 sukaram Gir. V, 3; Shāh. V, 11.
 s[u]kita[m] Shāh. V, 11.
 suke Tōp. V, 3.
 sukham Tōp. IV, 11, VI, 6.
 -sukham Tōp. IV, 5.
 sukhameva Dhau. Sep. II, 5;
 Jau. Sep. II, 6.
 sukhayami Shāh. VI, 16; Mān.
 VI, 31.
 sukhayāmi Dhau. VI, 6; Jau. VI, 6.
 sukhayite Tōp. VII, 24.
 -sukhaye Shāh. V, 12; Mān. V,
 22, 23.
 sukhāpayāmi Gir. VI, 12.
 -[s]ukhā[ya] Gir. V, 6.
 sukhāyanāyā Tōp. VII, 24.
 sukhāyāmi Kāl. VI, 20.
 -sukhāye Kāl. V, 15; Dhau. V, 4,
 5, Sep. II, 8; Jau. Sep. II, 12;
 Tōp. IV, 12, VI, 3.
 -sukhāharo Gir. colophon.
 sukhitenā (*read* samikhi^o) Kāl. XIV.
 19 f.
 sukhiyānā Tōp. I, 10.
 sukhīyana Nand. I, 6.
 sukhīyana-dukhiyanam Tōp. IV, 6.
 sukhīyanā All. I, 4.
 -[sukhe] Tōp. VI, 4.
 -sukhena Dhau. Sep. I, 5, II, 3;
 Jau. Sep. I, 3, II, 3 f.
 sutu Kāl. XIII, 11; Tōp. VII, 21.
 sudivasāye Tōp. V, 16.
 -sudhi Kāl. VII, 21, 22.
 -sudhim Gir. VII, 2.
 -sudhitā Gir. VII, 3.
 -sudhi Dhau. VII, 1, 2; Jau. VII, 1.
 sun[e]lyu Calc. 7.
 supathay[e] Shāh. I, 2.
 supathāy[e] Kāl. I, 3.
 supa[thra]lye Mān. I, 4.
 supadarave Mān. V, 21.
 supadālaye Kāl. V, 14; Dhau. V, 3;
 Jau. V, 3.
 su[p]l[i]y[e] Bar. III, 4.
 subhāsate Calc. 3.
 sumi Rūp. 1; Sah. 1; Mas. 2, 3.
 -suyute Kāl. V, 16.
 -suliyike Tōp. VII, 31.
 Suvaṇṇagiri Brah. 1; Śidd. 1.
 suvāmiken[a] Kāl. IX, 25; Dhau.
 IX, 5; Jau. IX, 4.
 suvitā Jau. Sep. I, 4.
 suvibhātanā Shāh. XIII, 5; Mān.
 XIII, 5.
 suvi[h]itā Dhau. Sep. I, 8.
 suve Tōp. I, 6.
 -suśra[śru]sha Shāh. X, 21.
 suśrusa Shāh. III, 6, IV, 9, XI, 23,
 XIII, 4; Mān. III, 10, IV, 15,
 XI, 12, XIII, 4.
 -suśrusa Shāh. XIII, 4; Mān. X,
 9, XIII, 4.
 suśrusatu Shāh. X, 21; Mān. X,
 9.

suśrusheyu Shāh. XII, 7; Mān.
 XII, 6.
 susumāsā Gir. XIII, 3.
 -susumāsā Gir. XIII, 3.
 susumisera Gir. XII, 7.
 -susushā Kāl. X, 27.
 susushāu Kāl. X, 27.
 sususā Kāl. III, 8, IV, 11.
 sususāyā Tōp. VII, 29.
 -susūsām Jau. X, 1.
 susūsatu Dhau. X, 2; Jau. X, 1.
 su[s]ūs[ā] Dhau. III, 2.
 -susūsā Dhau. IV, 4.
 susūsāya Ar. I, 3.
 su[s]ūsāyā Tōp. I, 4.
 susū[i]taviye Brah. 9.
 -susrū[m]sā Gir. X, 2.
 susrusatā Gir. X, 2.
 susrusā Gir. IV, 7, XI, 2.
 -susrusā Gir. IV, 7.
 susrūsā Gir. III, 4.
 suhadayena Gir. IX, 7.
 sūkali Tōp. V, 8.
 sūkale Tōp. V, 17.
 -sūte Calc. 5.
 sūpathāye Dhau. I, 3; Jau. I, 3.
 sūpāthāya Gir. I, 9, 11.
 -[sū]pā[th]i[ke] Sām. 4.
 se Gir. I, 10; Kāl. I, 3, 4, IV, 9,
 12, V, 13, 14, VI, 20, IX, 25,
 26, 27, XIII, 12, 13; Mān. I, 4,
 5, IV, 13, 17, V, 19, 20, 21, VI,
 31, VIII, 34, IX, 3, 5, 7, 8, XI,
 14, XII, 6, XIII, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11,
 XIV, 14; Dhau. I, 4, IV, 2, 7,
 V, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, VI, 1, VIII, 1,
 IX, 3, 4, 5, Sep. I, 7, 11, 14, II,
 7, 8; Jau. I, 4, IV, 2, V, 3, VI,
 1, VIII, 1, IX, 2, 5, Sep. I, 4;
 Tōp. II, 16, VI, 3, 9, VII, 17, 30,
 31; All. Kauś. 3; Sār. 4; Sah.
 4; Calc. 3; Mas. 7; Brah. 8,
 10; Śidd. 11; Jat. 14.
 sethe Kāl. IV, 12; Dhau. IV, 6.
 seta-kapote Tōp. V, 6.
 seto Dhau. colophon.
 -seyake Ar. V, 3.
 seyatha Ar. V, 2.
 seyathā Tōp. V, 2.
 seste Gir. IV, 10.
 so Gir. I, 11, V, 1, 3, VIII, 2, XI,
 4, XII, 6, XIII, 4; Shāh. I, 2, 3,
 IV, 7, 10, V, 11, VIII, 17, IX,
 18, 19, 20, XI, 24, XII, 6, XIII,
 2, 6, 8, 11, 12, XIV, 14.
 sochaye Tōp. II, 12.
 sochaye Tōp. VII, 28.
 socheye Ar. II, 2.
 sotaviya Dhau. Sep. I, 18, II, 11.
 sotaviyā Dhau. Sep. I, 17, II, 10;
 Jau. Sep. I, 9, II, 15, 16.
 stitā Gir. VI, 4.
 striraka Shāh. IX, 18.
 spa[kaspi] Shāh. XIII, 11.
 spagra Mān. VI, 31.
 spagram Shāh. VI, 16.
 spamikena Shāh. IX, 19, XI, 24;
 Mān. IX, 5, XI, 13.
 spa[ś]a[ś]a[ś]a Shāh. V, 13.
 spa[ś]a[ś]a[ś]a Mān. V, 24.
 -stramāpānāni Gir. IV, 2, XI, 2.

CORRIGENDA

Introduction, pages xlv-xlvii.—Since I wrote chapter IV of the Introduction, I have lost my belief in the correctness of the meaning 'on tour', assigned to *vyushṭa*, and am now convinced that this past participle has to be taken in the same sense as e.g. in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 5, 30, viz. 'having spent the night (in prayer)'. Cf. JRAS, 1904. 364 f. (Kielhorn); 1911. 1106 (Fleet); 1916. 113 ff. (Thomas). I would now translate sections J-K of the Sahasrām edict (Text, p. 171) as follows: 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' The translations of the corresponding portions of the Rāpnāth and Brahmagiri edicts (Text, pp. 169 and 177 f.) have to be modified in a similar way. But *vivāsayaṭha* at Sārnāth (section I, p. 162) and *vivāsetavā[ya]* (read *vivāsetaviye*) at Rūpnāth (section L, p. 167) probably mean nothing but 'expel ye (schismatic monks or nuns)'; and *vivāsāpayāthā* at Sārnāth (section J, p. 162) would mean 'issue ye orders to expel (schismatic monks or nuns).' See Thomas, JRAS, 1915. 111 f.

Introduction, page li, lines 14, 15, 17. *For* instruction *read* exhortation.

Introduction, page lxxvi, line 13 from bottom. *Read as follows*: The two Sanskrit masculines *prāṇa* and *vṛiksha* are used as neuters: *pānāni* (I, 3, 4) and [*n*]khāni² (II, 6).

Page 2, note 6. *Add*: According to the *Suttanipāṭa*, II, 7, verse 25, king Okkāka sacrificed many times 100,000 cows.

Page 12, Roman text, line 12. *For* ta² (M) etāya *read* (M) ta etāya.

„ „ Cancel note 2.

„ 13, section (M). *For*: For the following purpose *read*: Now for the following purpose.

„ 15, note 7, line 4. *For* XIII, I *read* XIII, l. 4.

„ 56, note 21. For the Rāshṭrikas see the Introduction, p. xxxviii, line 2 from bottom.

„ 69, section (M). *For* converts *read* exhorts.

„ „ note 3. *Add*: See also *Kāvyapraśāsa*, sec. ed., p. 57. मया ह्यमन्ति occurs already in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇ. IV, 1, 48, *Vārttika* 3.

„ 73, Roman text, line 9. *For* duva[.a]śa- *read* duva[ḍa]śa-.

„ 95, line 3. *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ 96, section (N). *For* arise to you *read* arise in you.

„ „ „ (T). *For* badly fulfils this duty *read* fulfils this duty badly.

„ 97, „ (V). *For* edict *read* rescript.

„ „ „ (CC), line 3. *For* thus, as *read* just as.

„ 99, Translation, section (A). *For* (thus) *read* (this).

„ „ „ „ (E), line 2. *For* thus *read* so.

„ 100, section (I). *For* inspire confidence to them *read* inspire them with confidence.

- Page 100, section (J). *For* entertain *read* maintain.
- " " " (K). *For* inspire confidence to those (borderers) *read* inspire those (borderers) with confidence.
- " 100, section (M). *For* inspire confidence to those borderers (of mine) *read* inspire those borderers (of mine) with confidence.
- " 119, Nāgari text, line 4. *For* मुमुयाया *read* मुमुयाया.
- " " Roman text, line 4. *For* su[sū]yāyā *read* su[sū]sāyā.
- " 133, note 6, line 3. *For* kākāpāda *read* kākāpada.
- " 137, sections (JJ), (KK), and (NN). *For* conversion *read* exhortation.
- " 142, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 4. *For* sukaṭam *read* sukaṭam.
- " 145, Sixth Pillar-Edict, Nāgari text, line 3. *For* ह्व *read* ह्वे.
- " 147, Second Pillar-Edict, Roman text, line 5. *For* sukaṭam *read* sukaṭam.
- " 179, line 19. *For* . . . [ki]ti *read* . . . [ki]ti.
- " 184, line 23. *For* tim *read* tim.
- " 235, second column, line 22 from bottom. *For* [āl]as[y]e[na] *read* [āla]s[y]e[na].

TRANSLATION

..... the entirely white¹ elephant² bringing indeed happiness to the whole world.

II. THE KALSI ROCK

FIRST ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

A.—East Face of Kālsī Rock.

- 1 (A) इयं धम्मलिपि देवानंपियेना पियदसिना लेखिता (B) हिदा नो किञ्चि जिवे
आलभितु पजोहितविये
 - 2 (C) नो पि चा समाजे कटविये (D) बहुका हि दोसा समाजसा देवानंपिये
पियदसी लाजा दखति (E) अथि पि चा एकतिया समाजा साधुमता
देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने
 - 3 (F) पुले महानससि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि
पातसहसानि अलंभियिसु सुपठाये (G) से इदानि यदा इयं धम्मलिपि
लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि अलभियंति
 - 4 दुवे मजूला एके मिगे से पि चू मिगे नो ध्रुवे (H) एतानि पि चु तिनि पानानि
नो अलभियिसंति
- 1 (A) iyaṃ dhamma-lipi Devānaṃpiyenā Piyadas[i]nā [lekhit]ā (B) [h]idā no³
kichhi jive ālabhitu pajohitaviye
 - 2 (C) no pi ch[ā] samāje kaṭaviye (D) bahuk[ā] hi dosā samājasā Devān[am]piye
Pi[ya]dasī lājā dakhati (E) athi pi ch[ā] e[katiyā] samājā⁴ sād[h]u-matā⁵
Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasis[ā] lājine
 - 3 (F) [p]ule mahānasasi Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājini⁶ anudivasam bahuni
pāta-sahasāni⁷ alaṃbhiyisu⁸ supathāy[e] (G) se i[d]āni ya[dā] iyaṃ dhamma-lipi
lekhitā tadā timni yevā pānāni alabhi[ya]m[ti]⁹
 - 4 duve majūl[ā]¹⁰ eke mige se pi [chū]¹¹ mige no dhruve¹² (H) e[t]āni pi ch[u]¹³ tini
pānā[n]i no alābhi[y]isa[m]ti¹⁴

¹ Cf. *sabbaseto* in Childers's *Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *sabbo*.

² As stated by Kern (*Faartelling*, p. 44), Senart (*Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 323 f.), and Bühler (ZDMG, 39. 490), the Gīrnār rock must have borne, like the Kālsī and Dhāuli rocks, the figure of an elephant representing the Buddha. This figure was probably destroyed during the construction of a causeway for pilgrims from Junāgarh to Gīrnār, and along with it those adjacent portions of the fifth and thirteenth edicts which are now missing.

³ *nā* Bühler.

⁴ *sa[m]āja* Bühler.

⁵ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *lajine* Bühler.

⁷ *sata-* Senart, *pāna-* Bühler; read *pāna-sata-*.

⁸ *ālābhi* Bühler.

⁹ *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Bühler.

¹⁰ *majali* Senart, *majulā* Bühler.

¹¹ *je* Senart, *cha* Bühler.

¹² *dhruve* Senart, *dhruve* Bühler.

¹³ *cha* Bühler.

¹⁴ *ālābhi* Senart, *ālābhi* Bühler.

TRANSLATION

(A) This rescript on morality has been caused to be written by **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(B) Here no living being must be killed and sacrificed.

(C) And also no festival meeting must be held.

(D) For king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** sees much evil in festival meetings.

(E) And there are also some festival meetings which are considered meritorious by king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin**.

(F) Formerly in the kitchen of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** many hundred thousands of animals were killed daily for the sake of curry.

(G) But now, when this rescript on morality is caused to be written, then only three animals are being killed (daily), (viz.) two peacocks (and) one deer, but even this deer not regularly.

(H) But even these three animals shall not be killed (in future).

SECOND ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

4 (A) सवता विजितसि देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने ये च अंता अथा चोडा
पंडिया सातियपुतो केललपुतो तंबपंनि

5 अंतियोगे नाम योनलाजा ये चा अंने तसा अंतियोगसा सामंता लाजानो
सवता देवानंपियसा पियदसिसा लाजिने दुवे चिकिसका कटा मनुसचिकिसा
चा पसुचिकिसा चा (B) ओसधीनि मनुसोपगानि चा पसोपगानि चा
अतता नथि

6 सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (C) एवमेवा मुलानि चा फलानि चा
अतता नथि सवता हालापिता चा लोपापिता चा (D) मगेषु लुखानि
लोपितानि उदुपानानि चा खानापितानि पटिभोगाये पसुमुनिसानं

4 (A) sav[a]tā vijitasi Devānaṃpiyas[ā] Piyadasis[ā] lājine ye cha aṃtā [a]thā
Choḍā Paṃ[ḍi]yā Sātiyaputo Ke[lala]puto Taṃba[pa]ṃni

5 Aṃtiyoge [n]āma Yona-lājā ye chā aṃne tas[ā] A]ṃtiyogasā sā[ma]ṃtā lā[j]āno
[sa]vatā Devānaṃpiyasā Piyadasisā lājine duve chikisakā kaṭā manusa-
chikisā chā pasu-chikisā chā (B) osadhīn[i]¹ manusopagāni chā pasopagāni chā²
a[ta]tā n[a]thi

6 [sa]vatā [h]ālāpitā chā lo[p]āpit[ā] chā (C) [e]vamevā mulāni chā phalāni chā
a[ta]t[ā] nathi savatā hālāp[i]tā chā lopāpitā [ch]ā (D) ma[g]e[s]u [lu]khāni³
lopitāni ud[u]pānā[n]i chā khānāpitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munis[ā]naṃ

TRANSLATION

(A) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin** and (of those) who (are his) borderers, such as the **Chōḍas**, the **Pāṇḍyas**, the **Sātiyaputa**, the

¹ *osadhāni* Senart and Bühler.

² *cha* Senart and Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

Kēlalaputa,¹ Tāmraparnī, the Yōna king named Antiyoga, and the other kings who are the neighbours of this Antiyoga,—everywhere two (kinds of) medical men were established by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, (viz.) medical treatment for men and medical treatment for cattle.

(B) Wherever there were no herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to cattle, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(C) Likewise, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they were caused to be imported and to be planted.

(D) On the roads trees were planted, and wells were caused to be dug for the use of cattle and men.

THIRD ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

6 (A) देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा

7 (B) दुवादसवसाभिसितेन मे इयं आनपयिते (C) सवता विजितसि मम युता लजूके पादेसिके पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु एताये वा अठाये इमाय धंमनुसयिया यथा अंनाये पि कंमाये (D) साधु

8 मातपितिसु सुसुसा मितसंयुतनातिक्यानं चा वंभनसमनानं चा साधु दाने पानानं अनालंभे साधु अपवियाता अपभंडता साधु (E) पलिसा पि च युतानि गननसि अनपयिसंति हेतुवता चा वियंजने चा

6 (A) De[vā]nāmpiye Piyadasi lājā h[e]vaṃ āhā

7 (B) du[v]ādasa-v[a]sābhisitena me iyaṃ ānapayite (C) savatā vijitasi [mama] yutā laj[ū]k[e]² pādesike pa[m̐]cha[s]u pañchasu vasesu [a]nusa[m̐]yānaṃ³ nikham[aṃ]tu etāye vā a[th]āye imāya⁴ dhammanusathiyā yathā aṃ[nāye] pi kaṃmāye (D) sādhu

8 mātā-pitisu sususā mita-saṃthuta-nātikyān[aṃ] chā baṃbhana-sama[nā]naṃ [chā] sādhu d[ā]ne pānānaṃ anālambh[e] sādhu [a]pa-v[i]yātā⁵ [a]pa-[bha]m[da]t[ā] sādhu (E) palisā pi cha yutāni [ga]nanasi anap[a]yisaṃti hetuvatā chā viyaṃjanat[e] chā⁶

TRANSLATION

(A) King Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin speaks thus.

(B) (When I had been) anointed twelve years, the following was ordered by me.

(C) Everywhere in my dominions the *Yuktas*, the *Lajūka*, (and) the *Prādēsika* shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business.

¹ As the Kālsī dialect replaces *r* by *l*, this form is the correct equivalent of *Kēralaputra* at Mānsehrā.

² *lajaki* Senart, *lajuke* Bühler.

³ *anusiyānaṃ* Senart, *anus[a]yānaṃ* Bühler.

⁴ *athāye imāy[e]* Bühler.

⁵ The other versions read **yatā* or **yata*. There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁶ *cha* Senart and Bühler.

(D) 'Meritorious is obedience to mother and father. Liberality to friends, acquaintances, and relatives, and to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas is meritorious. Abstinence from killing animals is meritorious. Moderation in expenditure (and) moderation in possessions are meritorious.'

(E) And the councils (of *Mahāmātras*) also shall order the *Yuktas*¹ to register (these rules) both with (the addition of) reasons² and according to the letter.

FOURTH ROCK-EDICT: KALSI

- 9 (A) अतिकंतं अंतलं बहुनि वससतानि वधिते वा पानालंभे विहिसा चा भुतानं
नातिना असंपटिपति समनवंभनानं असंपटिपति (B) से अजा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने धंमचलनेना भेलिघोसे अहो धंमघोसे विमनदसना
- 10 हथिनि अगिकंधानि अन्नानि चा दिव्यानि लुपानि दसयितु जनस (C) आदिसा
बहुहि वससतेहि ना हुतपुलुवे तादिसे अजा वधिते देवानंपियसा पियदसिने
लाजिने धंमनुसथिये अनालंभे पानानं अविहिसा भुतानं नातिनं
- 11 संपटिपति वंभनसमनानं संपटिपति मातापितिसु सुसुसा (D) एसे चा अंने चा
बहुविधे धंमचलने वधिते (E) वधियिसति चेवा देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज
इमं धंमचलनं (F) पुता च कं नताले चा पनातिक्या चा देवानंपियसा
पियदसिने लाजिने
- 12 पवढयिसंति चेव धंमचलनं इमं आवकपं धंमसि सीलसि चा चिटितु धंमं
अनुसासिसंति (G) एसे हि सेठे कंमं अं धंमानुसासनं (H) धंमचलने पि चा
नो होति असिलसा (I) से इमसा अथसा वधि अहिनि चा साधु (J) एताये
अथाये इयं लिखिते
- 13 इमसा अथसा वधि युजंतु हनि च मा अलोचयिसु (K) दुवाडसवशाभिसितेना
देवानंपियेना पियदशिना लाजिना लेखिता

9 (A) atika[m]taṁ a[m]ta[la]ṁ bahunī vasa-satāni v[adh]it[e] vā pā[nā]lambhe
vi[h]isā chā bhutānaṁ nātinā³ asaṁ[pa]ṭip[a]ti samana-b[ar]mbhanānaṁ
asampatiṭipati (B) s[e] ajā Devānaṁpiyasā Piyadasine lājine dhamm[a]-
chal[an]enā bheli-ghose aho dhamma-ghose vimana-dasan[ā]

10 [ha]thini agi-kandh[ā]ni amnāni chā⁴ divyāni lupāni dasayitu jana[sa] (C) [ā]disā⁵
ba[h]u[hi] v[asa]-[sa]tehi nā huta-puluve tādise ajā vadhite Devānaṁpiyasā
Piyadasine [l]ājine dhammanusathiye a[n]ālambhe pānānaṁ avihisā bhutānaṁ
nāti[nam]⁶

¹ Lüders (SPAW, 1913. 993 ff.) has been the first to remark that in the eastern dialect the accusative plural of masculines ends in *-āni*. Cf. *yutāni* in E with *yutā* in C, and *Kaligyaṇi* in XIII, D, with *Kaligyā* in A; also XII, A, and *pulisāni* in the pillar-edict IV, G.

² Bühler (ZDMG, 37. 108) explained *hetuvatā* by *hētumatā vākyaṇa*, i. e. 'by a syllogism'. The other versions read *hetuto* or *hetute*.

³ *nātinam* Bühler.

⁴ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁵ *ādisam* Senart, *ādis[e]* Bühler.

⁶ *nātisam* Senart, *nāti[su]* Bühler.

- 11 saṃpaṭipati baṃbha[na-sa]manānaṃ saṃpaṭipati mātā-pitisu sususā (D) ese¹ chā
amne chā ba[h]uvidhe dhamma-chalane vadh[i]te (E) vadhiyisati chevā
Devānāmpiy[e] Piyadasi lāja² ima[m] dha[m]ma-chalanaṃ (F) putā cha kaṃ
natāle chā panātikyā ch[ā] Devānāmpiyasā Piyadasine lājine
- 12 [pa]v[a]dhayisaṃti[i ch]ev[a] dhamma-chalanaṃ i[maṃ]³ āva-kapa[m] dhammasi
s[i]lasi⁴ chā chiṭhit[u] dhammaṃ anusāsisaṃti (G) ese hi seṭhe kaṃm[aṃ] aṃ
dhammānusāsanaṃ (H) dhamma-chalane pi chā no hoti asilasā (I) se im[a]s[ā]
a]thasā v[a]dhi ahini chā sādhu (J) etāye [a]thāye iyaṃ likhite
- 13 imas[ā] a[tha]s[ā] vadhi yujaṃtu hini ch[a] mā alochayisu (K) duv[ā]das[a]-
vas[ā]bhisitenā Dev[ā]nāmp[i]yen[ā] Piyadaśinā lājinā lekhitā⁵

TRANSLATION

(A) In times past, for many hundreds of years, there had ever been promoted the killing of animals and the hurting of living beings, discourtesy to relatives, (and) discourtesy to Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(B) But now, in consequence of the practice of morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people representations of aerial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures.

(C) Such as they had not existed before for many hundreds of years, thus there are now promoted, through the instruction in morality on the part of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin, abstention from killing animals, abstention from hurting living beings, courtesy to relatives, courtesy to Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (and) obedience to mother and father.

(D) Both in this and in many other ways is the practice of morality promoted.

(E) And king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality.

(F) And the sons,⁶ grandsons, and great-grandsons of king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin will ever promote this practice of morality until the æon (of destruction of the world), (and) will instruct (people) in morality, abiding by morality and by good conduct.

(G) For this is the best work, viz. instruction in morality.

(H) And the practice of morality also is not (possible) for (a person) devoid of good conduct.

(I) Therefore promotion and not neglect of this object is meritorious.

(J) For the following purpose has this been written, (viz. in order that) they should devote themselves to the promotion of this practice, and that they should not approve⁷ the neglect (of it).

(K) (This rescript) was caused to be written by king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin (when he had been) anointed twelve years.

¹ *esha* Bühler.

² *lāja* Bühler.

³ There is a fissure in the rock here.

⁴ *silasī* Senart, *silasi* Bühler.

⁵ *lekhitam* Bühler.

⁶ The two syllables *cha kaṃ* seem to have the same meaning as the simple *cha*. They occur twice again at Kālsī (XI, E, and XIII, Z), once at Shāhbāzgarhī (IV, F), three times at Mānsehrā, and once at Brahmagiri (l. 11). Cf. *kaṃ* after *nū*, *sū*, *lī* in the *R̥igvēda*.

⁷ See above, p. 8, n. 3. Here, and in three other versions, the augment *a-* is retained after the particle *mā*, while Shāhbāzgarhī has *lo[ch]e[sh]u* in accordance with Sanskrit grammar.